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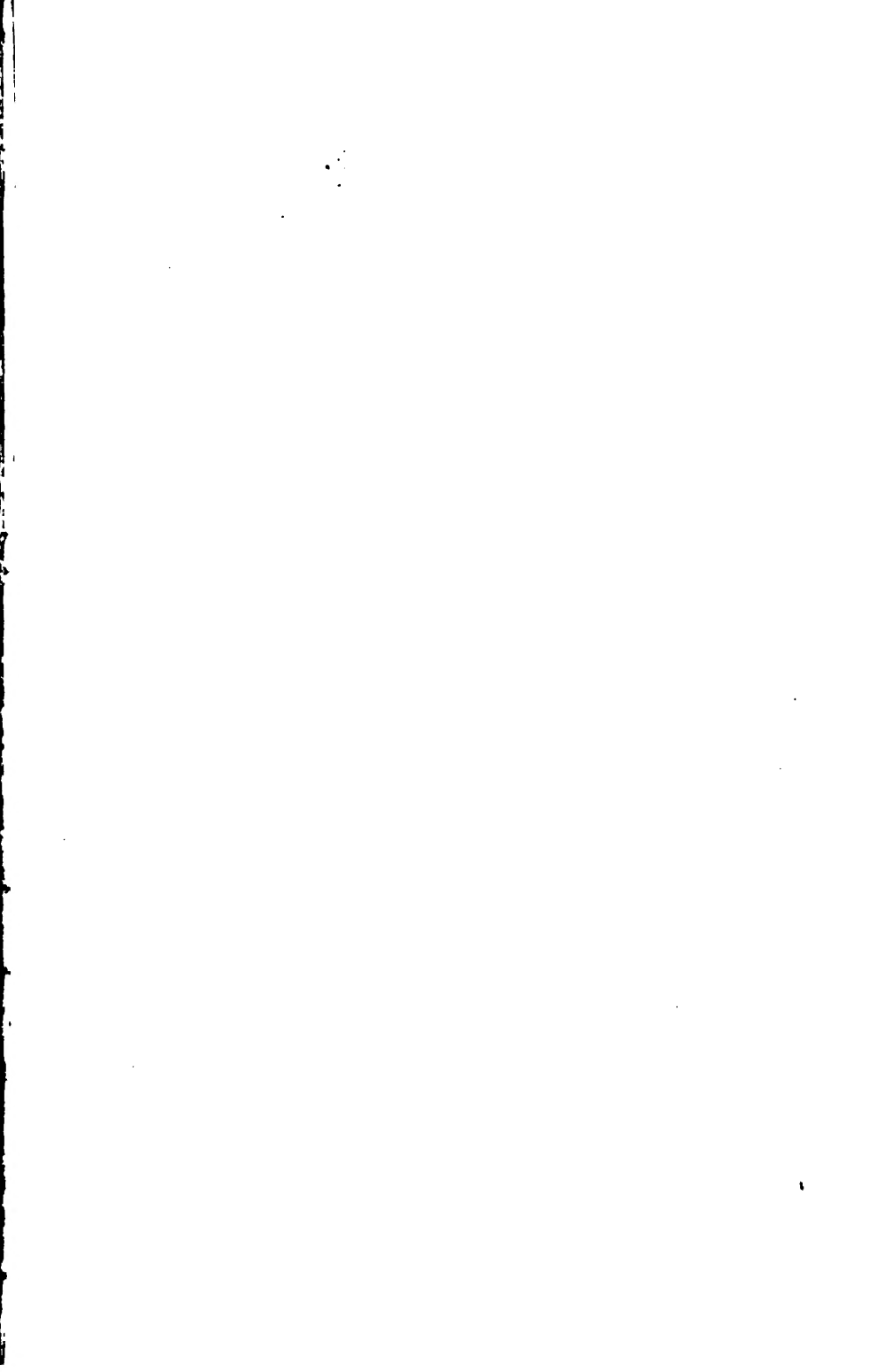


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VOLUME V

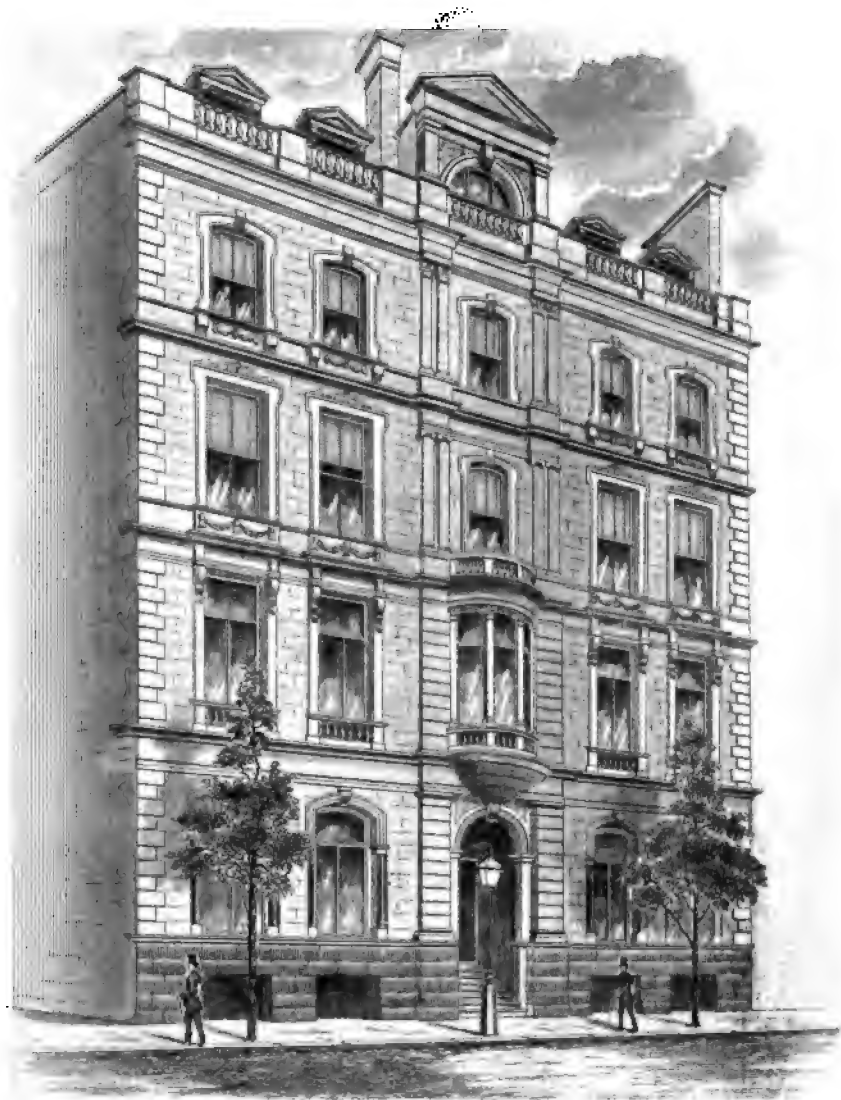
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VOLUME XXVII.  
1895-96

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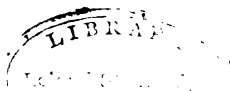
The Institute as a body is not responsible either for the statements made or for the opinions expressed by the Authors of Papers, &c.

Fellows are particularly requested to notify to the Secretary all changes in their addresses, so that the Proceedings and other communications may be forwarded without delay.

J. S. O'HALLORAN,

*Secretary.*

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE,  
*Northumberland Avenue,*  
*July 17, 1896.*



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NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, LONDON, W.C.

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FOUNDED 1868.

INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER 1882.

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MOTTO—"UNITED EMPIRE."

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## Objects.

To provide a place of meeting for all gentlemen connected with the Colonies and British India, and others taking an interest in Colonial and Indian affairs; to establish a Reading Room and Library, in which recent and authentic intelligence upon Colonial and Indian subjects may be constantly available, and a Museum for the collection and exhibition of Colonial and Indian productions; to facilitate interchange of experiences amongst persons representing all the Dependencies of Great Britain; to afford opportunities for the reading of Papers, and for holding Discussions upon Colonial and Indian subjects generally; and to undertake scientific, literary, and statistical investigations in connection with the British Empire. But no Paper shall be read, or any Discussion be permitted to take place, tending to give to the Institute a party character.—(Rule I.)

## Membership.

There are two classes of Fellows (who must be British Subjects), Resident and Non-Resident, both elected by the Council on the nomination of Two Fellows, one of whom at least must sign on personal knowledge. The former pay an entrance fee of £8, and an annual subscription of £2; the latter an entrance fee of £1. 1s. (which is increased to £8 when taking up permanent residence in the United Kingdom) and an annual subscription of £1. 1s. (which is increased to £2 when in the United Kingdom for more than three months). Resident Fellows can compound for the annual subscription by the payment of £20, or after five years' annual subscriptions of £2 on payment of £15; and Non-Resident Fellows can compound for the *Non-Resident* annual subscription on payment of £10.

**Privileges of Fellows whose Subscriptions are not in Arrear.**

The privileges of Fellows, whose subscriptions are not in arrear, include the use of the Institute building, which comprises Reading, Writing, and Smoking Rooms; a Library containing over 25,000 volumes and pamphlets relating to the history, government, trade, resources and development of the British Colonies and India; and a Newspaper Room in which the principal Journals, Magazines, and Reviews—both Home, Colonial, and Indian—are regularly received and filed.

The Journal and the Annual Volume of Proceedings are forwarded to all Fellows, whether residing in England or the Colonies.

Every Fellow is entitled to be present at the Ordinary Meetings, and to introduce one visitor; to be present at the Annual Convezazione, and to introduce a lady.

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The support of all British Subjects, whether residing in the United Kingdom or the Colonies—for the Institute is intended for both—is earnestly desired in promoting the great objects of extending knowledge respecting the various portions of the Empire, and in promoting the cause of its permanent unity.

Contributions to the Library will be thankfully received.

J. S. O'HALLORAN,  
*Secretary.*

**FORM OF CANDIDATE'S CERTIFICATE.**

**CERTIFICATE OF CANDIDATE FOR ELECTION.**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

**Title or Profession** }

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Dated this            day of            18

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F.R.C.I. } from personal knowledge.

Proposed 18

Elected 18

The Description and Residence of Candidates must be clearly stated.

## FORM OF BEQUEST.

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I bequeath the sum of £                      to the ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE, Incorporated by Royal Charter 1882, and I declare that the receipt of the Treasurer for the time being of the said Corporation shall be an effectual discharge for the said Bequest, which I direct to be paid within                      calendar months after my decease, without any reduction whatsoever, whether on account of Legacy Duty thereon or otherwise, out of such part of my estate as may be lawfully applied for that purpose.

*Those persons who feel disposed to benefit the Royal Colonial Institute by Legacies are recommended to adopt the above Form of Bequest.*

# ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

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SESSION 1895-96.

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## FIRST ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE First Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, November 12, 1895, when Captain F. D. Lugard, C.B., D.S.O., read a paper on "The Extension of British Influence (and Trade) in Africa."

Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G., a Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 180 Fellows had been elected, viz., 27 Resident, 102 Non-Resident, and 1 Honorary Fellow.

### Resident Fellows :

*Edgar A. Ashcroft, A.M.I.E.E., F. W. Banks, Ludwig G. Barber, Joseph J. G. Blandford, B.A., M.R.C.S.E., William G. Brookman, Major Maurice A. Cameron, R.E. (Crown Agent for the Colonies), the Hon. Thomas H. Cochrane, M.P., Josiah Crew, Thomas L. Devitt, Rt. Hon. the Earl of Donoughmore, K.C.M.G., Robert Duncan, Frederick Wm. Emmett, William W. A. Fitz Gerald, Valentine S. Hervey, James F. Hogan, M.P., Captain F. D. Lugard, C.B., D.S.O. (Honorary Fellow), David Malcomson, Sir Alfred Milner, K.C.B., Major Francis I. Ricarde-Seaver, A. Inst. C.E., F.G.S., Richard Nevill Roberts, Edward T. Scammell, Arthur Spiegel, William Stanford, F.R.G.S., Colonel Napier, G. Sturt, Frederick A. Thompson, James W. Weight, John A. White, Colonel Robert Williams, M.P.*

### Non-Resident Fellows :

*Rev. Principal Thomas Adams, M.A., D.C.L. (Canada), Rev. Mojola Agbedi, M.A., Ph.D. (Lagos), Gordon W.E.C. Alexander, Louis Anthing (Cape Colony), H. C. Ballance (Natal), S. Dias Bandaranaike (Ceylon), Arthur J. Barry (Cape Colony), Edward G. Bear (Burma), John Birbeck (Transvaal), Hon. T. C.*



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It was also announced that donations to the Library of books, maps, &c., had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN: It was hoped that the Marquis of Lorne would preside over this meeting, which is the first meeting of a new session, but I am sorry to say he has not found it possible to be present, and it has therefore devolved upon me, as one of the

members of the Council of the Institute, to take the chair and to endeavour to fill as well as I can, though I fear very inadequately his place. As we are entering to-night on the twenty-eighth session of the Institute, it will not be out of place if I say a few words on the circumstances of the Institute. Its financial condition is sound and satisfactory; the number of its members is well maintained, the names of 8,800 Fellows, resident and non-resident, being on its books : and that the Institute is doing its work, that it is carrying out truly and well the purposes for which it was originally established, we have, I think, a sufficient proof in the continued favour and the support which we receive from colonists in all parts of the Empire, and from the great number of persons in this country who are interested in the Colonies. As this is the first general meeting that has been held for some months, I may take this opportunity of mentioning that during the recess we have had the good fortune to secure the services of Lord Loch as a member of the governing body of the Institute. We are honoured this evening by the presence as guests of the Institute of several gentlemen engaged in the administration of the affairs of the Colonies, Dependencies, or Protectorates of Great Britain. Lord Lamington, who is shortly proceeding to Queensland, is about to take up in that important Colony for the first time the duties and responsibilities of a Colonial Governor, and I am sure I am but expressing your feelings when I give him our hearty congratulations upon his appointment and our warm good wishes for the career on which he is about to enter—congratulations and good wishes which are not the less warm because we remember that his father was one of the original founders of this Institute, that he gave great attention to Colonial affairs, and that in more than one respect he promoted Colonial interests. We have also with us Sir Walter Sendall from Cyprus, Sir Terence O'Brien from Newfoundland, Sir Claude MacDonald from the Oil Rivers, and Colonel Cardew from Sierra Leone, and in your name I bid them all heartily welcome and thank them for their presence here amongst us to-night. There is no need for me to introduce to you the gentleman who has been good enough to undertake to read the paper announced for this evening. It is not the first time, I believe, that Captain Lugard has been upon this platform, and the active part he has taken in bringing before this country the capabilities and possibilities of East Africa are well known to you. The subject of his lecture seems on the face of it to be rather a far-reaching one, but I believe he will keep the subject within well-defined limits, and that what he has to say will furnish ample

#### 4 *The Extension of British Influence (and Trade) in Africa.*

material for practical discussion afterwards. I shall now ask Captain Lugard to proceed with the reading of his paper on

### THE EXTENSION OF BRITISH INFLUENCE (AND TRADE) IN AFRICA.

THE subject upon which I have been asked to read a paper this evening is one of such magnitude that I am at a loss to know where or how to begin. It was notified on the circulars that we were to deal to-night with "the extension of British trade in Africa," but I have ventured to ask permission to change the subject to that of "the extension of British influence" (including trade); firstly, because I think the former is rather more adapted to a Chamber of Commerce than to my present audience; nor could it be dealt with at all satisfactorily without examining a considerable mass of trade reports and statistics, and discussing in some detail the output of other countries, and the comparative values and initial cost of production of a number of specific articles of commerce exported (or likely to be exported after some years) from Africa. Such details would, I fear, weary you, and would hardly be suitable to the place and occasion, yet without them no paper could claim the suggested title. Secondly, an examination of British trade in Africa must of necessity include the large amount of trade done by our countrymen in the African dependencies of other powers, whereas my desire and my ability—such as it is—are limited to dealing with British possessions only, and my purpose is rather to attempt to indicate some few of the directions in which national industry and enterprise may find scope for expansion. It will, therefore, be my desire to present to you a brief description of some of our tropical African possessions, and to discuss shortly some of the problems to which they give rise, with the intention only of providing some theses for the discussion which it is the object of this paper to inaugurate.

Fourteen hundred years before Christ the contribution of Africa to the world's wealth was summarised in three items—ivory, apes, and peacocks, though whether the allusion is indeed to Africa seems doubtful, the more so that peacocks are not found on the continent. Fourteen hundred years after Christ (or a century or two more) apes and peacocks had ceased to be a demand of civilisation, and two items sufficed to indicate the main output of Africa, viz. "black and white ivory"—slaves and elephant tusks. Between

these two epochs, it is true, there had been a period of comparative activity in the north, but of steady and permanent progress throughout the continent there remained no trace, and it seemed as though the shadow of a curse brooded over the continent from the days of King Solomon till the days of Queen Elizabeth. During these thirty centuries, of which we have some historical record, nations arose and decayed and passed away; Assyria and the Mogul empires in the East, Greece and Rome in the West, but Africa remained a closed continent. Egypt and Carthage alone claim a place in the history of the nations, but neither the one nor the other was of the race and blood of the negroid tribes which peopled the continent and still people it to-day. It is to these settlers on the northern temperate coast of Africa that we owe our earliest records of the continent. Hanno, the Carthaginian, first attempted its circumnavigation some three thousand years ago, and reached as far as Sierra Leone on the west coast, while Herodotus and Hecataeus gleaned from Alexandrine and Egyptian sources those facts about the origin of the Nile in equatorial lakes, near the "Mountains of the Moon," together with many quaint and interesting stories of the distant tribes of the interior, which have come down to us in their works. But until the latter half of the present century little more was known of the interior than was known in the time of Solomon, or of Herodotus, and the Sphinx still looked out, as through the ages that had passed, over an unknown desert—the barrier which guarded the secrets of an unknown land.

The contrast between the map of Africa as we knew it in our childhood and as we see it to-day is sufficiently striking. The *tabula rasa* has become a sheet almost as closely filled with lakes and rivers, with mountains and towns, as a map of Europe itself. Above all, we find that it is partitioned off into areas assigned to the various Powers of Europe. There are but few boundaries still left undetermined, and though in respect of these there are doubtless rivalries and jealousies between the Powers concerned, on the whole the partition of Africa has been accomplished with a minimum of friction, and no differences between the civilised powers which it has been beyond the power of diplomacy to eliminate. Nor yet has this partition given rise to much bloodshed in the continent itself. Wars there have been and there are. Great Britain has been in conflict with the Jebus in the west, the Matabele in the south, and the slave-trading Yaos in the east, and at the present moment has one or two small guerilla wars on hand. Italy is

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fighting the Abyssinians. France has been at chronic feud for twenty years with Samory and Ahmadou in the west, has crushed the power of Dahomey, and is now leading her victorious armies to the capital of Madagascar. The Congo State has broken the power of the Nyangwé Arabs, while Germany has had her troubles in east, west, and south-west. But for the most part these conflicts have been with the forces of unrest—the alien slave-raiders, or the fierce and cruel tribes who, for the moment, held the dominant power and misused it to slaughter and enslave their weaker neighbours. In no country, at no epoch of the world that I can recall, has the advent of civilisation in a barbarous land been marked by less gratuitous bloodshed.

It is essential to bear in mind that this annexation of Africa by the white races was no outcome of missionary or philanthropic zeal. It was the natural overflow of the nations of Europe into the waste places of the earth, following the law which has guided and, indeed, formed the history of the world. In the nineteenth century, moreover, there has been a new propelling influence at work, over and above that blind impulse which prompts a certain proportion of the manhood of civilised nations to wander forth into less civilised lands. The impulse to which I allude is to some extent distinct from that which forces the emigration of surplus population from the congested cities of Europe, and it is the direct result of the great trade rivalry and commercial warfare which has followed the cheapening of transport—by the introduction of steam. In our own case the hostile tariffs imposed by other nations upon our industries, the competition of foreign-made goods, and the depression of trade, have driven us to seek new markets and new fields for our surplus energy. Settlers driven to seek their fortunes in new Colonies, by motives such as these, do not embark for Africa with the primary object of benefiting the natives, but of benefiting themselves; nor am I by any means sure that hard-headed industrious settlers, bent on succeeding in their enterprise for their own sakes, but ready and anxious to accord fair play to the natives, do not do as much good in their way as the professed philanthropist.

And now that Europe has arbitrarily taken possession of Africa, it devolves upon the nations who have undertaken these responsibilities as "hostages to fortune," to accept the initial burden they involve. Each of the continental nations who have assumed charge of the largest areas—with, perhaps, the exception of Portugal—is spending many hundreds of thousands sterling yearly on its African possessions. France, including the cost of Algeria, can hardly be

spending less than *several millions* sterling a year. The French Soudan alone cost half a million last year, exclusive of Senegal, Rivières du Sud, Côte d'Ivoire, Algeria, &c. ; and this estimate is wholly exclusive of the two and a half millions sterling lately spent in Madagascar. Germany and Italy each spend *at least* half a million. Hitherto Great Britain has spent but little. We pride ourselves that we make more out of our Colonial possessions, and spend less on them, than any other nation ; and the boast is a true one, and the fact is one of which we are rightly proud. But outlay on expensive wars, and on a cumbrous and too expensive administration, is one thing, and outlay on the development of the country is a totally different thing.

The Secretary for the Colonies, shortly after taking office, enunciated his policy with regard to our Colonial Dependencies in phrases which have rung through the country, and which, I venture to think, will be among those few epoch-making sentences which will live in the history of the nation. He declared that he regarded many of our Colonial possessions in the light of great "undeveloped estates" owned by the nation ; that it was to the nation's interest to expend a certain amount of capital judiciously upon such estates—just as a private landlord would do—with a view to great returns in the future.<sup>1</sup> This constitutes a new departure, and a new and great policy diametrically opposed to that stagnation and *laissez faire* attitude which for so many years—I had almost said centuries—has marked the official treatment of our over-sea possessions. This is the opening meeting of the present Session of the Royal Colonial Institute, and it seems to me that it is a fitting occasion and a fitting place in which to discuss this new departure. I do not pretend that I am a fitting spokesman on such a subject, but since you have honoured me by the invitation to read the opening paper of the Session, it has seemed to me that this and no other theme should form the subject of our discussion to-night. I have said that the words of the Secretary of State had rung through the country. Possibly few of those here present this evening have made themselves acquainted, as I have, with the verdict of the provincial press on this pronouncement. If any there be, they will have been struck, as I have been, by the enthusiasm with which it has been received by the press organs of both the great parties of the State alike.

I find but one cause of regret in my mind, and that is, that many

<sup>1</sup> Speech of the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., in the House of Commons, August 22, 1895.

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of these undeveloped estates—those especially which are in that stage in which this process of development is most needed—are not under the control of the Colonial Secretary. That they may before long come under the auspices of that department of the State, which has the machinery as it has the traditions, to deal with them, is, I think, the earnest desire of those who have at heart the interest of our Colonial Empire. I am on delicate ground in raising such a subject of discussion, concerning which I must of necessity see only superficially, and I am well aware that there exist many difficulties in the paths of this reform. But I do not share the view that Governments condemn the public discussion of such matters. It is only of late years that the evolution of that hybrid creation of diplomacy, “the British Sphere of Influence,” has thrust upon the Foreign Office the direct administration of protectorates in Africa. A “Protectorate,” I take it, might not long ago have been described as a certain control exercised by a foreign Power over the territories, or the foreign relations, of a “protected” potentate. But it has of late come to mean something quite other than this, for the protected potentate is no longer a necessary factor. So long as the term retained its original sense, it was natural that the control of semi-independent native rulers should fall under the ægis of the Foreign Office. It was exercised by the Consuls under that department, who represented Her Majesty, and neither claimed nor exercised any administration or judicial functions over the subjects of the “protected Prince.” Pressure might be exerted upon him to institute this or that reform, extra-territorial jurisdiction and the control of his relations with foreign Powers were usually exacted. But when once the native potentate had been eliminated, and protectorates came to be declared over territories owning no rulers other than small tribal kinglets, or village chiefs, the entire significance of the term changed, and it becomes hard to distinguish between the modern protectorate and annexation. To draw such a distinction has, in fact, within the last few days been the object of some of the leading French papers during the discussion on the future of Madagascar. Thus a protectorate came to include territories directly administered by officials of the Crown, as in the case of the Niger Coast Protectorate, Bechuanaland, Nyasaland, Uganda, and East Africa.

In all of these questions arise, some of which I shall allude to later, which have occupied the attention of the Colonial Office in respect of other of our Colonial possessions for years past. Native taxation, or other methods of raising a revenue from ignorant and

savage races, is a problem which has demanded solution in Polynesia, in South Africa, and elsewhere. Railway construction is another; Asiatic immigration into Africa, another; and I could continue to add indefinitely to the list. In these and kindred matters the Colonial Office has bought its experience, sometimes at the cost of mistakes which have involved grave difficulties in the rectification, an experience which is wasted if embryo Colonies are placed under another department. Thus it would seem that the natural line of distinction between the great departments of State is that all protectorates in which the administration is exercised directly under the Crown should belong to the Colonial Office; but where the administration remains vested in a native potentate, guided and, to some extent, controlled by consular officers, it should remain under the Foreign Office. The case of chartered companies is one standing apart. Since the administration is in this case delegated, and the appointment of officers and the solution of administrative problems rest with the directors and not with the Crown, it is feasible to argue that they should remain under the Foreign Office. Of course all frontier difficulties involving relations with foreign Powers would remain in the hands of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, as at present, whether they arose on the frontiers of a protectorate, of a Crown Colony, or of a self-governing dependency.

Such a re-adjustment appears the more necessary to the welfare of our African possessions when we come to consider the actual position which the present system has produced. The Colonial Office administers the protectorates which form the Hinterland of our West Coast Colonies, though they are no whit more advanced than the protectorates of East Africa under the Foreign Office; indeed, the conditions are identical. In South and Central Africa the Colonial Office is responsible for all territories below an arbitrary line (the Zambesi), whether they are included in the Bechuanaland protectorate, or form part of the British South Africa Company's jurisdiction. North of that line the Foreign Office exercises control, so that the territories under this company are partly under one office and partly under another. If this re-adjustment were carried out, its effect would be to relieve the Foreign Office of some portion of its present onus of work, and to throw that work upon the Colonial Office. But the supervision of so vast and varied a Colonial Empire as ours is already growing beyond the capacity of a single department, however ably conducted. Decentralisation is the key-note of Empire; it is the



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motto of a democratic age, and must advance *pari passu* with expansion. It is only, I conceive, in point of degree, or rather as regards the fitting time, that differences of opinion exist (as regards the expediency of decentralisation) between the politicians and statesmen of the great parties of the State. Possibly we may yet see the Foreign Office unhampered by the executive control of protectorates, which properly belong to the Colonial Office; and the latter in turn may perhaps in the further future adjudge the time to be ripe (not to-day or to-morrow, but when our statesmen shall determine) when a particular set of Colonial questions shall deserve a separate department of State. Already such a separate ministry has been created for India, and I venture to think that an African department would find, in the control of all our possessions in the east, west, and south, a mass of work not less in volume, though essentially different in kind, from that which occupies the India Office to-day.

A Secretary of State for Africa might possibly, later on, find means to overcome the present almost insuperable difficulties and prejudices which prevent the working of our African possessions as one great whole, on a common financial basis. In the early development of British rule among uncivilised nations, it is an axiom which needs no demonstration here that indirect taxation is preferable on all grounds to direct taxation, and causes less friction and discontent. This proposition is indeed counted as an axiom in the financial code of India, a country far more advanced in civilisation than Africa, and offering a fully developed machinery for the collection of any form of direct taxation, were such advisable, and an established system of coinage. The most convenient form of indirect taxation lies in the imposition of import or export duties at the coast. Consequently protectorates or Colonies in Africa having a comparatively large extent of sea-board are in a position to raise a larger revenue than those whose inland area is large in comparison to their sea-board; though it is self-evident that in consequence of the greater difficulty of maintaining order and of enhanced transport expenses and other reasons, it is the latter and not the former that most urgently require a large revenue.

A striking instance of this inequality of appropriation of revenues occurs on the West Coast, where the Lagos Government and the Niger Coast Protectorate administer what is in fact the proper sea-board of the vast interior controlled for the most part by the Niger Company, and derive revenues from imports and exports, a consider-

able proportion of which find their way into or from that Hinterland. Just as a central executive prepares a yearly budget for our Indian Empire, not allowing one province to starve while another shows a surplus in excess of its needs, so (if this ideal were ever realised) the African Department would be able to apportion the revenues collected by the various administrations for the advantage of all—and *very much* to the advantage of the British taxpayer, who at present is called upon to make good all deficiencies, whether in Bechuanaland, Nyasaland, Uganda, or East Africa, but gains no direct advantage from the prosperity of the Gold Coast or Lagos. This subject of "an African Council"—by which I understand to be meant an African Department of State—is also one which has been vaguely mooted by the press, and I have recently received various letters on the subject from the London Chamber of Commerce. It is, therefore, one on which intelligent and well-informed criticism by those who intend to join in this evening's discussion is not out of place—always on the presumption that our object is not to press prematurely for action by Governments who alone are in a position to deal with such a question, but in the hope that discussion and debate on subjects of such great importance to our Colonial progress will not be deemed out of place or presumptuous at the Royal Colonial Institute. It is possible, perhaps probable, that these views are visions of a distant future not immediately within our ken, but that in my opinion is no reason (rather the reverse) why we should not submit them to discussion now when we stand on the threshold of a new departure, when the nation has undoubtedly awakened to a fresh interest in its great Colonial heritage.

Be that as it may, and let us turn to the more immediate present. It is just three years since Lord Rosebery, speaking in this Hall, said in regard to our acquisitions in Africa, that we were engaged in "pegging out claims for posterity."<sup>1</sup> The particular claim at that moment in question was Uganda and East Africa. It is three years to-day since I first raised my voice on a public platform, conceiving it my duty to appeal to the verdict of public opinion against the plan of abandonment which was understood to be in contemplation. To-day not only Uganda, but the whole vast area between that country and the sea, is a protectorate of the Crown under British officials. Now at last a railway is to be constructed, the initial vote is passed and some of the officials are already appointed. This very morning as well as last week I received

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings, Royal Colonial Institute*, vol. xxiv. p. 227.

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—as I have continued to do at intervals ever since I left Uganda—a budget of some half-dozen letters from various chiefs in that country. “The news of Uganda,” says the Katikiro, writing in Swahili, “is very good. Our country has quieted down well. We are sitting in complete peace—there is no trouble.” “Mwanga the king,” says another chief, “comes daily to Kampala. It is a sign that war has finished completely in Uganda; all is peace.” And he goes on to tell me of the various improvements in roads and buildings. Mwanga himself sends me a message to say I would be pleased “to see how sensible he is becoming!”

East Africa is a typical estate for development—one, indeed, whose whole future will depend largely if not entirely upon the lines which are now laid down. One great, perhaps the greatest, factor for success will be to induce the right sort of settlers to enter the country and take up vacant lands, and to exclude the wrong sort. This in some countries would be no easy matter, but in East Africa the conditions render it very feasible. Government, by declaring the vast areas of unpopulated lands to be Crown property, can exact such guarantees as it pleases before giving grants to applicants; and moreover, since settlement is impossible without certain facilities of transport, Government can by this means also smooth the way of the useful settler, and throw insuperable difficulties in the way of the undesirable one. These depopulated lands are perhaps the most desirable of all in point of fertility, climate, &c., for European settlers. Since, moreover, there are no kings in this part of Africa, but only petty chiefs of small sections of tribes or village-headmen, who would have no right to alienate land, it would be eminently just to refuse *in toto* to recognise any land concession obtained from natives, and thus to do away once and for all with the concessionaire, who has proved such a source of trouble, litigation, and worry in South Africa, and to a less extent in Nyasaland.

I would describe the “right sort” of colonist as one who intended to reside upon and cultivate his estate; who would be glad to receive from Government small yearly grants of land whose extent should depend upon the amount he had already brought into cultivation, or the buildings, &c., erected during the preceding year; who would invest at least a small amount of capital in his estate, and thus have “a stake in the country”; and whose character and antecedents were such as to afford a guarantee of his treatment of the natives, and of his conforming to the regulations and laws in force. By the “wrong sort” of proprietor I mean such as desire to take up

land merely as a speculation, in the hope of its increasing in value; who do not intend to reside on or cultivate their estates; or who, being without capital or income to enable them to tide over the first year or two when their enterprise brings in no returns, might at any moment be compelled to seek Government support. I am proud to know that my own writings and efforts have induced some of the "right sort" to venture into East Africa, and I need hardly add that nothing can give me greater pleasure than to render to such men what little assistance I may be able to give in the way of advice or information.

There are, of course, many problems which such settlers—as well as Government itself—will have to solve. Prominent among these is the labour question. It is, I think, admitted now, that the statement that the native will not work is borne out by experience and fact. It has been his misfortune, as Sir John Kirk said at the Geographical Congress, for ages to work for other countries than his own, and to toil as a slave for an alien master. But in British possessions he has of late years learnt to work for his own advantage. In the West Indies free negro labour, as Lord Brassey bears witness, is abundant and cheap; in South Africa the negro has borne the onus of the labour which has developed the mines to such an unprecedented extent. In Nyasaland labour is cheaper and more abundant than perhaps anywhere else in the world, and in spite of the enormous impetus given of late to coffee planting, there is never any lack of free negro labour. But the success of the coffee plantations, and of the artisan and industrial work in Nyasaland, has mainly arisen from the fact that the early Scotch settlers and missionaries fixed the scale of payments for native labour and native produce so low that they were able to successfully overcome all the difficulties and losses inherent to the first pioneers in a new country, and to weather through the first unremunerative years on their own resources. These cheap rates of labour—a man's wages averaging from 2s. 6d. to 5s. per month in calico—render the prime cost of production of articles of export excessively small.

East Africa at present labours under a great disadvantage in this respect, owing to the reckless competition between rival Arab ivory-and-slave traders in the past. These traders associated together, forming a single caravan for mutual protection, but with entirely separate interests. They were willing to pay any price for food, &c., which the natives chose to demand (unless they happened to be powerful enough at the moment to take what they wanted by force)

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for their slipshod methods caused them to be in a chronic state of anxiety to obtain supplies for their porters, lest they should desert, and the conflicting interests of each coterie compelled them to bid against each other, to secure at any cost the necessary supplies. Europeans following in their wake were generally compelled to pay the recognised tariffs, and hence the food market has become absurdly expensive, and, of course, the labour market (unless a new departure is made) will of necessity be on the same scale of charges, for no native will accept manual work when he can realise the same payment for produce which it costs him half the labour to produce. Much of the future success of these countries will therefore depend upon our initial re-adjustment of the scale of payments for local produce and labour. It is a matter which must be done at once, for it can never be done later, and the inauguration of the railway offers an exceptionally good opportunity. Much will also depend upon the early settlers.

I spoke just now of the encouragement which Government could give to the right sort of settlers. Let me add a few words in greater detail regarding the nature of that encouragement and the forms it might take. It is the cost of this encouragement which goes to form that initial capital outlay which we have postulated that it is advisable for Government to incur in order to assure the rapid and successful development of its great estate. The direct cost consists in providing means of transport, viz. a railway, and in the maintenance of an administration and police without at first raising an adequate revenue to defray its cost. The benefit to the settlers consists in the cheapening of transport to a point which will enable them to export their produce to the coast at rates which will leave a margin of profit, or to import the necessaries of life and the appliances of industry at a low cost. Also in the fact that they will enjoy safety to life and property under government administration without being taxed too heavily while still their plantations are yielding no returns. Government, on the one hand, encourages the development of the country, pending the not distant time when the railway will amply pay the cost of its working expenses, and interest on capital outlay, and the volume of imports and exports shall yield an adequate revenue in the shape of customs and duties. The Colonists, on the other hand, are enabled to tide over the first unremunerative period while bringing the land into cultivation, rearing stock, or erecting necessary appliances for artisan work. If the fiscal system were established on the basis of duties levied on exports while imports

passed with a nominal tariff, the burden would press lightly on the settlers during the years in which they had little to export and much to import, and would grow proportionately heavier as their exports increased and their imports diminished.

Possibly it may even be considered feasible by Government to afford a more direct aid in the initiation of the enterprise by granting loans to small capitalists on the security of their plant or stock. Agriculture can be assisted by forming experimental gardens for the cultivation of imported plants and trees of economic value, and the distribution of seeds or plants to such planters as may show a sufficient result of their industry in the extent of land brought under cultivation. Artisans could receive assistance by Government contracts on favourable terms for bricks, sawn timber, &c. Stock-rearers by similar contracts for meat, and by the services of the Government Veterinary establishments and so on. Government for some few years, we suppose, would be carried on at a loss, in spite of its gradually increasing revenues from customs, coinage, postage, &c. This loss forms the capital outlay on the Imperial estate. The prospective returns consist in the acquisition of a new market for our manufactures of every kind—especially cottons—and in the creation of a new field for the overflow of our unemployed agriculturists and artisans. It is absurd for me to draw out here in further detail the advantages of creating a new Colony. To me it has always seemed that the advantages to the Mother Country of Colonial expansion are greatest in the infancy of a Colony. As our possessions become gradually self-supporting they cease to afford the advantages which the Mother Country at first derived from them, and eventually they become our rivals. The great era of Colonial expansion, some three centuries ago, placed this country in a position of commercial supremacy in the world. Then followed a prolonged era of stagnation as regards Colonial expansion, and slowly our commercial supremacy has been menaced, and is slipping from us. India, for instance, has gradually developed from a customer to a rival, and instead of exporting raw material only, the output of her looms has now usurped to a great extent the markets where formerly Manchester had no rival not only within the limits of India itself but on the coast of Africa and elsewhere. It is only within the last few years that we have awakened to the fact that continued expansion is vital to our welfare, that new markets must be sought to replace old ones and that money spent in the development of these new markets is a national investment which will assuredly yield returns in the revival of trade.

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But it does not follow that the money invested in this national undertaking need, except in some few instances, be subscribed by the British tax-payer. If I understand Mr. Chamberlain's policy rightly, it is that in every possible case the Government shall invite the co-operation of private capital in the development of our Colonial possessions, by granting such concessions and facilities to companies or individuals as may induce them to employ their capital in throwing open our own possessions to British trade instead of investing it in foreign securities, or enterprise in foreign lands. This is an essential and vital part of the new scheme of Colonial development, and one which, I think, has been somewhat lost sight of by the press.

Simultaneously with the impulse towards expansion came the opportunities afforded by the opening up of Africa. And so it was that the nations of Europe embarked on a rivalry in that continent, and the attention of the civilised world became focussed on its hitherto little-known tracts, and in this rivalry for African Empire, promoted by commercial competition, some questions of a different nature came to the surface. The white races had overflowed into Africa for their own purposes and for their own gain, but the conscience of the civilised world found itself confronted with some problems not wholly or even primarily commercial. The first of these was the question of the slave trade, and at an early stage in the partition of Africa, the seventeen civilised Powers of the world met in conference for the first time in the world's history to discuss an object wholly unconnected with their own immediate advantage, prompted solely by the common bond of humanity. It was a novel and a grand experiment, and it stands to the credit of England that the Conference assembled at the instance of our Queen. Put in a nutshell, its conclusions were that the era for suppression by force at sea alone had passed with the appropriation of Africa by the nations of Europe; that upon each nation now devolved the responsibility of coping with the evil in its own protectorates, and that this could best be done by prohibiting the sale of arms to natives, and by rapidly opening up their territories to civilisation by facilitating communication by steam on land and water, and by establishing effective administration. Great Britain, who had led the way in this Conference, has not been behindhand in giving effect to its conclusions. Railway extension has been rapid in South Africa aided by Imperial funds. Railways are projected in Nyasaland, Sierra Leone, on the Gold Coast, in the Lagos Colony, and *at last* in British East Africa. Effective administration in the form of direct protectorates has been declared over Nyasaland, over

Uganda, and over all British East Africa. Gunboats have been placed (at Imperial cost) on Lake Nyasa and a steamer will soon be on Lake Victoria.

One thing, and but one, in my opinion remains, and it is intimately connected with the success of our latest possessions, for upon its determination will largely depend the labour market of the future. The one thing needful is that in no British protectorate should the status of slavery be recognised at law. The total abolition of domestic slavery in countries as yet but very partially brought under even the rudest form of administration is merely a "counsel of perfection," unattainable even if desirable. In Mohammedan countries such as Zanzibar, such sudden and forcible emancipation would, in my opinion, inflict much suffering on the majority of slaves; in some other countries, such as Somaliland, and some parts of Nyasaland we simply have not the power to do it. But in *all* we have the power to declare its non-recognition by law whether in British courts (and the recognition of slavery as a status is the fundamental principle which underlies half the work in the British courts in Zanzibar) or in native courts under our control. This has been done in India and in Cyprus, on the Gold Coast and Lagos Colonies, and in Nyasaland, in each case with beneficial results. Under this plan, freedom is obtainable by such slaves as desire it, and a free labour market is created, for slave labour and free labour can never exist side by side. No man has done more to check slavery than the present Prime Minister. It was under his last Government that the Brussels Conference assembled, it was he who placed the gunboats on Nyasa. No man since the time of Wilberforce has raised his voice in the House of Commons in such unswerving denunciation of slavery as the present Secretary for the Colonies. Under these auspices there is no room to doubt that this great step, recommended alike by its feasibility, its humanity, and its practical utility, will be achieved in the proper time.

Another such question—one still more closely connected with the development of British trade and influence in Africa—presents itself in the subject of the liquor traffic with the native races. Much has recently been said and written on this subject, especially in view of the fact that the projected railway development on the West Coast will (unless steps are taken to control and check the evil) enormously extend the area to which these poisonous spirits are supplied. The traffic is one which is suicidal to our own interests, for instead of exporting to Africa the hardware, cottons, &c. (which are in great demand), made in our own manufacturing centres, we



forego our own advantage in favour of the gin and rum; of which only a small fraction is made in England, and flood our Colonies with the products of foreign markets. All writers are, moreover, agreed that this poisonous liquor demoralises the native races. Other questions there are in abundance on which it would be most interesting to hear the views of those speakers who intend to take part in the discussion to which this paper is intended merely as a prelude, but in order that that discussion may not be curtailed, time forbids my dwelling upon them at any length.

Such a question is that of native taxation. I am inclined to think that the least difficult method of collecting such revenue would be somewhat as follows. Having selected a village chief, and ascertained how many small coteries of native huts recognised his authority, I would levy upon this community through the chief a certain monthly impost, assessed partly on its numerical strength or the number of huts, partly on the area of land assigned to it. The tax should be subject to yearly revision. This plan would be equally applicable to the Wa-Elgeyo and Wa-Kamasia tribes, whose huts are dotted about singly or in couples over the hill-sides, often at great intervals, or to the more densely populated districts of Kikuyu, Ukamba, and Kavirondo, and would be applicable to all the settled and wholly savage agricultural tribes of East Africa. For the nomad pastoral tribes, like the Masai and Wahuma, the tax would take the form of a monthly payment of so many head of cattle, and it would be extremely difficult at first to assess this payment. But in the case of the former it could be levied on the villages or encampments of the El-moruu, or old and married men, and in the case of the latter upon the more or less established villages which these cattle-tribes (unlike the Masai) maintain. Gradually as raiding became a thing of the past, and sections of these tribes became located in well-defined grazing limits, the difficulty would disappear. In Uganda and Usoga, where a fully organised system of chieftainships and sub-chieftainships obtains (the final authority in the former country being vested in the king), the collection of the tax would be much facilitated, but the unit for assessment (*viz.* the village) would remain as before.

Except in the first year or two, among the nomad pastoral tribes only, the tax should, in my opinion, be paid in money, not in kind. The collection of revenue in kind gives scope for extortion and fraud on the part of minor native officials. It is difficult and cumbrous, and entails the extra burden upon villages situated at a distance

from the administrative headquarters of having to carry heavy produce such as sweet-potatoes or bananas, long distances, and finally the produce itself is often difficult to dispose of, subject to deterioration, and, as a net result, brings but little relief to the finances of the administration. Payment in specie, on the other hand, assists materially in establishing a system of coinage. If all payment for labour and produce is made in coin, while facilities are simultaneously given for the immediate exchange of these coins for barter goods at fixed rates, so as to ensure confidence, and teach the native the invariable market value of the money, a large amount of specie would come into circulation. Those who, coming from distant villages, had not yet obtained the necessary coins for the payment of the tax, could be granted facilities for the sale of produce, or for engaging in labour to meet the Government's demand, and they would soon find out for themselves the methods which would involve less trouble in transport, &c., while by selling their produce in an open market all discontent as to its being under-valued for the purposes of taxation or of petty extortion would be prevented. In the early years of administration these taxes would be of course merely nominal, and as the advantages derived from a civilised administration—in security and in public works—became more pronounced, so would the taxation become somewhat more substantial, though in my view it should never be even remotely oppressive. Its advantages might indeed be rather indirectly than directly helpful to the revenue of the country, by bringing the officials into constant contact with the people, by necessitating an accurate knowledge of the size and location of all villages, by delegating responsibility to recognised village heads, and by exacting from all the recognised submission to the constituted authority, and inculcating the principle that they must themselves contribute to the expenses of the Rule under which they enjoy security.

Another interesting subject is the acquisition of land by natives in individual, as opposed to communal or tribal tenure. It would appear to be fair and just, that while setting aside certain areas as native reservations to be held in tribal tenure, and inalienable, individual natives should be encouraged to take up land for cultivation, holding it exactly on the same terms as Europeans, and subject to the same liabilities. Time forbids my discussing further either these or other similar problems which the subject of European control in Africa suggests.

It may, however, be useful if I add a few words regarding the

suitability of East Africa—the country I know best in Africa—for exploitation by Europeans, because it is to that country that our attention is naturally directed at the present time, since it is about to be the scene of a great national undertaking and two and a half millions of money are about to be expended in railway construction. Almost the whole of this vast country (some half million square miles) consists of a plateau varying from 5,000 to 10,000 feet in elevation above sea level. It enjoys therefore a delightful climate, and it has in addition a good rainfall, a fertile soil, and is well-watered and well timbered. Speaking in 1892 at various Chambers of Commerce and elsewhere in favour of the retention of this country when its fate was in the balance, the temptation was great to describe its advantages in glowing terms. But I feared to pronounce too favourably on its then little-known capabilities and climate; those, however, who have followed me in an official position—Sir Gerald Portal and Sir Henry Colville—have spoken in terms out of all comparison stronger than any ever used by myself, in the official reports and the volumes they have published.

The former states it in unqualified terms as his opinion that Kikuyu, Masailand, and Mau are adapted for European colonisation, while Colonel Colville goes further and describes these countries as “an earthly paradise,” and includes the high-lands of Singo (in Uganda) and the country of Toru and Ruwenzori in the further west as also fully adapted for colonisation by the white races. It would be easy to fill many sheets with the enthusiastic references of these writers, as well as of other credible and presumably impartial witnesses, such as Bishop Tucker and others. Portal, I may remark in passing, is no less emphatic in his views as regards the large amount of native labour available in the future, and the willingness of the East African native to work.

These views as regards possibilities of colonisation were endorsed by Sir John Kirk at the Geographical Congress, with the reservation that our statistical knowledge of the temperature, rainfall, &c., were at present too meagre to admit of very positive assertions. He based his conclusions on such scientific data as had already been acquired, more especially on the proportion of humidity contained in the atmosphere. He laid emphasis on the fact that the elevated plateaux suitable to European life were continuous and of great extent, not separated from each other by malarial tracts, and that they would be connected with the sea by a railway by means of which the less healthy coast zone could be rapidly traversed. [On this last point I have never ceased to lay the greatest stress myself.] Such local and

expert evidence we must accept as final. While personally agreeing with Sir John Kirk's verdict, I think that it is premature to discuss the question of colonisation properly so called. To my mind there is a vast difference, not only in degree but in kind, between European colonisation and European settlement. The latter must precede the former, and it is therefore with it that we have at present to deal. By "settlement," I mean the location of pioneers such as I have described as being of "the right sort," men like Mr. John Buchanan and his brothers in Nyasaland, whose example has produced a host of imitators, until we find to day a native chief owning and working a coffee plantation and adopting the white man's methods.

One word regarding the nature of African exports, and I will no longer trespass on your patience. In East Africa, as I have already inferred, the commercial staples will probably consist, as they now do in Nyasaland, of introduced products such as coffee, tobacco, superior kinds of rubber, cotton, and fibres, &c. All these are at present indigenous but of inferior quality. There are, of course, some indigenous products, such as ivory, rubber, various gums and drugs, gum-copal, and copra, &c., which are of considerable export value. But if Nyasaland may be taken as a precedent, and if coffee should prove as remunerative in East Africa as it has proved in that country, there is little doubt that it would become one of the chief commercial staples of the country. Its prospects would appear encouraging, for the railway will afford an even cheaper means of transport than obtains in Nyasaland; the soil is probably more fertile, the elevation and rainfall sufficient, and the chances of coffee disease, which has been singularly absent in Nyasaland, are no greater in the one protectorate than in the other. Coffee has moreover the advantage of being unaffected by the locust pest, for these insects will not touch the shrub, and indeed are, to a small extent, even beneficial by devouring the weeds in the plantations. Another introduced product which has established itself as a commercial staple in East Africa is the clove. Zanzibar has obtained a practical monopoly of the supply of this article, and the yearly exports from this little island are valued at about £188,579. It is not, therefore, unreasonable to assume that whatever the value of its indigenous products, the future prosperity of the country may be wholly independent of them, and will rely upon such new staples as coffee, cloves, cotton, tobacco, beet, jute, cocoa, or other articles of high export value as may be found most suited to the soil and climate, and therefore most remunerative. All that is required is that the infant protectorate should be nursed by the methods I have

indicated under a paternal government for a period of three or four years, until the land has been brought under cultivation, and the plantations have begun to yield returns. Government has already undertaken the necessary railway for transport, and if only such settlers are encouraged as will bring a little capital, and a great deal of energy and perseverance, into their ventures, I look forward to the not distant day when British East Africa will pay its own way, and afford a new and great field for the industry of the people of these islands.

In West Africa the methods of progress and development are different. There the oil-palm grows luxuriantly over the whole face of the country up to the eighth degree of latitude, and its nuts are gathered and crushed by the natives, and the oil exported in vast quantities. This constitutes the chief wealth of the country, reinforced by an abundance of excellent rubber, and the "butter" of the *shea* tree. Our possessions on this coast are among the richest and most productive in the world, but it is simply marvellous how little has been done to exploit the wealth of the country. The chief desiderata are railway communication with the interior and between the ports on this surf-beaten coast; the substitution of our own manufactures for the present demoralising traffic in foreign liquor; the formation of up-country stations away from the deadly malaria of the coast zone; and lastly, the importation of machinery for the crushing of the oil-nut, and for mining and other purposes. It seems incredible, but I can bear witness to the fact, that native cloth spun by hand in the most primitive loom it is possible to conceive, competes successfully in the market with Manchester cottons. The reason is that the import of cloth—superseded by liquor—is comparatively so small, and is limited, as a rule, to such inferior qualities, that the hand-made native cloths hold their own in the market. Thus, instead of drawing upon this great reserve for raw material in the shape of improved cotton (besides large untapped supplies of oil, rubber, &c.), and paying for it with the manufactured cloths produced at so little cost by our modern appliances and machinery, we are content to forego a great portion of the available exports by limiting our imports of cloth stuffs to a point far below the requirements of the people, and substituting for it a foreign made liquor to the demoralisation of our protected subjects and the detriment of our own trade. It is but just that I should add in respect of this liquor traffic that the Royal Niger Company have consistently and strenuously set their face against it. In nineteen-twentieths of their

territories liquor is prohibited entirely, while in the remaining twentieth the traffic has been reduced enormously.

I will quote one other instance of the apathy which has marked our dealings with this coast. A network of rivers and creeks intersect the coast-zone like the veins of a skeleton leaf. These would seem to offer conditions for rice cultivation not dissimilar to those which have made the delta of the Irrawaddy one of the main sources of supply of this grain to the world. Yet, so far from attempting its cultivation even for local needs, rice is shipped to-day from Rangoon to the West Coast of Africa for the food of coolies employed in European service. Or, to take another instance, I was informed, on what I am bound to consider the very best authority, that the rock which, running along the surface, forms the main street of one of the oldest and largest towns on the sea-shore of one of our West Coast Colonies, is itself one of the richest gold-bearing reefs in Africa. It is, of course, Crown property. Thus, although these Colonies and protectorates already yield a revenue more than sufficient for the somewhat cumbrous and expensive form of administration by which they are governed, and are capable of paying the entire cost of railway construction, &c., they have been, nevertheless, for many years undeveloped estates in respect of the greater part of their potential capacities. The minerals of this part of Africa have been hitherto almost entirely neglected. There is no doubt, whatever, that the Hinterland of the Gold Coast is a highly auriferous region, while silver and tin have been also found elsewhere. The natives are excessively keen traders, and some of them, like the great Hausa tribes, are comparatively civilised.

It is a notable defect in our conduct of affairs in West Africa that the study of the native languages has been totally neglected. A most abominable jargon of the Chinese pidgin-English type is in use between the Europeans and Europeanised natives, a jargon almost as difficult for an educated Englishman to acquire as for a native. It is, indeed, most rare to meet an official, of however long residence on the coast, who knows a word of any native dialect. A system of small bonuses for passing in the more widely spoken and useful languages, such as Yoruba and Hausa, would doubtless have the same useful effect that it has had in India, and the value of an officer whose duties lie in the interior would be very greatly enhanced by a knowledge of the language of the people with whom he had to deal. Invaluable work in this direction is being done by the Hausa Association, to whose council I have the honour to belong, in promoting a study of this tongue, which is the *lingua*

*franca* of West Central Africa, and is spoken intermittently by tribes ranging from the Mediterranean to the Gulf of Guinea.

Of South African development I have said nothing, for it depends mainly on the out-put of gold, and there is no one I presume in this room who knows less of the prospects of South African gold-mines than I do. The Cape Colony has already passed into the category of self-governing dependencies, in which such social and economic problems as may arise are dealt with by the local legislature, and with such this paper is not concerned. The disposal of such questions has but a reflex action on the less advanced countries of which I have spoken. The question of Asiatic immigration in Natal, and the difficulties which the Glen-Grey Act (with regard to native reservations and taxation) is designed to overcome, are subjects which may with advantage be studied in the initiation of our rule in countries where the like problems will assuredly in course of time present themselves, and it is for this reason that I have argued that the Minister of State who has traced from their infancy to maturity such possessions as the Cape and Natal, has seen where mistakes have been made and how in future they may be avoided, should be the Minister who should deal with our protectorates throughout the continent—so to speak *ab ovo*—once they have emerged from the initial “sphere of influence” and become included under the administration of the Crown.

There are in South and South Central Africa, however, large British possessions which have not yet attained even to the very beginnings of development, such as Ngamiland and all that vast area north of the Zambesi up to the Lake Tanganyika, known as North Charterland. To these, especially to the latter—the questions I have very briefly alluded to apply, for it has yet been unin-  
vaded by white settlers, and it remains to be seen whether it ever will be found suitable for colonisation proper. [It is possible that before long I may find myself in this part of Africa—as yet wholly new to me—where a new set of conditions will offer a new field for study and experience.] In Africa, then, in brief I see vast opportunities for the extension of British industry and trade; in the East by judicious European settlement, and the introduction of commercial staples under the superintendence of a man whose heart is in his work; in the West, by the more thorough exploitation of the natural resources of the country and the location of administrative centres in the more healthy interior. In both the future prosperity of the country will largely depend on the right handling

of those side questions which, though primarily humanitarian, are closely connected with labour supply and trade.

#### DISCUSSION.

The Right Hon. Lord STANMORE, G.C.M.G.: I have been requested to commence the discussion, and as one who has long felt a warm interest in the development of that part of the British sphere of Africa with which Captain Lugard's name is more immediately connected, and as one who has taken a part, though a modest part, in the parliamentary discussions on the subject, I am glad to respond to the invitation. As Captain Lugard has told you, the subject of British influence in Africa is indeed a vast one; in speaking on it, it is difficult to know where to begin or where to stop. But I may perhaps note some of the salient points of the paper read, as a preliminary to subsequent discussion. But first, before I deal with the lecture, a word about the lecturer. I think those of you, if there be such present, who have not previously read what Captain Lugard has written or heard what he has had to say, must have been struck with the paper they have heard this evening, which I am sure they will all admit may be ranked as above the average of such productions. They will also have felt that the reader of that paper is a man of no ordinary mark. You may associate a long time with Captain Lugard without learning from him that he has done anything remarkable or seen anything very strange. It would, I know, be most distasteful to him were I in his presence to recall to your notice acts of his which are known to many, or refer to other acts perhaps less known but not less striking. I will only say that before I ever had the pleasure of any acquaintance with Captain Lugard, before I had ever seen him, from the perusal of what he had written and the examination of what he had done I perceived he was one of those rare men—there are not too many of them—who have that wonderful power, I will not say of holding under control men of savage or semi-civilised races—for that may be done by force and harshness, or by diplomatic persuasion and trickery—but of inspiring such men to trust him, and work out themselves in their own way the objects which he wishes to be accomplished. That opinion, which I formed of your lecturer long before I ever made his acquaintance, has not been changed, but strengthened since I have had the honour of knowing him. Passing now from the lecturer to the lecture,



perhaps the most startling and novel suggestion it made was that of a new Secretary of State for Africa. Captain Lugard did not suggest that was to be immediately done. We are not to see it in the *Gazette* next Friday, but merely to look to it as a suggestion for the future. No doubt it is a highly suggestive proposal. It brings home to one the fact that not impossibly—I am even sanguine enough to say probably even within the lives of some of us—we may see in Africa a great Empire administered by Britain which may bear some comparison to the great Indian Empire on the other side of the ocean. When that time arrives, undoubtedly it will not only merit but need the sole attention of a Minister of State just as India does. Meanwhile, I think it is quite right that public attention should be directed to the question on which Captain Lugard guardedly but distinctly touched, namely, the anomalous position of the British Protectorates in Africa. Why, there is a Protectorate—at least what is called one—down in Nyasaland, which I defy anyone to distinguish from a Colony. There is no sovereign to be protected—there are not even organised tribal governments to be protected. There is a Commissioner there who makes laws, they are called Regulations, whereas in a Colony they would be called Ordinances, but they are just as binding. That Colony is under the control of the Foreign Office. On the other side of the Indian Ocean lies the Malay Peninsula, in which are various states under British protection. There, in each of those states, there is a very real Rajah and a very real native government, directed by a British Resident; but those Protectorates, which are ten times more independent than Nyasaland, are under the Colonial Office. States which are still states and are only protected are under the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Protectorate, which is virtually a Colony, is under the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. It is enough to mention so strange a position of things to show that there should be some alteration in it. Another salient point in the paper was what Captain Lugard said about the policy which had been enunciated by the present Secretary for the Colonies. What he said produced a cheer from you, and I am sure it is not only in this hall but in every Colony of the Empire, and not only in every Colony of the Empire but through the greater part of the British Empire, that that feeling will be responded to. By none will it be responded to more heartily than by those old servants of the Crown who have laboured wearily for many a long year to bring about such a consummation—who have looked forward to seeing that realised at home which they had

realised themselves, namely, that these Colonies were in the nature of undeveloped property, which possessed almost boundless resources, only waiting for aid, only waiting for capital to be employed, but who were always damped and discouraged by the exceedingly frigid reception which such views met with at home. I will only add one point to what Captain Lugard has said on that subject. He has said that these words of Mr. Chamberlain about the "undeveloped" estate of the Empire have had a great effect. I was one of a deputation who waited upon Mr. Chamberlain last week about quite other subjects, but in the course of his reply he said what I never heard in Downing Street before, and what I am sure most of those who have had much to do with Downing Street have much wished to hear there. He said, "I look upon it as one of the first duties of the Secretary of State to give a *speedy decision* on every question that is brought before him." On one point I do not altogether agree with Captain Lugard, though I agree in the main. I agree in the principle that for native taxation a tax in money is ultimately a better thing than a tax in kind; but I cannot think with him that a year or two is a sufficient time to allow such a change to be brought about. It is quite true that the collection of a tax in kind opens the door to much abuse on the part of native officials; but has he considered, or does he know, what are the abuses to which a too sudden imposition of a tax in money leads? I know and have seen them. Of course if a money tax is exacted from those who have no money, the coin required becomes, so to speak, an article of merchandise. Taxpayers must produce upon a certain day a certain coin. They have no means of getting that coin except at such a rate as they may purchase it at. It is to them an article of purchase, and I have known it the habitual practice of traders to go round before the tax day with a bag of shillings: they would give a shilling to the native to pay his tax with, telling him that he would have to give him, the trader, for his kindness, all the produce of a certain kind—say all the cocoanuts he might have in the next year. That was the practice in some places that I am acquainted with, where the shillings were habitually sold for—I will not say hundreds of times their value, but—thousands of times their value. Therefore, while it is true that the collection of taxes in kind does produce abuse, it is also true that, if forced too early, the collection of taxes in money will produce greater and more serious abuses. It is much the same with regard to what Captain Lugard has said as to native land. It is desirable natives should learn to become individual

possessors of land, but the right of individual ownership involves the individual right of alienation, and the temptations which are put in the way of natives to alienate are too great very often for them to resist. They will sell improvidently, and are delighted with the facilities which mortgaging affords them for raising money. Consequently they soon lose all their land. Now, among races which are rapidly dying out, whatever we may think of it morally, it is of no great practical importance. But if anything like that comes to pass among the natives of Africa, who are exceedingly prolific, or among the populations of Asia, which are not decreasing, you will come in time to have a large proletariat population of men who have no interest in the soil which once belonged to them or their forefathers, and who will then form a most discontented, troublesome, and dangerous class in the community.

Sir CLAUDE MACDONALD, K.C.M.G. (Niger Coast Protectorate): The Chairman has called upon Sir Claude MacDonald, and as I am certain 95 per cent. of the people in this room have not the remotest idea who he is, I will tell them. I was appointed by Her Majesty as Commissioner to the Niger Coast Protectorate. I may as well say that the Protectorate is mainly peopled by cannibals, and therefore my post is not altogether an easy one. I would like to draw attention to a subject that has occupied the press and the platform for some little time, and upon which Captain Lugard has touched this evening, and that is the liquor traffic. There are other ways of looking at this question than this one. In this morning's *Times* extracts from the annual report of the Governor of Lagos are published. The *Times* says that on the subject of the abuse of spirits by the native population, the report takes the usual "official attitude." I am afraid my few remarks will also partake of that attitude. The Governor says only three cases of drunkenness are reported, and to this fact the following comment is appended:—"Considering that in the island of Lagos alone the population is over 88,000, this clearly proves that drunkenness in this part of Africa is uncommon, and that there is insufficient evidence for the contention which is advanced that the native is being ruined by what is so often spoken of as the heinous gin traffic; it is a well-known fact by those in a position best able to judge by long residence that the inhabitants of this country have a natural repugnance to intemperance." In my little army are some 450 men, mostly Mahomedans, and I can say, speaking as a soldier, that the behaviour of these men is excellent—that, though the barracks are

within a short distance of three native towns, drunkenness is rare and military offences are very little known. They come from the Yoruba country, at the back of Lagos, which is stated to be flooded with gin, and, notwithstanding, I am bound to say that a cleaner, smarter, or more sober body of native soldiers it would be difficult to find. They give far less trouble, so far as drink goes, than would a body of British soldiers in similar circumstances. I cannot speak of other parts of Africa, though I have been over one or two of them; but with regard to the Niger Coast Protectorate I may be permitted to speak with some little authority. There are, I submit, worse evils in the world than drunkenness. Some of these have been for ages, and still are, customs in my country—cannibalism, human sacrifice, ordeal by poison (this last alone claims many hundred victims yearly), killing of twins, who are almost always destroyed and the mother put to death. There are inter-tribal wars, attended with the usual horrors of killing and eating; the traffic in slaves, and the general rule that might is right, and the oppression of the weak by the strong. To endeavour to make head against these things a strong and independent administration is necessary, and to maintain that administration a revenue is necessary. If you could do away with the liquor traffic entirely—mind you, I am not defending the traffic for one moment—if you could give the traffic up entirely, and get a sufficient revenue from any other source, I for one would be exceedingly glad. This much to be desired end is, so far as I can see, at present, I regret to say, impossible. Now this is a subject that touches ourselves. It has been stated the account of drunkenness in these regions is greatly exaggerated, and that the African for sobriety compares favourably with his white brother. Two wrongs don't make a right, but if anybody says that is not the case I beg strongly to differ. For the first three days after my return I saw more disgraceful scenes and more drunkenness than I saw in the thirteen years I was in Africa. Another point. It must be remembered that the export of palm oil, which is the staple and, I regret to say, at present the only export in the Protectorate, is a trade of many years' standing—some forty years—and that the import of gin is a trade of some considerable antiquity. It has unfortunately formed the staple import in these regions for upwards of a century. To endeavour to do away with that trade by a stroke of the pen would do more harm than good, and defeat the aims of the philanthropically inclined—in fact, the aims of us all, because, for myself, I yield to no one in my desire for the welfare of the native races. What, therefore, I wish to impress upon people

who are interested is this—by all means do away with the liquor traffic, but do away with it gradually and by slow degrees, for that, I am sure, is the proper way of setting to work.

Colonel F. CARDEW, C.M.G., Governor of Sierra Leone: I agree with much that has fallen from the lecturer, to whom we are so much indebted for giving us this opportunity of discussing the many interesting subjects contained in his paper; but there are one or two points in which I do not quite follow him. It is very possible, I admit, that we may have a Secretary for Africa, but to work our African possessions as one indivisible whole, on a common financial basis, and on similar lines to those of our Indian Empire would be a course attended with many practical difficulties. In India there is a common fiscal basis; the provinces are under one central Government; they are, moreover, contiguous to one another, and there is free and rapid inter-communication between them. In Africa it is very different. There our Colonies and Protectorates are separated by extensive territories in the occupation of foreign Powers, and therefore we cannot have the same facilities for inter-communication as exist in India, nor can there be a common fiscal basis, for the customs duties of each Colony have to be arranged according to the conditions which surround it, and the tariffs of the neighbouring powers. The lecturer has said that in India the revenues are apportioned according to the respective needs of the provinces, and suggested that a similar course might be adopted for the Colonies and Protectorates of Africa; but to take from the funds of one Colony to pay another would be most unpopular and unjust to the Colony thus deprived. I consider it should always be a governing principle that the revenues of a State should be devoted exclusively to the welfare of the people of that State; and though some of our Colonies may be rich in resources and have overflowing exchequers, the time is coming when, I think, it will be found that they will need all the funds they possess for the development of their respective hinterlands. The lecturer touched upon the labour question, and that is a serious one on the West Coast. Labour there is expensive, relatively speaking. In Freetown a labourer gets 1s. a day or 20s. a month, some may be got at 15s. a month, but that is about the lowest. For instance, labourers for the Congo are engaged for £1 a month, and I believe are fed besides. Not only is labour relatively expensive, but the native trader expects high profits; the consequence is that many natural products formerly largely exported cannot compete with similar articles produced by cheaper labour elsewhere. For instance, ground nuts, in which there used

to be an extensive trade on the West Coast, have almost ceased to be exported in consequence of the rivalry of India. Sierra Leone rice, which is the most nutritious in the world, and which has been increasingly produced by the cultivation of the mangrove swamps, cannot compete with Indian rice on account of the high price of labour and the high profits traders desire. The slave traffic, I am glad to say, has ceased in all the West Coast Colonies, and there is no recognition by law of rights in slaves. To declare a general act of manumission would, I think, be impolitic and inexpedient, and would entail considerable injustice and suffering, both to masters and slaves; but with the prohibition of the bartering, selling, and transferring of slaves, the institution of domestic slavery will, I have no doubt, before long die out of itself. As to the liquor traffic, I can fully endorse all the lecturer has said so far as my knowledge goes. Unfortunately, a large proportion of the revenues of the West Coast Colonies is derived from duties on spirits; in Sierra Leone one third of the revenue is so derived. If no foreign Colonies existed beside ours, and if there were therefore no competition, it would be an easy matter to gradually raise the duty on spirits till at last they became actually prohibitive to the native, and this could probably be effected without loss to the Government if in the meantime stimulus were given to trade in other articles of commerce; but our Colonies have side by side with them those of France, Germany, &c., and it appears to me quite impracticable except by concerted action with these Powers to effect the total abolition of the traffic. I believe our Government is already engaged in trying to effect this object, and as Great Britain was the first to take the initiative amongst the Powers in putting down the slave traffic, so she now holds the same honourable position with respect to the abolition of the liquor traffic. I have conversed with many merchants on this subject. They do not care for liquor as an article of commerce. It is more or less an unremunerative one to the British merchants, and, as Captain Lugard has said, the money realised goes largely into the pockets of foreigners. It is an article, I suppose, that engages, relatively speaking, fewer men in its manufacture and manipulation than other articles, such as hardware, furniture, and clothing, and I feel convinced, if you would take away from the natives the liquor, other wants would be created and they would purchase other articles which would be far more remunerative to the British merchant. With regard to native taxation, the system suggested by Captain Lugard may possibly be best for East Africa, but from an abstract point of view anything in the nature of a poll tax seems to

me oppressive and unequal. If collected by the chiefs it is essentially so, and if by the Government it would still bear the character, though perhaps to a less degree. Imposts on land are preferable but the adjustment would be an expensive process, as the land would have to be surveyed, however roughly, and this would require a staff of surveyors. I am inclined to favour an annual house or hut tax, and I think it would be applicable to most parts of Africa. It works well in Zululand and Natal. When first introduced in Zululand, the natives for the first two years or so were allowed to pay in kind, and the result was not such as Lord Stanmore experienced in other places, for very soon the natives were able to pay in coin. The young men would go to Natal and the gold-fields and work for the money. With regard to the liability of natives, owing to their ignorance of the value of coins, being imposed on by Europeans, I may mention that the florin was known in Zululand under the name of "Scotchman," owing, it is said, to its having been passed on the Zulus as a half-crown. It is delightful to hear such glowing accounts of the salubrity and fertility of the Highlands of East Africa. This testimony was confirmed to me only yesterday by a broker in a large way in the City, who said that Arabian coffee grown in the Highlands of Shiré could compete with the finest coffee in the world. But I may mention that, though we are perhaps the greatest coffee producers in the world, the work of the preparation of coffee for the market will pass away from us unless we look out. In Hamburg I am informed that large coffee mills have recently been set up that far exceed in capacity anything we have, and if this is the case a large proportion of the coffee must be drawn to that port. As regards European settlement or colonisation, this is not possible for West Africa, owing to the insalubrity of the climate, notwithstanding that there is elevated ground in the interior, rising to 5,000 and 6,000 feet; but when the time comes for settling up the hinterlands of the West Coast Colonies there will not be wanting negro settlers from Sierra Leone, the West Indies, and even the United States. Intelligent negro immigrants of the farmer and artisan classes would be well adapted for developing the resources of the interior countries and spreading civilisation amongst the aborigines. As regards native industries, there is a considerable trade in native-made cloth, a large quantity of which finds its way to the coast; but I think that is owing to its inherent good qualities and suitability to the climate. Of course the great staple products of West Africa are palm nuts and oil. Captain Lugard says great need exists for machinery to crush the nuts. At present, in the interior, the nuts are cracked one by one on

a flat stone with another in the hand. The process is very laborious and tedious, and it takes a woman the whole day to fill with kernels an empty gin box; but the machinery should not be of a bulky nature, but small, so as to be easily transported and worked by hand. At present, owing to the difficulty of transport, bulky machines can only be set up on the coast, and in the only one which I believe is in use on the West Coast the difficulty is to keep it supplied with sufficient nuts for it to crack, owing to want of facilities for transport; so efforts should be made to introduce light hand machines into the country, machines which would crack the nuts, say, ten or a dozen times faster than is done under the present system; and if at the same time such a machine could be made so as to separate nuts from the kernels in the process, I am convinced the inventor would quickly make his fortune. There is one agency which has done more perhaps than any other for the development of the British Possessions. That is the pioneer work of the missionaries—of such men as Livingstone and Moffatt. I put aside the spiritual aspect of such work, and am looking merely at its economic advantages to a State. Missionaries are usually active agents in teaching industrial work amongst the natives, and creating within them new habits and desires, all of which tend to the increase of commerce. In the missionary enterprises of to-day the necessity of teaching the native some industry whereby he can obtain his livelihood after conversion is more and more recognised. Far in the interior of Sierra Leone some American missionaries are doing a most useful work in opening up the country to trade. They are giving many of the aborigines industrial training and teaching them a better system of husbandry. I feel convinced that that Government is wise that will foster and encourage missionary efforts for the sake not only of the spiritual advantages, but also the temporal. Mr. Rhodes gave free access to missionaries of all denominations into Mashonaland when that country was first taken over by the Chartered Company, and thereby I consider he showed his wisdom and statesmanship.

Mr. GEORGE S. MACKENZIE: The speakers who so far have taken part in this discussion are all officers of the Government who have held or now hold office under the Colonial Office. I speak as a merchant who has no connection with any Government department. As we have heard a great deal about the Colonial Office, I will at this late hour confine a few brief remarks to my experience of the Foreign Office during the time I was connected with the British East Africa Company. My remarks will refer to British



East Africa exclusively, being the only portion of Africa I am personally acquainted with. I refer to the requirements of to-day in that Protectorate, and not to what may be found necessary in the next generation, who, I have no doubt, will be very well able to take care of themselves. I do not attach the same importance Captain Lugard apparently does to the question whether the affairs of our East African Protectorate would be better controlled by the Colonial than the Foreign Office. Captain Lugard, no doubt, has a wider experience of Africa than I possess ; but, with all due deference to him, I claim a more intimate knowledge of the negotiations relating to our East African Protectorate than he can. Although I neither approve of the policy of the Foreign Office nor the methods adopted by them in setting aside the Chartered Company, still I am bound to say there never was any apparent desire or intention on the part of the Foreign Office to abandon any portion of the territory that had been at any time occupied by the British East Africa Company. Even if controlled by the Colonial Office they would not and could not have done better as regards retention of the territory. The difficulties were not departmental, but arose out of the subject having been made a party question in the House of Commons. If such questions could be placed beyond the range of party politics similar inconveniences would, I believe, be avoided, whether they were handled by the one office or the other. Now, as regards the establishment of an African Council, one might as well compare the crude outlines by the youngest beginner with the finished pictures of the President of the Royal Academy, as to compare the India Council with that of the proposed Council for Africa. The one deals with a country of ancient civilisation and a perfect organisation, while the other is not only wholly undeveloped, but largely unexplored. In Africa I maintain the changes must be so rapid and so great that, however talented and experienced an officer may be, in but a year or two his experiences will become obsolete. To establish such a Council, therefore, exercising a controlling influence over the local executive in matters of detail, would in my opinion prove absolutely harmful. Had the telegraph existed in the days of Clive and the other great statesmen who founded our Indian Empire, the India of to-day would certainly not be what it is. In Africa, so far as the administration is concerned, the best thing to be done is to appoint reliable local officers and leave them to work out their plans in their own way, merely defining the general policy to be pursued and the calls that may be made by them on the Imperial Treasury. The graver questions that claim

consideration are : how to secure these new fields for the benefit of our home manufacturers, and how to compete successfully with our energetic and State subsidised foreign rivals ? This, I believe, can best be done by improving our means of transport, by solving the difficulties of the labour question, and by encouraging British capitalists to exploit and develop the resources of the country. A railway from the coast to the Nile, and a good trunk cart road, intersecting the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and leading to the principal harbours, are undoubtedly a first necessity. The only revenue at present available on the East Coast is that derivable from customs duties, which, though rapidly growing, are in the meantime insufficient to meet the cost of a proper administration. The executive, therefore, unless provided with the means, find themselves unable to proceed with such public works as will best insure the desired development of the territory. A modest Zanzibar loan, guaranteed by our Government, might very well be raised at three per cent., and the money be at disposal of the local executive, when they can show to the satisfaction of the Treasury that the capital will be applied to such reproductive works as will insure regular payment of interest and a sinking fund to repay the principal within a reasonable time. The labour question, I do not believe, can ever be satisfactorily settled in Zanzibar so long as the status of slavery is recognised by the Government. I entirely agree with what Captain Lugard said regarding sudden and wholesale emancipation being undesirable. It is unnecessary. The application of the Act applied in India for the suppression of slavery there would work similarly in Africa, and might, I am convinced, be immediately applied without dislocating the labour market. These are the measures of assistance we ask from our Government ; but there is much that our missionary societies and manufacturers can do to help themselves as well as the Administration. The missionaries, instead of confining their energies to teaching the natives the higher branches of education, should establish industrial centres, where the native lads would be taught various trades, and so become useful members of the community. Our manufacturers have much to learn from our intelligent and eager foreign competitors, who make a close study of the native requirements and adapt their looms to the special markets they lay themselves out to capture. With every desire to foster home industries, and willing though I am to give our manufacturers every preference, I find myself frequently compelled to place the orders of my firm abroad, because, after sending samples to Manchester and elsewhere, I am informed

the goods are of foreign make, and people seem unwilling to lay themselves out for a trade which has not as yet grown sufficiently to induce them to attempt at once to secure it. These, to my mind, are questions of immediate and graver importance than the establishment of an African Council in Downing Street, subject to the control either of the Foreign or the Colonial Office.

Mr. T. J. ALDRIDGE (District Commissioner, Sherbro): One of the great advantages which attach to Fellowship of this Institute is the privilege of listening to papers upon subjects of vital importance connected with the advancement of our Colonies, brought forward in a manner intelligible to all, by men who have gained practical knowledge from personal experience. I propose, in the few minutes at my disposal, to limit my remarks to one of the British Possessions on the West Coast of Africa, which Captain Lugard has stated to be "among the richest and most productive in the world," adding "that it is simply marvellous how little has been done to exploit the wealth of the country." The West African possession to which I now invite your attention is that part of Sierra Leone known as the Sherbro district. With this Colony I have been connected just within a quarter of a century, and, having travelled over its entire hinterland, I am in a position to show what has been accomplished by British influence during late years. In the first instance let me say how ardently I wish that I could adequately put before you the very remarkable transformation that has been effected by the Government during the last seven years. Before that time the hinterland was entirely unexplored and could not with safety be penetrated, owing to the native feuds, which were in reality slave raids, that were carried on practically without intermission, as they appear to have been from time immemorial. This disastrous state of things has become, I am happy to say, a matter of ancient history. The recent interior policy which Her Majesty's Government has so efficiently carried out has entirely put an end to local wars. In that large tract of country, the Sherbro, not long since more notorious perhaps than any other for slave raids and war parties, friendly treaties have been concluded and maintained with all the paramount chiefs in the Upper Mendi country, the remote hinterland of the Sherbro. By these treaties the chiefs have bound themselves to cease from all war within the sphere of British influence, and have undertaken to open and keep open the trunk roads into the furthest interior, thus rendering the country safe for travelling and trade. I am quite satisfied that the chiefs clearly understand the obligations which they have taken

upon themselves, and are sensible of the advantages they derive from being under British influence, and these chiefs have frequently requested the Government to station frontier police within their districts to assist in maintaining order. The Colony is therefore to-day in a state of unprecedented tranquillity, and the people have frequently expressed to me their thanks to the Government for that feeling of security to life and property which they now for the first time enjoy. When the wars were going on they never knew how soon a raid would take place. These raids would drive them to seek refuge at great distances from their homes, so that, as they said themselves, they did not care to cultivate their ground, as they never knew who was going to eat their crops. They now feel their ground is worth their attention and that they have a permanent location. When I first went through this country six years ago, on the termination of the last big war, I found great areas, over which the war had spread, devastated and depopulated. Upon my visit in December last no signs of the ravages of war were to be seen. The country was thickly populated; the people who had been driven away had returned, and many strangers had come with them; all the old towns had been rebuilt and several new ones added. I was struck by the great amount of land under cultivation. Rice, cassava, guinea-corn and cus-cus, which are the principal articles of consumption among the up-country people, were then ready for harvesting. This profusion was a sight I had never witnessed before, and was in striking contrast to the famines of previous years. On my remarking on the very abundant harvest the people always assured me that this year they would have plenty to eat. I found also that the limits of trading operations had considerably extended. Some of the chiefs on the Upper Kittan river informed me that I should be much surprised as I proceeded at the number of traders I should meet, entrusted with "big money," that is, large stocks of merchandise, even in small villages where trading was formerly unknown and indeed impossible before Governmental intervention and protection. The trade, with the exception of foreign spirits, was almost entirely in British goods. It must be remembered, however, that this keen trading competition was being carried on within fifty miles of the coast-line, which, for reasons I am about to mention, is at present as far inland as British trade can penetrate. The Sherbro district is by far the most productive part of the Colony of Sierra Leone. Its wealth of natural product is enormous. Its great staple is the oil-palm, which here flourishes in the greatest luxuriance. It is absolutely indigenous, demanding

no care from man, yet it never fails to produce its two crops a year. Other natural products are the rubber vine, found with all big vegetation throughout this district, and the cam-wood tree, here attaining very large dimensions, grows in abundance throughout the whole of Mendiland, at the back of Sulima and Mano Salija, the limit of our Colony upon the coast-line. One great barrier, and one alone, prevents the utilisation for commercial purposes of the vast natural resources of the Sherbro hinterland: that barrier is the difficulty of transport. At present it takes at least thirty men to carry down a ton of palm kernels to the nearest trading centre. The value of this ton of kernels is £8 in barter. The expenses attending the transport of produce are very heavy, and would in themselves prohibit the native traders from extending their operations further inland. It is therefore evident that the produce can only be worked within a limited area, leaving the more distant parts of the hinterland, as I have myself frequently seen, absolutely untouched. Sherbro has now been worked, both for the exportation of its own produce and the importation of European merchandise, as far inland as the primitive means of transport permit. We are in fact now at a standstill; nor can we proceed with the development of the country until railway communication is established. Without increased facility of transport, not only must the unworked products of the country continue to be wasted, but fresh markets (as to the success of which there can be no doubt were there a railway) must remain unopened to our own British manufactures. With a railway, markets might at once be extended to, say, 150 miles from the coast. In fact, I believe that the Sherbro, if vigorously worked, would prove one of the richest places on the West Coast. It is eminently popular with all the tribes; it is their favourite trading centre. There must be some hundreds of Sierra Leone native traders at work within the district, including numbers of women who travel long distances to collect the kola nut. They are wonderfully keen traders, always ready to push forward wherever Government has rendered trading safe and where they can find means of transport. In the Sherbro district alone there is ample scope for much private enterprise. As regards Captain Lugard's remarks on the climate of the hinterland and its suitability for European settlers, such altitudes as those he has mentioned I have never met with in the Sherbro hinterland, the mountains there scarcely exceeding 3,000 feet. I have, however, always found that my own health greatly improved as I left the malarious coast-line for the interior, and that the further

inland I went the better seemed the climate and the healthier the people. It is greatly due to the exertions of H.E. Colonel Cardew, Governor of Sierra Leone, during his lengthened tours throughout the hinterland, that the pacification of the country has been attained, and the Government put in possession of a large amount of valuable information. During his administration the slave trade has become practically obsolete. As for that burning question of the day, the liquor traffic with the native races, upon which I will not venture to state my own opinion, he is I know, giving it earnest consideration which we hope will shed fresh light on this complex problem, and assist in its satisfactory solution. No one interested in Colonial affairs can, I am satisfied, have read the recent utterances of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr Chamberlain, on the development of the West Coast of Africa, without feeling that a genuine interest has at last been aroused in regard to our long-neglected West African possessions.

Mr. H. R. FOX-BOURNE : I do not propose to continue the discussion at this late hour, but I cannot forbear thanking Captain Lugard for his able paper, and especially for his statesmanlike, humane, and generous remarks on the native liquor question.

The CHAIRMAN : I rise not for the purpose of continuing the discussion at this late hour of the evening, but to say how greatly indebted we are to Captain Lugard for the exceedingly able and suggestive paper which he has read to us. I am sure that we all listened to it with unabated interest, for the numerous questions and suggestions which it disclosed were of a nature to attract and to keep our attention throughout. It would be useless for me at this hour to attempt to begin any review either of the contents of the paper or of what has been said by Lord Stanmore and the other gentleman who followed him in the discussion. It has been, I think, an interesting discussion, and we are much obliged to all those who were good enough to take part in it and to favour us with their views and opinions on some, at all events, of the subjects touched upon in the paper. But there is no time for me to do more now than ask you to join with me in a hearty vote of thanks to Captain Lugard for his very able and valuable paper.

Captain LUGARD : I thank you heartily for having listened to me so patiently, and I thank Lord Stanmore and others for their more than kind remarks about myself and the paper I have read. At so late an hour I dare only trespass on your patience with the very briefest of remarks in reply to some of the speakers who have joined

in the discussion. With regard to the subject of an African department, I would like to point out that this was a forecast of the more or less distant future, and not by any means suggested as being immediately feasible, more especially as regards the idea of a common financial basis for all African possessions, of which no one more than myself sees the almost insuperable difficulties. I did not suggest a Viceroy for Africa, as Colonel Cardew would seem to hint, but merely a segregation, at some future time, into a new department at home of the questions at present dealt with by the Colonial and Foreign Offices, nor did I for one moment suggest an African Council such as Mr. Mackenzie assumes I advocated. As regards Sir Claude MacDonald's argument that to check such abuses as cannibalism, &c., an administration is necessary, and for an administration a revenue, and for a revenue the liquor traffic, I would urge that in a British Protectorate it is right that the British Government should deal with abuses, as may be feasible, but not by perpetuating one abuse to put down others, nor do I admit that the only way of raising a revenue is by the sale of spirits: on the contrary, I maintain that this traffic tends to the ultimate stagnation of trade. I have great pleasure in asking you to join with me in a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Henry Bulwer for taking the chair to-night, and I greatly regret that the length to which the discussion has been protracted has prevented us from hearing the remarks which he had intended to make on the subject of this evening's discussion.

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An Afternoon Meeting was held in the Library of the Institute on Tuesday, November 26, 1895, at 4.30 p.m., S. Vaughan Morgan, Esq., a Member of the Council, in the Chair, when Mr. W. S. Sebright Green read a Paper on

COLONISATION, AND EXPANSION OF THE  
EMPIRE.

[ABSTRACT.<sup>1</sup>]

THE object of my paper is to bring forward for consideration and discussion the question of How the Expansion of the Empire and the Realm of Greater Britain can be utilised as a field for labour for such of our surplus population as are able and willing to work without proving an evil to our Colonies by overstocking the labour market.

The question of finding employment for our ever-increasing population is one that demands consideration, more and more, as the numbers of the unemployed increase, whilst the sources of employment which formerly sufficed for the population of the United Kingdom do not increase in like proportion.

Agriculture, which in the earlier part of the century was the principal source of employment for our rural population, is no longer able to afford scope for remunerative labour to those who are seeking it, and it is difficult to see how, under the present system, the cultivation of the soil can ever again be made to yield the threefold income which it did fifty years ago.

Rent to the owner, profit to the tenant farmer, and a living wage to the labourer are relics of the past, except in rare cases where the tenant employing a large amount of capital is able to utilise a large amount of labour.

The area of Great Britain is not large enough in the present time to provide profitable labour for its inhabitants, nor can we expect that more thorough cultivation will so alter this state of things as to provide new fields of labour copious enough to give employment to the whole of our population in the future.

The troubles which arise from thoughtless, reckless emigration to places where there is no actual demand for labour are not likely to arise from colonisation systematically carried out.

Those who go out to colonise—that is, to bring the land under

<sup>1</sup> A copy of the paper itself is preserved in the Library, and is always available for reference.



cultivation, in order to obtain their living from it—do not compete with others for wages ; on the contrary, they become producers ; and if they do not in all cases actually assist in creating a larger demand for labour to till the soil, they do, at all events, become consumers of English manufactured goods, and provide fresh markets for them.

Those who are acquainted with our Colonies and who know something of the value of the millions of acres of land, idle for want of culture, in various parts of the Empire believe that systematic colonisation conducted on a scale worthy of this great nation is one means of giving employment to our surplus population as well as of utilising some of the unemployed capital of this country for the benefit of our surplus population and for the welfare of the whole nation.

One of my suggestions is that a large colonisation society, not carried on for gain or profit, might be established for the promotion of colonisation and the settlement of families upon good land suitable for English working men in our own Colonies ; the purchase of land for settlements, and the making of advances to families of small means desiring to go out as settlers. Another suggestion is that colonisation may be carried on as a commercial enterprise with success. It is only the first suggestion that I desire to offer for your consideration.

The selection of suitable land for colonisation purposes is a somewhat difficult problem ; but it will not be denied that the essential points in the selection of land for colonisation are—

That it shall be located in a climate suitable for English labourers to work in. That the soil shall be of undeniably good quality, not requiring much clearing, and well watered. That it shall be near a seaport, and not far from a railway or good main road. That there shall be a ready market for farm and garden produce in the immediate vicinity. In order to make such colonisation as is proposed a success, it is most desirable that the settlers should be able to obtain occasional employment at wages in the immediate neighbourhood of their own land, especially in the early days of the settlement. I am of opinion that such a colonisation society as I suggest should purchase land in a neighbourhood where such work could be found, rather than endeavour to obtain a grant of land from any Colonial Government, for I contend that it is preferable for colonisation purposes to purchase land well situated for settlement, even though primarily the cost of land may be greater, because, taking into consideration the situation and quality of such land, it would

be more profitable, and consequently more economical, than to take up land, even under a free grant, at a distance from rail or seaport, and not near a market for produce, and which might possibly cost from £5 to £10 an acre to clear. There is no doubt that many are found in England who would make good settlers, who have not sufficient means of their own to make a fair start, and to support themselves until they gather in their first crops. Therefore it is suggested that such a society should be prepared to make advances to settlers who require it during the first year, and to assist them in reaching the settlement, such advances to be repaid with interest by annual instalments. Such advances, however, should not be made to intending settlers, except under some such conditions as the following :—

1. That the head of each family desiring such advance be recommended by the clergyman, or a magistrate, or two responsible householders of the parish to which he belongs.

2. That he contribute at least £5 towards the passage of himself and family.

3. That he provide the necessary outfit for himself and family.

4. That he insure his life for £100 in an insurance company to be selected by the society. The policy to be assigned to the trustees of the society until all advances are repaid. This insurance will guard the society against making advances to other than healthy and sober individuals, and in the event of the death of the head will make the position of the family easier.

5. That he executes a bond to repay the advances, and to pay the price of the land which he purchases, by annual instalments, with interest, and to keep the annual premiums on his life policy paid.

It will be gathered from what I have said that my suggestion is that the colonisation society should take the responsibility of selecting the Colony as well as the land to which settlers should be sent. I advocate this course because individual settlers have not the same means at hand for ascertaining which, for the time being, is the Colony best suited for settlers, as such a society would have, moreover, to insure the reasonable comfort of the settlers upon their first arrival in a settlement ; there must be organisation, and it would be necessary to send out a specially selected pioneer party, in charge of a competent and practical manager, to put up a large reception house for settlers, where the families could be located until they can put up houses for themselves on their respective fifty-acre plots.

A discussion followed, in which the following took part :—

Mr. J. C. F. Johnson, M.P., South Australia; Hon. R. Oliver, M.L.C., New Zealand; Mr. Matthew Macfie; Mr. H. W. Bond; Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., and the Chairman. Votes of thanks to the Reader of the Paper and the Chairman were passed.

An afternoon meeting was held in the Library of the Institute on Monday, December 2, 1895 at 4.30 P.M., NEVILLE LUBBOCK, Esq., a Member of the Council of the Institute, in the Chair, when the Hon. Colonel ALEXANDER MAN (M.E.C. Trinidad) read a Paper on

### THE DEFENCE QUESTION IN TRINIDAD.

My appearance before you this afternoon needs, I feel, some words of apology; inasmuch as I am not yet a Fellow of your Society, and not even a regular member of the great service to which so many of you belong. Haply, these very facts will stand me in good stead; for can I not say, in the words of the Chinese proverb, "outsiders often see most of the game"? Be that as it may, you will at least accept my assurance that, when invited to read a Paper here, I at once recognised how I should be, in a special sense, your guest; and how, on that account, I must speak the more carefully, when giving a short sketch of the answer Trinidad has sent to the Local Defence propositions of the Home Government.

It will tend to a clearer idea of the subject before us if I ask you, in the first instance, to go back with me to a period of this century not far removed from the stirring times of the great war. In those days the West Indies were reckoned amongst the brightest jewels in the Imperial Crown. Cane sugar was king. Planters were rich and powerful. The naval supremacy of our country was practically unchallenged. But the refrain of all the fighting of two decades before, and the inherited curse of servile labour, were grave factors which dominated the military situation. Some of the newly occupied islands were still "un-English" in language and in sentiment; large classes of their populations had yet to recognise any benefits as likely to follow from changed allegiance; and—eclipsing in importance all else—an overwhelming majority in each and every isolated community was still denied those elementary rights of citizenship which the most lowly born in the Three Kingdoms was schooled to look upon as an unalterable accompaniment of life under "The Meteor Flag." Trinidad—the largest, save Jamaica, of our Caribbean possessions—was surrendered to us in 1797. The Peace of Paris in 1814 confirmed our sovereignty. Twenty years later we were holding it with a battery of Royal Artillery, a Line battalion, and detachments of a West India regiment. A Major-General and Staff, with Medical and Commissariat Departments duly represented, completed the garrison. In addition, the island itself supported a Militia, composed of cavalry, artillery, and infantry, to the number of 4,500 of all arms. This

Militia was under the immediate command of two Brigadiers, appointed by the Governor, and independent of all other authority except in the case of their men being embodied for actual service. A look through early numbers of the Trinidad Almanack discloses an abundance of high-sounding military titles, and the descriptions given of splendid costume and equipment are positively startling ! There is something solid to be learned, nevertheless. The individual names recorded and the corps designations used show that not a Creole family of consequence was unrepresented on the commissioned rolls, and that local traditions had high value accorded them. Such points give ground for thought. I frankly confess that I have been influenced by them since I realised what were my actual opportunities, and what my personal responsibility in this connection.

Let us pass to a date threescore years later than the time we have been glancing at. We shall find a very different picture presented to our view. These sixty years covered a period of profound external peace for the British West Indies ; and I make bold to say that, in the more important islands at any rate, they were, on the whole, years of steady internal progress. True, indeed, the splendid planting industry had seen its profits reduced and its bare existence threatened by the growth of a great bounty-fed foreign competition in the sugar market, which hardly tried the energies and the resourcefulness of all concerned. True, also, the renewed naval strength of other maritime nations had somewhat changed one condition of the problem since the previous epoch. But, on the other hand, we have to take note of communities infinitely more united in their own spheres ; and we find from end to end of that red-coloured chain of islands, none but freemen—in the widest acceptance of the glorious term—claiming the protection and the equality given by our laws. Hence it came about that—excepting where the purposes of a general plan for war operations had to be alone considered—the British legions could safely be withdrawn from the scene ; while, at the same time, the former burden of local armaments could be abolished or reduced. The present day needs of Imperial strategy are met, in the West Indies, by the establishment of fortified coaling stations at Jamaica and St. Lucia—where regular troops are to be found as of yore ; but, with these two exceptions, the islands themselves provide what forces they require. A purely civil Police is, generally speaking, all that is necessary ; though here and there certain special centres have to be specially dealt with. Trinidad emphatically comes under the

latter classification. With an area of upwards of 2,000 square miles, a population of 200,000 souls, and a revenue of £550,000 sterling, her commercial interests are greater than those of any of her near sisters. Her geographical position promises for those interests vast expansion on the lines of the similarly placed Crown Colony of Hong Kong; and the sheltered gulf which separates her from South America offers perfectly secure anchorage, to all comers, at all times and seasons. It was fitting, therefore, that she should stand aside from the majority, and be the West Indian leader in this particular phase of our modern over-sea arrangements for trade defence.

In accordance with the policy already alluded to, the last Line detachments left Port-of-Spain in 1889, and the Colony was at once called upon to organise an armed establishment to replace them. Detailed plans had been drawn up at Whitehall by the mixed commission of experts which had been studying the general question; and foundations to build upon were, in this case, fortunately available. Trinidad was possessed of a large body of well-drilled police, commanded by an officer of long experience; and, under the energetic governorship of Sir Henry Turner Irving, Volunteer corps had been called into existence. Persistent attempts to pooh-pooh the last named had, from time to time, been made. The movement had survived, notwithstanding, and was flourishing—much as at home it had survived, and flourished, under even stronger adverse criticism. With a fresh departure in matters military came unexpected reward for a good example of steadfastness of purpose. The new construction for defence was deliberately based on the Volunteer, rather than on the police ground-work; and, rightly or wrongly, the latter force was allowed to remain untransformed into a constabulary such as we know of on the coast of Africa and in Honduras. As a corollary (and rightly in any case) the Volunteers have, step by step, been raised, so to speak; and the conditions of their service are, at this moment, somewhat more stringent than those of their comrades on this side the ocean. Let us give honour where honour is due. To an old colonist and public servant must be credited the fact of Trinidad's local force being so largely upheld by the unpaid services of her sons. But for the officer who inspired those serving under him with some portion of his own enthusiasm, the Volunteers would never have received the recognition they actually did from the gallant veteran, then commanding at Barbados, who was sent down in 1888 to inspect them. His report, dwelling upon their capabilities and the martial spirit which

animated them, probably guided our High Authorities to the conclusion I have just noted. Once that conclusion was arrived at, no further time was lost. A Commandant, a staff officer, a quartermaster, and cavalry artillery and infantry instructors were placed upon the Colonial Estimates and were provided by the Mother Country. The St. James's Barracks—fine massive blocks near Port-of-Spain—were allotted as head-quarters and training ground, and as the *dépôt* where Police recruits were to be posted on engagement. The relationships and the proportions each branch of the local forces—and each arm thereof—were to bear to the entire body were laid down; and the status of the officer who was to command the whole—given certain conditions and the Volunteer portion—at all seasons, was defined. It is not to be denied that, at the outset, friction showed itself; but I know that, thanks to mutual forbearance and to mutual determination to put the interests of the Colony before the interests of either portion of its local force, we have escaped a danger that once threatened. Difficulties of other kinds have been encountered, and they have been overcome. Such incidents were inevitable. Taking, however, what Sir Charles Pearson called our “Little Army” as it stands, and for all in all, I dare to claim for it a high measure of general success and a quite unique position amongst the Colonial forces of the Crown. What the “Little Army” consists of, and how it is worked, I shall proceed to explain.

In round numbers, the grand total of The Local Forces of Trinidad is over eleven hundred men. A thousand odd are to be credited, in about equal proportions, to the Volunteers and the police: the remainder are composed of Yeomanry. Only Volunteers who make themselves “efficient” according to the Imperial Volunteer Regulations are reckoned.

The Police—which has, up to the present, been asked to give simply an infantry battalion to the united force—is, of course, widely scattered over the island. Its men, consequently, can be concentrated on very few occasions each year. I find them, when they are so concentrated, exceedingly silent and steady in the ranks; and, from being under more constant individual discipline than the Volunteers, they take the palm when the two bodies march past together in brigade. They are armed with the Martini-Henry rifle and long bayonet; but, should an increase in their number be sanctioned, I hope that a dormant clause in the defence scheme—dealing with the formation of a company of gunners from amongst them—will be carried out.

The Volunteer infantry has six companies—three in the capital ; and one each at San Fernando, Arima, and Princes Town respectively. It is administered thus : the Port-of-Spain and Arima divisions, in the north of the island and on our main line of railway, are considered as headquarters companies, and more immediately under the ken of their Lieutenant-Colonel. The San Fernando and the Princes Town divisions, in the south and on our other iron road, are especially looked after by the Major. Half-battalion parades, at stated periods, give cohesion to the several units, and prepare them for the two field-days each season, when they are assembled in the Queen's Park. The regiment has, within the last three years, been allowed to resume the designation "Light Infantry," borne long ago by the crack corps which was its Militia predecessor. It is clothed in khakee as a working dress, and in the traditional scarlet on gala occasions. It has the Trinity-green facings proper to the Colony : its distinguishing badge is the bugle ; and it is armed with the same weapons as the Police. Attached to the headquarters companies are a Maxim-gun detachment, with two pieces ; and a cyclist corps, numbering twenty-five members, who provide their own strictly uniform machines. Hired ponies draw the Maxims, to which they are becoming quite accustomed, and I am working this detachment in unison with the cyclists. Where the one can move quickly, the other can follow as fast ; and the two have accepted their brotherhood in an excellent spirit. Both are composed of intelligent, superior men.

The Artillery is, provisionally, confined to two field-batteries of Volunteers—a battery and a half in Port-of-Spain, the other half-battery at San Fernando. It has six 16-pounder rifle muzzle-loaders, and two smooth-bore howitzers : its teams, of mules, are supplied by the transport office of the Works Department ; and a due proportion of its gunners are armed with the Martini-Henry carbine. A strong feeling of pride in itself animates the corps. It wears the blue-and-red and the khakee kits of its British prototype ; has a grenade for its distinguishing badge ; and seems very desirous of emulating the good record left to it by "The Royal Regiment of Trinidad Militia Artillery."

I have taken the component parts of my "Little Army" in the order in which each saw the light. I have come to the last born—the Yeomanry Cavalry. This is a regiment of two squadrons, recruited from the planters and overseers belonging to the sugar and cocoa estates throughout the country districts. Its success is undoubtedly due, in a great degree, to the patriotic action of the



West Indian Committee of London Merchants ; for, assuredly, without the active aid of that influential body, it would have been simply impossible to induce the class we require to join the standard. I have four troops formed : two (the Northern Squadron) resting on Port-of-Spain and Tacarigua, and two (the Southern Squadron) resting on San Fernando and Couva. Few amongst the troopers have not good seats ; many of them are steady shots with the Martini-Henry carbine ; the standard of physique is exceedingly high. The working uniform is khakee, with the soft felt headgear of the Australian mounted services, and with brown leather boots, gaiters, and accoutrements. For full dress, scarlet cavalry tunics—with our typical green facings—will eventually be supplied. The arms—sword and carbine—are carried on the saddle. The horses are strong Canadian cobs, provision being made for the special admission of approved mules. The regiment is styled “The Trinidad Light Horse,” and it occupies the place, although it does not wear the picturesque uniform, of “The Trinidad Light Dragoons” of the early twenties. By the ordinance under which he is enrolled every trooper is bound to do six clear consecutive working days of duty in St. James’s Barracks each year, in addition to his ordinary drills and rifle practice. That this may not fall heavily upon the men and their employers, I have decided to make up provisional troops for each week of the period devoted to the Yeomanry, taking a fourth of its strength from each of the four troops at a time. I trust that this plan will work well, and that it will prove acceptable to those who are so keenly anxious for the permanent welfare of a most important joint in our island’s armour.

All branches—Yeomanry, Police, Volunteers—and all arms of the local forces have an equal right to the motto *Trinidad y Unidad*, which speaks for itself. It was the outcome of a very happy impromptu by Sir Napier Broome, on the occasion of a birthday parade soon after his assumption of his position as our Governor and Commander-in-Chief. His Excellency has further taken a long step towards making the Volunteers both more efficient and more popular, by minuting his intention of giving preference for all local public appointments to men serving—or who have served—under the colours.

Those last words remind me that to have “served under the colours”—an expression only metaphorically accurate when applied to Volunteers or Police—has a sharper meaning in Trinidad than at home. In the Colony, Volunteers are enlisted for a first term of three years ; and they cannot be discharged before its expiration

unless under the warrant of the Commandant. That officer is only authorised to issue releases in case of certified sickness or of transference to another island, or for some equally strong cause. Moreover, the Light Infantryman and Gunner of Trinidad, directly he passes the sentry at headquarters and reports himself for a stated period of training with a unit of any corps, now comes—like the Light Horse Trooper—under the provisions of the Army Act; and is, temporarily, transformed into a soldier in real earnest. This is a new enactment of our Legislature, and it is one from which the best results are pretty sure to accrue.

In as far as the *personnel* of the Trinidad local forces is concerned my task is done. We have our Ambulance and Transport yet to perfect, but both are in hand and will soon be in evidence. There remains the vexed question of positions for heavy ordnance; a question which the Imperial Government wished grappled with, with a view to securing the city and inner harbour of Port-of-Spain against the raiding projects of hostile visitors. Two sites were most carefully selected, and no one knowing the locality and realising the temptations it offers—most surely no soldier with eyes in his head and brains behind those eyes—would dream of disputing the absolute necessity of something of this kind. The responsibility of no sod having yet been turned lies neither in Downing Street nor in St. James's Barracks. I could not sit down until I had said as much. It would not become me to say more. With this Paper I shall be allowed, I am told, to print a couple of tables which will supply information touching the cost of our military organisation. I shall not, therefore, detain you at this hour with dry figures. I will simply say that our Annual Defence expenditure (excluding the police budget) is £5,000. It is not a large sum, in itself; and perhaps you will agree with me in thinking that it is a very small one, when the results obtained are looked at. Trinidad, I take it, may justly be proud of her "Little Army." It does not gleam so gaily in our bright tropical sunshine as did the Militia force which preceded it, but its spirit is the same and its aims are identical. I do not hesitate to paraphrase on its behalf words which Montgomery Martin used when describing a review in the Savannah sixty years ago. This is what he wrote: The appearance of the men on the great plain before St. Anne's is splendid, and I believe their efficiency and discipline to be very high.

## APPENDIX I.

## VOLUNTEERS.

Return exhibiting at a glance the sums of money voted, disbursed, and returned to the Trinidad exchequer during the years 1891, 1892, 1893, and 1894; also the numbers of men, of all ranks, produced by this outlay, with the averages of the quadrennial period.

Years	Money									Men
	Voted			Disbursed			Returned			Numbers of all ranks
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
1891	6,865	0	0	6,341	15	9	23	4	8	448
1892	5,615	0	0	5,231	10	6	383	9	6	558
1893	5,720	0	0	4,813	14	9	906	5	3	546 *
1894	5,720	0	0	4,955	4	6	764	5	6	490 *
Totals of the four years	23,420	0	0	21,342	5	6	2,077	14	6	2042
Averages of the four years				5,335	11	4				510

Or, £10 9s. 0d. per man.

\* The two decreases are purely nominal. The first was brought about by striking off from the roll all "non-efficients" of the then existing Mounted Volunteer Corps; the second was produced by the disbanding of the said corps on October 1 last. The present Yeomanry Cavalry regiment already much more than covers the loss, but, as its officers and men have not been passed as "efficients," they cannot be *shown* on our strength.

## APPENDIX II.

## POLICE.

	1894.
Total cost . . . . .	£42,142 0s. 0d.
„ officers and men . . . . .	509
Average cost per man . . . . .	£82 15s. 10d.

A discussion followed, in which the following took part:

Rear-Admiral P. H. Colomb, the Hon. Colonel D. Wilson, C.M.G. (M.E.C. Trinidad), Major G. Le M. Gretton, and the Chairman. Votes of thanks to the Reader of the Paper and the Chairman concluded the proceedings.

## SECOND ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Second Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, December 10, 1895, when Mr. Justice Condé Williams (of Mauritius) read a paper on "The Future of our Sugar-producing Colonies."

Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, G.C.M.G., a Member of Council of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 24 Fellows had been elected, viz., 5 Resident and 19 Non-Resident.

### Resident Fellows :—

*Mathew W. Hervey, C.E., Valentine A. Hillman, Robert Thomson, Henry de Rosenbush Walker, John Frederick Wyld.*

### Non-Resident Fellows :—

*Karl E. O. v. Booth (Transvaal), Carl Braun (Transvaal), His Excellency Colonel Frederick Cardew, C.M.G. (Governor of Sierra Leone), Alexander R. Dunlop (British North Borneo), E. T. Gay (Grenada), David Gilles (Hong Kong), Arthur E. Griffith (Gold Coast Colony), George Hill (Transvaal), Hon. Colonel Alexander Man, M.E.C. (Trinidad), Paulus Edward Pieris (Ceylon), George D. Robertson (Jamaica), Charles Scott (Transvaal), J. C. B. P. Seaver, F.R.G.S. (New Zealand), Edward P. Shingler, Jun. (Transvaal), Alfred Rendell Street (New South Wales), D. van Ulsen (Cape Colony), Henry Walker (British North Borneo), Joseph W. Wild, A.M.Inst.C.E. (Transvaal), Percy F. Wise (British North Borneo).*

It was also announced that donations to the Library of books, maps, &c. had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN : I have now the honour of introducing to you the reader of the Paper, Mr. Justice Condé Williams, who for some twenty years has had experience of several of our Colonies—

Jamaica, Natal, and Mauritius—and I am certain you will listen with the greatest interest to the Paper he has prepared.

## THE FUTURE OF OUR SUGAR-PRODUCING COLONIES.

Even as far back as twenty years ago, there was one melancholy and depressing feature about the long road journeys which duty or pleasure compelled the traveller to take through the lovely country districts of JAMAICA. Along the sea-shore, the track was often under the fringe of cocoanut palms, which are as constant a feature of the coast of West Indian islands as the graceful *filao* pines, with their murmuring music, are features of the sea-board of the Eastern tropics, such as Mauritius and Réunion. And here and there upon the coast roads of Jamaica, the broad inland expanse of feathery sugar-cane would prepare the traveller for the white buildings and chimneys of the busy estate, like a hive in full activity at crop time, engines pulsating, shops and smithies in full work, the great yard and the trash houses replete with accumulating and sweet-smelling cane refuse, and mule carts, full of freshly cut sugar-canes, depositing their burdens; while hundreds of merry black workers hurried to and fro under the full white glare of a tropical sun. Yet here and there, even on the coast, but more particularly in the interior valleys, a deserted and abandoned estate, often retaining some high-sounding name, would furnish a sad and dispiriting contrast to this scene of life and activity. The long hill skirted and finally surmounted—a wealth of tropical forest verdure on either hand, and running right over all the low mountain tops within view—one descended through a tangled mass of brushwood and creeper and “liane”—a small clearing here and there, with yam vines roughly trained, and some rude negro shanty nestling among them—to the deserted and melancholy valley, where a mass of tumble-down stone buildings told the tale of former and bygone prosperity. The vast sugar-house, scarcely accessible through masses of weeds and undergrowth; the huge chimney, with some great tuft of parasitic verdure crowning its very summit like a standard, and proclaiming that great funnel long stranger to smoke and flame; the rusty cog-wheels and shafts lying half-buried in brushwood and foliage all around; the dry and deserted water channel and tanks, once constructed and cemented with so much expense and care—all these depressing objects, recurring in one’s long day’s journey far too frequently, wrote “*Ichabod*” upon the luxuriant

landscape, and told their own tale of abandonment and decay. Such scenes of melancholy suggestiveness were by no means confined to Jamaica in our West Indies. Barbados with its constant supply of African labour—cheerful and sunny Barbados, with its 100,000 acres of sugar out of 106,470 of area—has never furnished, and no doubt will never furnish, such a mournful spectacle as has just been portrayed; but then Barbados is an island exceptionally favoured by nature and by circumstances. But St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica—indeed, one may broadly say, the large majority of the West Indian islands appertaining to the British Crown—afforded twenty years ago, and, indeed, still afford to-day, abundant evidence upon the face of them that the great staple industry of the past has seen in them its best and palmiest days. Statistics are not wanting in support of this view. The 69,613 hogsheads of sugar exported from Jamaica in 1888 had fallen in 1876 to 29,074 hogsheads, of the value of £412,750, and have, since then, still further fallen to but little more than one-half of that annual value. The record of the Windward Islands is still more significant—indeed, Governor Bruce tells us in his latest Report that the export of sugar from Grenada fell from £56,886 value in 1878 to *fifty pounds* in 1894! Yet there *are* West Indian Colonies, such as Barbados just mentioned, Antigua, and St. Kitts, where during the past fifteen years the sugar export has increased instead of diminishing. Statistics of these later years bearing upon the actual total amount of sugar exported from the West Indian islands are scarcely as depressing as might be expected. The total West Indian output of raw sugar exported diminished by less than 30,000 tons between 1879 and 1898; and in British Guiana there was an actual increase of production during that period to an extent of nearly half the West Indian deficit. But then, unfortunately for the planter, the question is not only one of output but of price. And prices have fallen in a ratio far more significant than the fall in production.

Explanations of this unfavourable condition of affairs, as regards Jamaica, which has all along suffered most as a large sugar-producing Colony, were not wanting even twenty years ago, when the beet-root sugar production of Europe had not attained to its present vast proportions. The story has been often told—it is difficult to throw any element of novelty into the telling—but it must be recapitulated once again. The Jamaica sugar planter of twenty years ago, asked for an explanation of the abandonment of estates and the diminution

of the crop, had always his answer ready. "Slavery abolition," he would say, "commenced our ruin; the equalisation of home sugar duties confirmed it; and beetroot and foreign sugar bounties threaten to complete it. We were forced to free our slaves in 1838; and the pecuniary compensation we received for doing so was wholly inadequate and insufficient. We lost our labour, and could not afford to supply it; and our French neighbours, who retained slave labour for ten years after we abandoned it, got a start of us, of which the sugar-bounty system clenched the advantage, so that we have ever since been too heavily handicapped in the European market."

Thus the Jamaica planter. But the Jamaica Baptist missionary's comments upon the situation would be somewhat different. "If slavery abolition commenced your ruin," he would reply to our planting friend, "it was through your own egregious and insensate folly. Having combated that measure *d'outrance*, till it received the sanction of law, you set yourself to make the very worst of it for your own interests. You thought the freed labourer must, thenceforward, come hat in hand to you for shelter and for employment, whereas he found that, by betaking himself to his 'provision ground,' which was his to cultivate for one day in the week even in the time of slavery, he could grow enough in the way of yams and plantains to keep himself and his family alive without other work at all. In fact, instead of making terms with him, you and your fellow proprietors frightened him away from your estates, and have ever since been clamouring to Government to find you, at *his* expense, imported labour. *This*, even, you might have provided for yourselves, had you capitalised your millions of compensation money, improved your manufacturing plant, and started an Indian immigration system of your own; or, even better still, had initiated a Central Factory system, as the French have wisely done, and encouraged the free labourer to supply it with canes of his own growing."

Such considerations, well or ill founded, and accompanied by many allusions to the wastefulness and extravagance upon estates in old slavery days, and their legacy of debt and mortgage, brought little enough of consolation to the stricken planter and his friends. And, in view of the scarcity of labour for sugar estates, and of the refusal of Government to tax the country to supply it—for Sir Anthony Musgrave told the planter in so many words that there were other local industries capable of taking the place of the sugar industry if it could no longer hold its own in Jamaica—the poor planter of the past was driven perforce into the ranks of pessimism, and could only quit

the arena of discussion muttering some such direful prophecy as this parody on Goldsmith's well-known lines :

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,  
Where blacks accumulate, and canes decay ;  
Plantains and yams may flourish, or may fade :  
You scratch and grow 'em—capital, a spade ;  
But great estates, that erst on sugar thrived,  
Once squatted on, can never be revived.

And if our poor friend's case was bad twenty years ago, it is certainly worse, as regards sugar, to-day. If the world's consumption has largely increased since then—and it does increase, we are told, by 250,000 tons a year—in still greater proportion has the production of European beetroot sugar increased under the fostering influence of a bounty system, of which the most aggravating feature is that, while it meets pretty general denunciation as bad in theory, no one who is in a position to do so seems particularly disposed either to mend it or to end it. Its natural tendency has been towards over-production ; its issue, a general lowering of sugar prices all the world over, and the absolute exclusion of most of our own cane sugars from the home and European markets ; while, incidentally, it has very materially injured our home sugar-refining trade. Its cheap sugar, however, has largely developed our home jam and confectionery production, and has led to an increase of employment in these trades which may be set in some measure against loss of employment entailed by abandonment of certain home refineries.

The European bounty system may superficially be glanced at from several points of view. The British producer of cane sugar denounces it as an outrage upon the Free Trade principles under which it receives British toleration. " We ask no departure from the Free Trade policy inaugurated by English statesmanship fifty years ago," says he. " We desire no one to be handicapped against us in any *natural* competition, and we are prepared to meet in fair fight the sugars of all the world, however favoured by natural conditions of cultivation or locality, or by artificial conditions of labour. But a Government export subsidy is another thing. It is an extra-artificial condition, wholly outside the purview of Free Trade, and against it we ought not to be called upon to fight." " Be it so," says the British consumer ; " get what terms you can from foreign Governments or from Governments at home ; but do not call upon me to assist you, at home or abroad, to alter a condition of affairs under which I pay twopence a pound or less for



the sugar of which I have learnt to consume seventy-five pounds a year, instead of the sixpence a pound which I paid for it only the other day, and which my Continental neighbour pays for his sugar now in order that I may get mine cheaply." "If anyone has a right to complain in this matter," the independent observer may be supposed to add, "it is the bounty giver, who, while benefiting the millions of British consumers at some incidental loss to the few scores of British West Indian producers, benefits himself as a consumer (also to be reckoned by millions) not at all, but very much the reverse. Bounties are wrong, and *must* in the end bring about their own downfall by a *reductio ad absurdum*. In the meantime, he adds, contemplate the whole situation from a broad and abstract point of view, and see if there is much to complain of. Our beneficent mother Nature, who sometimes objects to the constant and to the invariable, and who now and again runs a tilt against such influences by tempest or by drought, by the phylloxera of Europe, or the locust of the Orient, or the rodent of the Antipodes, is, in the present matter, only shuffling once again her cards. You, in England, once looked at home for wheat, and to the West for sugar: she bids you look at home for sugar and to the West for wheat. For what your British Guiana loses upon sugar-canes, she is paying in pure gold upon the spot; what your Jamaica has similarly lost she has restored to her in the form of oranges and bananas. And she is not restricting the world's supply even of cane sugar as a staple. The shortened output of your West Indies is much more than made up from the virgin soils of South Africa and Australasia. Have no fear, then, for any possible future. In our great mother's hands, *les choses s'arrangent*."

It is fair to assume that the West India Committee would derive slender satisfaction from any such general considerations. That body has preached an able and a persistent crusade against the evils of the bounty system. It has figured as the would-be deliverer of Continental Europe, regarded as Frankenstein, from the bounty monster of its own creation; and, if the figures of the Billiter House circular of last February are to be relied upon, the increased millions of expense which this burden of bounties must entail in the near future upon Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, and Holland would bid fair at length to bring the whole bounty fabric down by its own inordinate weight. Otherwise, how is the baleful system to be ended? Six years ago its last hour appeared to be on the point of sounding, thanks to the exertions of the Committee, which culminated in the London conference of 1887-8; but, alas!

the British consumer and the British alarmist stepped in, arm-in-arm, at the last moment, and dashed the cup of success to the ground ! There are rumours that Germany and Austria are anxious to-day to end the system, as the rats were anxious to bell the cat in the fable ; but the question remains as to initiative, and it is clear that the great bounty-giving Powers can only act in concert. And it is painfully true that the system has attained such huge proportions that difficulties accumulate upon the very threshold of abolition, for the bounty-grabbers of Europe form a solid phalanx of much weight and importance in each European body politic, and constitute, relatively, a more awkward body to reckon with than even the Licensed Victuallers of England. Thus tenderly did a French authority deal with them, writing at the period of the collapse of the negotiations of 1888-9 :—

If one considers the aggregation of interests which the sugar industry represents in France—the influence which it exercises upon agriculture—the amelioration which it spreads through country districts—the activity which it communicates to other branches of national production—it is comprehensible that, in spite of the serious amount with which bounties saddle our annual Budget, our Government would pause once, twice, and thrice before committing itself to a course which would not, it is true, ruin this industry (because the home market would be always open to it), but which would certainly paralyse and restrict its scope. And a further justification for indulgence to our sugar producer rests in the fact that admitted last of all to the benefits of a drawback, he has scarcely yet reached a position of equality in the competition with rivals who, for many past years, have reaped and capitalised the benefits of the sugar bounties which their countries afforded them.

Meanwhile, as regards the immediate future of cane sugar, the all-important question of the hour is, Can the struggle against the bounty-fed product be longer maintained by our own sugar-producing Colonies ? If the home market alone was available to us, the answer would, of course, be in the negative. Fortunately, *Africa* with its boundless interior possibilities is open as a handy market to Mauritius and Natal ; *Australasia* to Queensland, New South Wales, and Fiji ; *India* to Mauritius and our sugar-growing Colonies further East ; and not *Canada* alone, but also the great republic of the *United States of America*, with its vast area, and its population increasing by a million yearly, to the West Indies and to British Guiana. If only the efforts of 1885 had been successful, and our sugar had been put upon the United States free import list, there need have been little further concern for the future of sugar in our

West Indian Colonies ; and, even now, the unexhausted energies of the West India Committee might well be directed once again to the introduction of our West Indian sugars to the States upon the same footing as our West Indian bananas. At the moment, the great Western Republic absorbs most of our West Indian sugar at prices barely remunerative to the growers. But the fact is not to be lost sight of that the English market is far from actually closed to British-grown sugar. Our West Indies and British Guiana sent sugar home last year, in competition with the beet-grown product of Europe, to the value of more than a million and a quarter sterling. Yet the British annual sugar bill is of something scarcely short of twenty millions.

Looking to the future of sugar in our West Indian Colonies, two propositions may, perhaps, be laid down—first, that, in view of future possibilities, it is desirable in the case of all our West Indian possessions, and essential in the case of some of them, to maintain at all hazards the cultivation and manufacture of sugar ; second, that this can only be done nowadays, without actual loss to the producer, by perfecting his methods of manufacture. Upon this latter point it is to be remarked that, before we regard ourselves as irrevocably beaten out of the field in the home market by beetroot sugar, we should at least place ourselves as far as we may upon equal terms with it in the struggle for existence. Bounties are hopelessly against us, for we shall never have them, or countervailing duties either. Freight is against us as hopelessly, for the beetroot supply is at England's door. But why should the resources of science, which are liberally and studiously applied to the extraction of sugar from the beet, be neglected, as they still are in a large measure grossly and notoriously neglected, in our own manufacturing production ? Look down the list of the hundreds of sugar estates in Barbados, in Jamaica, ay, and in Trinidad and Antigua, and how often will we find that the old-time wasteful methods of sugar extraction and treatment are still contentedly relied upon ! The writer knows and has visited an estate in Jamaica which made fifty annual hogsheads of sugar twenty years ago, and which makes twenty to-day, where the motive power for the mill is supplied by—mules, and where the resources of the establishment are largely devoted to keeping the mules' unfortunate backs and legs from sores ! What can be expected, in the sugar *lutte pour la vie*, from any such or similar condition of affairs, when it is remembered that the other side is equipped in its process of manufacture with every latest discovery and appliance ? Diffusion, according to its most improved

methods, is universal in Germany; but, without advocating the diffusion system, which even some French chemists are nowadays inclined to regard as unsuited to the manufacture of high-class cane sugar, it must be insisted on that perfected mill machinery is essential to our continued production of West Indian sugar, whether for the home or for the American market. Some large estates, notably those in the hands of companies, possess this perfected machinery; and these still hold their heads above water. The large majority cannot afford to have it, and can less afford it year by year; yet without it they must, as things stand, very shortly go under as exporting properties. And how are these, then, to be dealt with?

On one lovely night of a tropical spring, the writer sailed by moonlight across the still, blue waters of the Caribbean from the shores of beautiful Dominica. In the morning, we were passing into the *Rivière Salée*, the strait that divides Guadeloupe of the sugar canes from Guadeloupe of the picturesque *Souffrière*, or extinct volcano. White sails were flitting about and around us, and under the lee of the tropical shore. Sky and sea were of heavenly blue. And earth, as typified by the grey slopes of the old volcano, the forest-clothed mountain gorges of its lower spurs, the wealth of rich verdure running down to ocean's very margin, and the bright green strip of sugar-cane foliage apparent along either shore, seemed indeed upon that beautiful morning a very paradise regained. On a sudden, a turn in the channel rudely dispelled all idle day-dreams, and brought one face to face, and all unexpectedly, with practical, work-a-day life. A forest of masts and chimney-tops, enveloped in a cloud of smoke, lay right ahead of us. Here was Liverpool, surely, transferred to the western tropics? And, as we advanced we were conscious of the shriek of the railway whistle and of the steam tug—tramways were busily at work on shore—lines of sugar-cane-laden barges were being towed from wharves and canal mouths by sea—and all were converging, along with ourselves, towards the chimneys and masts, the great wharves and warehouses and buildings of the near distance. Even tropical nature, though it still encroached and asserted itself up to the very portals of habitation and manufacture wherever it could, seemed subdued by the active and all-pervading spirit of commerce. It was a sight to make a Ruskin weep! An hour or two later I was visiting the source of all this stir and activity, the great Usine, or Central Sugar Factory, of Point-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe, reckoned at that time the largest establishment of its kind in the world, employing 400 coolie

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labourers, dealing with nearly 90,000 tons of purchased canes annually, and turning out during crop time, as when I visited it, its 150 hogsheads of fine sugar daily. "Now here," I thought at the time, as I venture to think now, "lies the key to the survival of our West Indian sugar cultivating and manufacturing industry through a period of unfair competition and consequent depression." It is no new discovery that a central factory system is eminently adapted to our West Indian sugar-producing Colonies—the point is that the hour has now actually arrived for adapting it and adopting it. Here is a system which leaves the farmer free to grow his canes, on a large scale or on a small scale, with as much or little of outside labour as the extent of his cultivation may demand; and which places the director of the central mill, be he an independent manufacturer or the manager of a syndicate or company of farmer shareholders, in a position to devote all his or the company's available resources to perfecting the process of sugar extraction from the raw material. In place of a dozen imperfect and wasteful sets of machinery of the old type, it gives *one* perfect and competent installation, capable of doing the work of all the old dozen of mills together, and much better and much cheaper than they could do it. Other countries than ours have been alive to the excellence of this system, and have freely employed it. For many years Martinique and Guadeloupe have been furnished with a round score of Central Factories each. The largest at Point-à-Pitre, to which allusion has just been made, was started in 1868; and it is worthy of note that, while after slavery time the production of sugar in Jamaica fell to one-third of its former figure within thirty years, in Martinique and Guadeloupe, within a similar period from French slavery abolition in 1848, sugar production nearly trebled itself in each of the great French West Indian islands. The thirty Central Factories of Pernambuco, the sugar-growing province of Brazil—seventeen of them established by Government aid—grind to-day on the average for five estates apiece, and turn out 200,000 tons of sugar yearly. Our Colony of Queensland has wisely encouraged the formation of these Factories by syndicates of cane farmers, through the medium of Government loans on easy terms, with a result that the system is becoming general in the Colony, and has succeeded so well that there is already a cry about over-production and a want of markets; while the cane growers of New South Wales are anxious that their Government should follow the example of Queensland. Yet the Central Factories of our own West Indies are isolated units, in Trinidad, St. Lucia, and British Guiana; and the 500 estates of

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Barbados, and the 150 which survive in Jamaica, to say nothing of Antigua and the smaller islands, bungle on with old-time appliances, effete and inadequate to the necessities of the present day. Barbados, it is well to notice, is preparing late in the day to take action in this matter; and an experimental Central Factory is to be started there in time for next year's crop. British Guiana, in a kindred spirit of death-bed repentance, is awakening to some interest in the subject, and the system of estate canals in that Colony being presumably particularly adapted to the transport requirements of central factories. BRITISH HONDURAS, with a central factory in operation, could turn out her 1,000 tons of sugar yearly. In Jamaica, the advisability of adopting the system is being canvassed, not by any means for the first time, and has been mooted lately at certain of the parochial boards. The matter is, however, very urgent and pressing, and, where a community has made up its mind to an adoption of the system, there should be no difficulty in inducing local governments to afford such facilities for furthering its ends as were furnished by the Queensland "Sugar Works Guarantee Act" of 1898; a measure which, in brief, provides for loans for the erection and equipment of mills, on the security of a first mortgage, at reasonable interest, to applicants who can show that they command a sufficient supply of canes to keep the proposed mill in work. Full advantage has been locally taken of this Act, and the result so far has been a success. Such statistics as I have been able to obtain show that, though mills in the Colony have paid as much as 15s. per ton for cane, the average total cost of manufacture and price of sale per ton of sugar have been about £8 5s. and £12 respectively, showing a fair margin of profit. And the Queensland cane farmer is accredited with the statement that, if he received only 5s. per ton for his cane, in lieu of 10s. or 15s., yet to grow canes would still pay him better in this Colony than to grow wheat, or maize, or potatoes.

The last word upon the general subject of our West Indian sugar production is that it can only be maintained as affording an article of export saleable in the United States and at home by compassing a *maximum* of quality at a *minimum* of expense for culture and manufacture. And these desiderata, it is urged, can only now-days be attained by recourse to a Central Factory system.

The future of our sugar-producing Colonies does not rest universally with sugar; and a disproportionate share of this Paper has perhaps been devoted to subjects which lie upon the threshold of the great question of the future of our West Indian possessions.

But the future of those West Indian possessions is the one problem of real difficulty which the whole subject of the Paper presents. That subject must be treated a little more in detail in reference to other Colonies and other interests. MAURITIUS, however, is almost as closely wedded to sugar in the East as is Barbados in the West. In 1815 Mauritius exported 1,200 tons of the staple, in 1824, 12,000, and more than 180,000 in 1894. In 1851 her population was 180,000. It doubled itself in forty years. But, during that period, the significant fact to be noted is that, while the general population of the island had increased by some 42,000 only, an increase of not one-half upon its former figure, the Indian population had more than trebled itself, adding 178,000 to its earlier numbers. To hope that this tide will be arrested is now wholly too late. The increase is from within the Colony rather than from without. Already a large and almost unascertained number of small Indian peasant proprietors are permanently established upon Mauritian soil. The creole, intelligent, humane, and civilised in a high degree, yet tolerant and easy-going rather than far-seeing, has never awakened, as Natal is sturdily awakening, to resist by drastic measures the great wave of Eastern encroachment; and it is probably no exaggeration to allege that, under the franchise of Mauritius as it now stands, the Indian vote might, if it were duly registered and fully employed, swamp every elective seat at the Council of Government of the Colony. And the coming development of the great island of Madagascar, under that flag of France for which Mauritians possess much natural affection, is likely to draw away a further proportion of her already flagging creole population from Mauritius to Madagascar. The value of the Colony's exports, consisting mainly of sugar and its resultants, molasses and rum, was a million less in 1898 than in 1888, its distribution being of about one-half to British India (the great sugar customer of Mauritius), one-fifth to Ceylon, a fifth to Australia and the Cape, and a tenth only to the United Kingdom. The imposition of a 5 per cent. import tax on sugar by India three years ago was felt as a blow to Mauritius; and incorporation with British India, should such a fate ever arrive to this Colony, might procure it at least one advantage in the abolition of this impost. But in South Africa, Australia, and other natural markets of Mauritius her sugar is also subject to hostile tariffs, and, when the general depression of trade in the staple is considered, and the heavy pressure of taxation in the little island itself (which possesses the largest civil list, and certainly the highest pension list, for its size, of any Colony of the

Crown), it may be comprehended that the outlook of Mauritius upon the present basis of affairs is not brilliant. But where, as in this interesting and beautiful island, there remains to a community the possession, in addition to great natural resources, of a fund of unexhausted intelligence, pluck, and spirit, as was abundantly manifested after the terrific hurricane in the island of 1891, and the fire of the following year, there is no room for absolute despair of the future. And Mauritius possesses certain resources which are still largely undeveloped. Not the mineral resources of British Guiana and Queensland, which add to the prosperity of a Colony by leaps and bounds, but such as consist in new and varied species of agricultural production—vanilla, tobacco, fibre, and tea—suited to development by small cultivators, such as are found among the rapidly increasing body of Indian "ryots" of the island, who, so far, have devoted their energies mainly to the production of vegetables for the insular market, and of sugar-canes. If there are no Central Factories, the estates, many of them amalgamated in the hands of companies, one property crushing the canes of several, are always ready to purchase the small growers' cane produce; and the Hon. William Newton's excellent counsel of ten years ago has been in some measure followed, in attempts to perfect the extraction of juice from the cane by improved processes such as that of diffusion, to experiments in which Government has lent some assistance. But as in British Guiana, so here, it has been discovered that, even for an approximately complete extraction of saccharine matter from the cane, it is possible to pay too high a price, and experimental results do not at present point to any great future of promise for cane-sugar manufacture under the diffusion system. Of new industries the cultivation of aloe fibre has doubled its export value during the past fifteen years; and the sisal plant from Yucatan or the Bahamas would probably prove well suited to the more arid districts, rendered so by the unfortunate policy of deforestation pursued in former days. The educated intelligence of the Colony is awake to the advantage of new departures in cultivation, and an agronomical station for experiments in new and seedling cane growths is a recent and a hopeful feature of progress. But, look at Mauritius from what point of view we may, the conclusion is inevitable that the future of the community rests with India.

Australasia at the present time consumes 200,000 tons annually of sugar. Towards this aggregate amount, which will, of course, rapidly increase, QUEENSLAND is to-day in a position to contribute one-half. Fiji could furnish a third of the remainder if it were



wanted ; but Fiji is in a better position to look further afield for a market than Queensland, production in Fiji being cheaper than it is with her Australian neighbour, owing to the more sensible view which has obtained in Fiji as to labour conditions. In Queensland the so-called "working man" has had his vote and his say, and has excluded Indian coolie labour from the Colony. And now the working man of Queensland, suddenly finding himself a labour employer as a farmer under the central factory system, is "hoist on his own petard" as regards labour, and, the Kanaka supply being well nigh exhausted, he is fain to make experimental drafts upon China and Japan. FIJI, whose principal island is as large as Jamaica, has taken care to provide herself adequately with Indian coolies. Ten thousand of them in the Colony, as free Indian lessees, grow canes for such vast factories as those of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, which may be said practically to hold in its own hands the sugar export of the Colony, reaching close upon 80,000 tons annually. One of this company's Fijian mills is reckoned the largest in the southern hemisphere, turning out 450 tons of sugar daily in crop time. Here, while the natives of the island devote themselves to the moderate labour which secures the payment of their taxes in kind, under the system successfully inaugurated by the present popular Governor, the fruit industry and the sugar industry flourish, and the latter is likely soon to find an extended outlet on the Canadian shores of the Pacific. Of Queensland, prolific in natural capacity for sugar production as she is, the future does not of course rest wholly with sugar. Rich in varied mineral resources, with total annual exports of twice the value of the imports, there is little fear for the future of this promising Colony. Her output of gold has doubled itself within the past ten years, and was last year of 680,000 oz., or two and a half millions sterling. It is estimated that, since 1877, the gold-fields of the Colony have yielded a total output of at least thirty-five millions in value.

NATAL in past days was called the "Colony of samples." To-day, as regards production, she is a Colony of sugar, tea, and coal. Of tea the latest annual output in Natal is said to be 700,000 lb. from 2,500 acres under cultivation ; of sugar upwards of 15,000 tons from the 26,000 acres of the sub-tropical sea-board ; while the capacity of coal output from the Biggarsberg is of no less than 150,000 annual tons ; and private enterprise is constructing a railway to tap other highly promising coalfields in Zululand. Natal is, indeed, reputed to be the only British Colony where the

cultivation of sugar for export at the present moment really "pays," conditions being exceptionally favourable; for the Cape ports are free and open to the reception of Natal's sugar, and the African interior offers prospect of limitless markets in the future. The Mount Edgecombe estate of 11,772 acres, started in 1879, and worked, as are all the sugar properties of Victoria County, by Indian coolie labour, has made an average profit of £12,000 per annum for five years past; and a refinery, the first in South Africa, is on the point of being added to it.

The Durban harbour bar difficulty once surmounted, the lately celebrated completion of her railway system should tend still further to cement Natal's future prosperity. And yet her conditions of soil and internal cultivation are not such as to promise for this Colony any great agricultural development in the near future. The probability is that, in that future as in the past, the character in which Natal will come principally to the fore will be that of a country of transit. Time does not permit us to deal with the sugar-producing Colonies of the far East, such as the STRAITS SETTLEMENTS, whose trade in this staple lies entirely with her neighbours or with India.

Having taken the very incomplete and cursory glance, which is all that we can do, at the position and prospects of some of England's sugar-producing communities in the East, we will return to the lands of Columbus and Raleigh, to bestow an equally brief notice in detail upon certain of the oldest of our West Indian possessions.

It is difficult to separate sugar in one's mind from the fortunes of BARBADOS in the future, as in the past. This is the bright and bustling island which to many a traveller affords his first glimpse of the natural wealth and abandonment of tropical loveliness. Here, on sunny quays, swarming with a good-humoured and dusky crowd, may our wanderer gladly step ashore into the sensuous warmth of the tropics after a fortnight's contemplation of little else than the wide world of Atlantic waters from a Royal Mail steamer's deck. Here will the rich green of the mango tree, and the broad scattered foliage of the plantain and banana, make a first revelation of themselves under the glowing sunshine, as also the bright blossoms of a score of flowering shrubs, with gem-like humming birds darting from flower to flower. And leaving the white walls and green jalousies of the crowded town, our traveller shall soon find himself amidst red and golden and feather-tufted sugar-canes; and, the further he travels through an

island little larger than our smallest English county, the more will he appreciate the fact that Barbados, with her 100,000 acres of sugar-cane out of 106,470 of area, is, for good or for evil, *par excellence* the land of sugar and of negroes. There is no want of labour here; on the contrary, with a population increasing by 10 per cent. per annum; of nearly 200,000 now—*i.e.* about 1,500 to the square mile in ten out of the eleven island parishes, and 8,700 to the square mile in the parish which contains Bridgetown, the capital—there is a plethora of native numbers, which constitutes a drag upon and a danger to the community. The last official report upon the Barbados Blue Book deals largely with the subject:

The fight for life (it says) is getting sharper, and when hard times come and their shadow is at our doors, the difficulties will become accentuated. No doubt, in theory, the weak will disappear before the strong; but experience shows that, unless some outlet be found for the surplus able-bodied of the population, the proportion of weak will gradually rise till they are not replaced by the strong. To ignore the ultimate result of this state of affairs in the physical life of our people is impossible; and therefore a solution of the difficulty must be found, and, in this case, the only practical one, and one to which nature will respond, is emigration. . . . It would be well if the lower classes of the population here would recognise the vital importance to themselves of finding new room for the expansion of their vigour. No notion of obtaining this by going away for a few months, leaving their families to look after themselves, and returning for a spell to spend their earnings in this island, will help them now, nor by subdividing lands and creating petty peasant holdings. This might benefit a few, an infinitesimal proportion, but under the conditions of this island, which (as far as human intelligence and experience go) can only produce one article of general consumption in the world at the present time, *viz.* sugar, the great bulk of the population can only live by earning money as labourers, and they could not live by the produce of their holdings, not even if every estate proprietor was dispossessed and the whole island cut up and divided amongst them. Their only chance depends on a regular demand for employment, and, when the supply exceeds the demand, and the lowest limit of life-supporting-wage has been reached, emigration in its proper sense, and not as a mere temporary quest after labour, is the true and only solution. As a diffusing centre of energy and vigorous intelligence, Barbados is unsurpassed amongst its neighbours, and the further afield it can send its surplus workers and form fresh colonies of Barbadians the higher it will raise its name, and thus, in fact, as well as in theory, maintain its title of the England of the West Indies.

This points to an exceptional condition of affairs, existing nowhere else in our older sugar-producing Colonies. A Commission

has been appointed in Barbados to consider the question of emigration; and, with Tobago near at hand, ready and willing to welcome peasant cultivators of coffee and cocoa—with the vast and healthy upland interior of British Guiana hard by, waiting for development and unlikely to get it with a population numbering less than three to the square mile, while that of Barbados, as has been said, is at least 1,500, there should be no real difficulty in finding a future vent for the superfluous labour of this congested little island. For the rest, its agricultural exports, consisting almost entirely of the produce of the cane, show an actual increase upon the exports of ten years ago, in spite of falling prices and (on many private estates) inadequate machinery, testifying thereby to the importance of a constant labour supply in combating the sugar growers' difficulties. Of £985,000 value of exports in 1894, more than half went to the United States, and to British North America more than to the United Kingdom, which still received from her oldest West Indian Colony 10,000 tons of sugar. The agricultural future of this highly cultivated island, well provided as it is with many resources of civilisation, must rest with sugar so long as the world affords a market for the produce of the cane.

From cheery little Barbados, a short sea passage of hours rather than of days, conducts one to a British possession, engrafted upon a mighty continent, which possession, it is no exaggeration to assert, contains future possibilities of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice. Who shall despair of the future of a Colony which, the size of our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and populated to an even less extent than three inhabitants to the square mile, yet sent forth in 1893-4, in spite of all bounty systems and agricultural depression, nearly two and a half million pounds' worth of annual exports to the world, of which more than a million and a half were in sugar and rum, and half a million in gold obtained almost wholly from alluvial washing—an output of the precious metal which has increased tenfold during the past five years? Concerning the ultimate future of BRITISH GUIANA, despite hard times and low prices, the pessimist need surely entertain no really serious apprehension. "*Where is store of gold,*" wrote Sir Walter Raleigh of this very district, "*it is in effect needless to remember other commodities of trade.*" And here is "*store of gold*" indeed! The boundary question with Venezuela once settled, as settled (let us hope pacifically) it soon *must* be, capital and machinery will be surely attracted to goldfields which, upon the very surface, have proved themselves prolific; and the mining interest alone, so far as

one can judge from natural probabilities and from all recent experience, might secure, of itself, a bright future for this Colony. But, wholly apart from the mining interest, and even leaving aside the acres "empoldered," as the old local phrase goes, along the coast level for sugar cultivation, vast upland regions of the great interior of British Guiana remain yet to be exploited, regions yielding £50,000 a year to the sparsely peopled Colony, even now, from the mere loppings of their virgin timber; but prolific in every resource and condition of tropical culture, and holding out the free hand of nature's welcome to the surplus population of a thousand Barbadoes, for the production of coffee, cocoa, dyewoods, and tropical products generally, such as easily furnish a living and a revenue to the lazy two millions of contiguous Venezuela. Little known are these inland districts, and held by some in doubtful repute. But not by experts such as Sir Robert Schomburgk of sixty years ago, who, *experto crede*, is enthusiastic about the proverbial healthiness of the interior, and who records, as a proof of the purity of its atmosphere, that, on a certain day in December 1838, he and his companions saw at one and the same time the sun, the moon, and the planet Venus, from the neighbourhood of the upper reaches of the Essequibo River. Surely, the future of British Guiana rests in the development of these great interior resources, no less than of the gold-mining industry; and our Secretary of State gave wise advice to the colonists in urging them to make a good road through the north-western mining district, and to be in a position to defend it and the frontier. Hope and work for the good times to come avail much more in a Colony possessed of such resources as British Guiana than any idle regret for the past.

Scarce two hundred miles north-east from the extreme northern boundary of British Guiana—mounting guard over the mouth of the mighty Orinoco, even as our little red-roofed toy Colony of Heligoland used to stand sentry over the entrance to the German Scheldt—lies the second in size of our West Indian insular possessions. The polyglot island of TRINIDAD, haven of refuge in years gone by to French refugees from Hayti, but owing allegiance till nearly a century ago to the crown of Spain, has *her* best assurance for the future in the fact that, unlike Barbados, she does not rely on one product; but that the great and prolific staple of cocoa—a cultivation which commenced exactly two centuries ago—disputes with sugar for a leading place among the many natural productions of the Colony. With a population of varied European origin, but composed to the extent of a third of it of East Indian immigrants—

a population which has increased by nearly 100,000 within the past twelve years, but which still is of barely thirteen to the square mile—with a fair balance of revenue over expenditure, and of exports over imports—there seems no reason to despair of the prospects of Trinidad, even in face of the tariff of the great North American Republic, which absorbs a third of the island's exports, and of the general agricultural depression and low prices to which Governor Broome alludes in his last report. "These are hard times for agriculture," says the Governor, "and Trinidad is almost wholly agricultural. Yet, thanks to its varied products—to the Pitch Lake, which yielded £38,498 in 1894, and to the spirit and industry of its population—the Colony still shows a brave and bright front to the world. The public revenue of 1894 was the largest ever collected. The surplus in favour of the Colony was the largest since 1879."

Time is wanting to us to follow in any detail the prospective fortunes of our smaller Windward and Leeward Islands. While some few of them must continue to rely upon sugar, with possibly sisal fibre as an adjunct, others, the more mountainous and volcanic, are available for many varied species of tropical produce, fruit and arrowroot, coffee and cocoa, dyewood and spices, in accordance with their characteristics of soil and elevation; and, in waiting for a turn of the tide, and for better times for West Indian sugar, may continue to pay their way independently of that staple, vindicating the truth of Mr. D. Morris's remark, that "the history of all essentially agricultural communities teaches us that there is safety only *when we plant many things*; or, in plainer words, in agriculture, as in other commercial enterprises, it is not wise to place all our eggs in one basket."<sup>1</sup> In some measure, at all events, it is open to these lovely and fruitful islands of the Caribbean (few of which are cultivated to the extent of even one-third of their available area) to emulate the example of the "Pearl of the English Antilles." For, as from Jamaica we started, so to Jamaica we return at the last. Here, where a few old estates on the north side of the island still "hold the fort" of cane cultivation, through the long sustained excellence of the rums which they export, the great island generally has fallen away from sugar, and has found an industry adequate to supply its place, if necessary, to all future time. The American demand for fruit, to which all ports of the great and always growing Republic of the West are freely open, is practically limitless; and other

West Indian islands are as free to avail themselves of the fact as is Jamaica. If sugar production has fallen away to less than a fourth of its former proportions in our largest West Indian Colony, coffee and fruit have each trebled their output within even the last twelve years. The abundant resources of the island, still but very partially developed, have belied the pessimist prophecies of twenty years ago, and have proved that Governor Musgrave was right when he told the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in his despatch of April 6, 1878, that there would be found "other interests" in the Colony than the sugar-planting interest, "quite sufficiently prosperous to contribute the necessary revenue of the island." But the developed resources of Jamaica have shown more than her independence of sugar as a staple. Her history of the past score of years has incidentally pointed the moral that the African race, under a strong and settled form of government *not* its own, can be trusted to furnish a thrifty and law-abiding community of peasant proprietors.

At this point I close a Paper, written only to inaugurate the discussion of an interesting subject by the many authorities present who are far more competent to deal with it than myself. No less do I venture to believe in the hopeful future of our sugar-producing Colonies than in the future of cane sugar itself, when at length freed from the subsidised competition of what is, after all, a *very inferior rival*. The cultivation of a return to a taste for pure cane sugar in England is rather to be recommended to our countrymen and countrywomen, in the writer's humble judgment, than the cultivation of a beetroot substitute for themselves; and it is pleasing to know that a "Pure Cane Sugar Supply Association" exists (at Derby), with this for its modest and praiseworthy object; and that it has effected something locally towards checking a wide and continual fraud upon the British public, which consists in the sale of mixed and coloured beetroot sugar, as cane sugar from Demerara.

Let us, in conclusion, avoid the extremes of either optimism or pessimism in our view of this Paper's subject. We may learn, if only from Jamaica, a lesson of adaptability to fortune, and of courage, patience, and hope for the future. We possess, as Britons, a noble inheritance in our Colonies; let us regard it from no limited point of view, or underrate its many and varied elements of resourceful value. And if, in the course of natural progress, some radical changes occur, displeasing to those instincts of conservatism which, perhaps, whatever his political profession, every true Englishman in some measure possesses, let us not be dismayed, but take heart

of grace, remembering that, to use the words of our late Poet Laureate :

The old order changeth, yielding place to new,  
And God fulfils Himself in many ways,  
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

#### DISCUSSION.

Mr. C. S. DICKEN, C.M.G., (Acting Agent-General for Queensland): I am sure we have all listened with great pleasure to this interesting and instructive lecture. I have never had the opportunity of visiting the West Indian Islands, but from the account we have had of them I am sure they would be a most interesting place in which to spend a few of our winter months. I have, however, resided for a considerable number of years in Queensland, and as I am officially connected with that Colony I have great pleasure in supplementing the remarks that have been made respecting it. It is estimated that in the Colony of Queensland, between the coast and the range which runs parallel with the coast, there are several thousand square miles of country available for tropical and semi-tropical agriculture. In this area there is only now some 80,000 acres under cultivation. Formerly the sugar planters had large plantations, and had their own mills. It was not at all uncommon in the old days for a planter to employ a pair of hands to every five acres. Those were the days when sugar fetched £30 to £40 a ton, and when expenditure was not much considered ; but when prices fell it became necessary to curtail expenses, and the planters considered it advisable to subdivide their estates into small farms, and sell them to farmers who undertook to cultivate the cane, the mill owners or vendors undertaking to buy the cane at market price. This plan answered well, and in 1898, the Government thinking closer settlement would produce more benefits to the community, passed the Sugar Works Guarantee Act, in order to encourage the manufacture of sugar by companies, the members of which were to grow the cane and who, being interested in the mills, would participate in the profit of manufacture. This has turned out a wonderful success. Companies of farmers are being formed, and next year we shall see a very much larger area under cultivation than there was last year. Mr. Justice Williams has quoted Mr. Morris's remark that it is not well to put all your eggs in one basket. Queenslanders, I am glad to say, are able to follow the advice. On the west of the main range there are large areas of land splendidly suited for the cultivation of maize, wheat, and other



cereals, which can be well taken advantage of by people from this country with moderate means and who understand agriculture, for they can go out and acquire land on easy terms at a small sum per acre. At present there is only one-fifth of the wheat grown in the Colony that is required for the local consumption, so that in both wheat-growing and sugar cultivation there are good openings for farmers from this country. Besides these agricultural resources, we have a large pastoral industry, embracing some twenty millions of sheep, seven millions of cattle, and half a million horses. We have not as yet exported butter, but I hope before long we shall be in that market also. As to our mining, Mr. Justice Williams is quite right in saying that our yield of gold for last year was about two and a half millions sterling. It is steadily increasing every year, and besides gold we raised tin and coal to the extent of £300,000. We in England ought to be very familiar with all matters relating to Australia, but I am afraid a good deal of ignorance still prevails here. Only last week a friend of mine from Queensland went into a well-known West-end establishment to make some purchases, and happening to mention that this was his first visit to England, being a native of Australia, the young man who was attending to him, and who, I suppose, had had the usual up-to-date Board School education, said—"Indeed, you speak very good English." My friend replied, "Yes, what did you expect?" The young man answered, "Well, I thought Australians had a language of their own." Of course it seems absurd that anyone should not know that English is the language of the Australians, and I can assure you that my friend took the opportunity of improving the occasion by giving the young man a lesson about Australia and the Australians which no doubt he will gratefully remember for the rest of his life.

Mr. WALTER PEACE, C.M.G. (Agent-General for Natal): That anecdote reminds me of a lady who one day brought to my office a younger member of her sex, desirous she should be sent out as a domestic servant to Natal, and who, summing up the young woman's qualities, said, "She speaks Natal." My only object in rising to make any remarks on this occasion is to correct some errors into which the lecturer has fallen with regard to the Colony I represent. He tells us that the output of sugar is upwards of 15,000 tons from the 26,000 acres of the sub-tropical sea-board. Those of you who know anything about sugar-cane growing must be aware that 15,000 tons from 26,000 acres would be such a poor return that there would be no sugar estate left. The yield per acre varies in the case of plant canes from about three to four tons per acre to about one or two

tons in the case of ratoon canes, that is, canes growing from plants that have been cut down once, twice, or three times. The lecturer has, no doubt, fallen into the error by taking the figures of our export by sea alone, forgetting—for he must have known—that the larger proportion of the crop is consumed in the Colony itself, or sent overland to the Transvaal or the Orange Free State. As to the condition of the industry in Natal, the last information I have received on the authority of the Government is to the effect that there are some 36,000 acres under sugar cane, and that the estimate—an all-round estimate—of the yield is 45,000 tons, which at £15 a ton represents a value of £675,000. What the future of the sugar cultivation of Natal may be is hard to predict. You are aware that quite recently Natal has become connected by rail with all other parts of South Africa, and as Natal is as yet the only place in the English or Dutch States where the sugar-cane grows and flourishes, and as the manufacture is improved—and it is being improved every year—the proportion sent inland will increase, whatever may be the proportion sent over sea. The lecturer goes on to say, “Her conditions of soil and internal cultivation are not such as to promise for this Colony any great agricultural development in the near future.” I cannot help thinking the lecturer has somehow mixed up in his mind the Colony of Natal in South Africa with another State called Natal in South America. I do not know anything about the latter, but as to the Natal we know I should be inclined to make the sentence read, “Her conditions of soil and internal cultivation are such as to promise for that Colony very great agricultural development in the near future.” I cannot for the life of me understand how Mr. Justice Williams should have kept himself so ill-posted in matters that are taking place in South Africa. There is no part of the Colonial Empire in which greater development is going on, in which there is greater promise of prosperity, and even actual prosperity and activity, than in Natal. I am, therefore, bound to dissent from the statement that “the probability is that, in the future as in the past, the character in which Natal will come principally to the fore will be that of a country of transit.” Really, so to speak of a country which is developing so fast as Natal, where not only in stock-farming but in the matter of dairy produce, fruit farming, &c., developments are being made in a way which I for many years hoped, and which is but now coming about—to speak of such a country in such a way really amazes me. My time is up, therefore you will excuse me if I say no more.

The Earl of STAMFORD: I fear I have little claim to address you,

except that years ago I spent five or six happy years in the West Indies, and that I still cling to those Colonies with great affection, and continue my interest in everything which concerns their welfare. To them I will confine myself. It has been shown very conclusively, I think, that there are certain quarters to which the sugar-producing countries cannot look with any hope. They cannot look to the English Government for bounties. They cannot look for countervailing duties. There are some methods—political methods—which possibly can be employed. These Colonies may exert pressure on the Home Government, to remonstrate in a friendly way with the bounty-giving countries, to point out to the taxpayers of those countries how extremely kind it is of them to sacrifice themselves for our welfare, and that it is a course which will bring a very terrible burden on them in the near future. And a little, no doubt, may be done in the way of encouraging a taste for pure cane sugar, pointing out to the British consumer that cane sugar contains twice as much saccharine as beet-root sugar, and that cane sugar is much more wholesome—if such is the case—than beet-root sugar. I think that really the directions which are hopeful are—organisation, science, and diversification. As to the first, many of us know the great success which has attended the development—through the energy of Mr. Horace Plunkett Lord Monteagle, and others—of co-operative creameries in Ireland, perhaps one of the most hopeful movements set on foot in that distressful country for centuries. Something of this sort is, as far as I can gather, what is specially wanted in our sugar-producing Colonies, with the result of establishing Central Factories with every modern appliance. That movement has been attended already with great success in Martinique and Guadeloupe, and also in Demerara; and I see now there is a rising feeling in the Colonies which have hitherto followed the antiquated methods that that is their only chance of safety. Only this year a very interesting report was issued by the joint sub-committee of the Executive Committee of the Government of Barbados and the Agricultural Society of that island, in which was pointed out in clear terms the dangers of the existing system of having only one industry and one market—viz. the United States—to depend upon. And not only one market, but one purchaser in the United States—viz. the lately formed Sugar Trust—which, having a monopoly, can dictate its own terms. Those who considered the subject in Barbados saw how the establishment of Central Factories and improved machinery &c. had really saved the sugar industry in Queensland; and how the competition in the United States market was rendered very formidable, in the case of

Louisiana and the Hawaiian Islands, by the fact that large Central Factories were established there, and that they were able to produce a high grade of sugar which could command a fair price. It was pointed out by the Barbados committee that the great necessity was to establish these organisations of planters, who should institute central factories which could produce any grade of sugar, according to the state of the market. It would be necessary, of course, to seek for markets—to push the trade in these high grades of sugar, it being pointed out that, by introducing the latest improvements, 50 to 60 per cent. more produce could be obtained from the cane. They have learnt, at least, that lesson in the West Indies—that they must produce what is wanted in the market. Then as to diversification, I suppose the danger of depending too much on the one product has been felt among the West Indian Islands. It is now dinned into the heads of the West Indians by hard experience that, in order to keep themselves above water, the natural products of the islands must be developed and markets found in countries within reach, as, for instance, the United States and England. A sign of this is seen in the fact that early this year a meeting was held in Barbados to consider what side-products could be grown in the island, and a Tobacco Growers' Association was formed. A movement has also taken place to develop minor industries—for instance, the production of fresh vegetables for the English market. The fact is, I suppose, that these tropical Colonies can produce almost anything by appropriate methods of cultivation—by intensive cultivation, by cultivating the island as if it were a garden. In the West Indian Islands England has a grand estate. England is very fortunate now in having a Colonial Minister who takes that view, who can look at the matter as a business man, and who is not afraid to spend money (like a liberal and far-sighted landlord) on the development of the estate. The West Indies are capable of enormously increased production if they are dealt with in proper methods, some of which, I hope, will be brought out later in this discussion. We may, I think, well hope that by proper treatment of the West Indies, both there and in the dealing with them by the Government at home, a bright future may at last dawn on these most beautiful and interesting islands.

MR. H. K. DAVSON: It gave me a glow of satisfaction, when I first heard of this Paper, to think that sugar had a future; but as the reading of the Paper proceeded it began to dawn on me that, in the author's opinion, the Colonies had a future—at least, the West India Colonies—in everything but sugar. Nor did this un-

pleasant feeling leave me when, at the end of the Paper, we were told to take heart of grace, even if sugar were wiped out altogether. However, I join in thanking Mr. Justice Williams for his very able lecture. His Paper is a perfect Paper as a literary production, and although I cannot agree with all he has said, or all the deductions he has drawn, still, as I have said, we have to thank him for affording us the opportunity of ventilating the question. I cannot follow the lecturer in all he has said about Jamaica and Mauritius, and I will therefore confine myself to British Guiana, where I spent the best years of my life, and where I am deeply interested in sugar and, in fact, everything else that turns up. I am sorry Mr. Justice Williams has never visited British Guiana, because, I think, he would have made a special exception as regards the Colony when he makes the charge of want of go-aheadism, and of not keeping up to date in the matter of machinery. Indeed, the first thing that strikes the visitor is the enormous cost of the machinery. The books of engineers at Glasgow, Liverpool, and Derby would prove what they have shipped to British Guiana, and I may mention that some years ago, when a Commission was sent to inquire into the state of emigration there, one of the commissioners remarked that, although he would not care to own an estate in the Colony, on account of the very large outlay, he would like to be a sleeping partner in one of the firms that supplied the machinery. One of the remedies for the existing state of things very much dwelt upon is the establishment of Central Factories. That, I believe, would answer very well in Barbados, Jamaica, and the Colonies where the estates are of small area and are all clustered together; but in British Guiana, except in certain districts where the estates are contiguous, that would not answer, the estates being of very large area, and each forming a Central Factory of itself. So that is not the remedy for British Guiana. We are blamed, not for the first time, for keeping all our eggs in one basket. Anyone conversant with the past history of British Guiana must know that in the early days of the Colony we had cotton, coffee, and cocoa. But when slavery was abolished labour became scarce. The labourers had an aversion to performing as free men the work they had done as slaves, and it was impossible these industries could be kept up, although there were men who were very much disposed to keep them up at a higher cost for some years. It was very different with sugar. Hence we stuck to it. The labourers, as a rule, preferred that employment to anything else. But we found even then there was not a sufficient amount of labour, and what did we do? We

did not sit down and whine, as we are charged with having done. We inaugurated a system of emigration from India, which has since been perfected, and has been a benefit on all sides : to the coolie, who became a citizen out there, and enjoys his labour ; to the planter, who profits by his labour ; and to the whole community, who benefit by the extra population. That was our first crisis, and that is how we met it. I now come to the second crisis—the abolition of the differential duties. That was really a “facer,” but how did we meet it ? That maligned individual, the British capitalist, opened his purse and sent out machinery of the highest type. We went to Germany, France, Holland—all the beet-growing countries—and took advantage of the science and economy by means of which they were running us so hard ; and again we held our own. Then came the third crisis—the granting of bounties, those iniquitous bounties against which we are now raising our righteous cry of indignation. We are told it is no use our doing so, that the British consumer will never submit to countervailing duties. I am not quite so sure about that. I think there is outward and visible evidence that the British consumer is awakening to the fact that cheapness is not everything. I would remind you of a speech made at one of the German conferences at which the speaker said, “These bounties must continue ; we cannot do without them at present ; we must stamp out the British Colonies. When we have done that we shall be masters of the situation ; we shall be able to put our prices up and make the British consumer pay for his sugar.” The First Napoleon, when he introduced beet-sugar, had an ulterior object beyond increasing the agricultural interests of France. He avowed that England had reached her greatness through her Colonies and commerce, and that one of his objects was to stamp them out. Cobden, Peel, Gladstone, Bright, and others, when they entered on their free-trade crusade, never contemplated the establishment of these bounties. I would like to read to you what Mr. Gladstone said on this subject. It was quoted by Mr. Neville Lubbock in the admirable Paper he read before this Institute in 1886 ; but it is a text that cannot be too often repeated :

If, as I understand (Mr. Gladstone said), the circumstances of the case remain unaltered, I think that both the trader and the workman engaged in the business of refining sugar have great reason to complain. My desire is that the British consumer should have both sugar and every other commodity at the lowest price at which it can be produced without arbitrary favour to any of those engaged in the competition. But I cannot regard with favour any cheapness which is produced

by means of the concealed subsidies of a foreign State to a particular industry, and with the effect of crippling and distressing capitalists and workmen engaged in a lawful branch of British trade.

On the same occasion Mr. Stephen Bourne, who is well known at these meetings, and is an ardent free-trader, said :

I do not think that Free Trade at all justifies our admitting bounty-aided sugar. I believe countervailing duties would be utterly unavailing, because they would require such nicety of adjustment, but I think we ought to take a bolder stroke and refuse to trade with foreign nations in bounty-supported sugar. The giving of these bonuses is, I consider, almost equivalent to an act of fraud, and we should at once prohibit the importation of sugar from any country which gives bounties on its production.

I quite agree with Mr. Bourne. It was on this basis that Baron de Worms negotiated his convention, which was rejected by Parliament on free-trade principles. We are often told the Government cannot do anything—that we ought to help ourselves. Lord Derby, when Colonial Minister, told us America was our natural market. We went to America, and through the untiring efforts of Mr. Lubbock we formed a reciprocal arrangement with them, by which our sugar was to have been admitted duty-free. We then go to the Colonial Office, and are told that that cannot be allowed as interfering with certain treaties which had been made, and in which the Colonies are included. We go back to America and say, "We belong to England, and England has made treaties with you, and tells us we are an integral part of the Empire, and now, as we cannot carry out that arrangement, we ask you to put us on the same terms as you have put England under the favoured nation's clause." "Oh, no," is the reply; "we should be happy, but when the treaty was made the Colonies were specially excluded." History repeats itself. The Israelites were punished for not making bricks without straw. We are punished for not fighting with our hands tied behind our backs. We are hit in the face and below the belt, and we cannot retaliate because a paternal Government has pinioned us. I hope it will no longer be said the sugar proprietors are a helpless body. They are only helpless when their hands are tied. I thank the reader of the Paper for the bright future he has portrayed as regards the gold industry in British Guiana. I believe there is a future in that respect, and I believe also that the brilliant statesman who now wields the destinies of the Colonies will do everything he can, not only to further the gold interest, but

also to give fair play to all other industries. He is too astute a statesman not to know that it would be a great evil to let slide any existing industry, especially one which has kept the Colony going since it became a British possession; and I believe that while furthering other developments he will do all he can to maintain the importance of that of sugar.

Mr. GEORGE CARRINGTON (Barbados): We have had a very interesting account, flattering or otherwise, of the small West Indian island of Barbados. I am proud, as all Barbadians are well known to be, of having been born in that island, and though brought up in England, and holding the highest diplomas in agriculture in England and Scotland, I have spent years in Barbados studying every detail of sugar manufacture, and so late as the spring of this year spent some months in the island. I have also visited several times many of the chief estates in British Guiana and Trinidad, also the principal estates in Louisiana, and I am personally acquainted with some of the largest plantation owners in the Sandwich Islands, so that I may fairly claim to have obtained some insight into scientific sugar manufacture. From many remarks in the Paper we have heard to-night I fear the conclusion might be drawn that there was a lack of intelligence and enterprise among the planters in the older sugar-producing Colonies of this great Empire. With this I cannot agree. The planters in the Colonies now under review are Englishmen or Scotchmen, or if natives the same blood runs in their veins, and had any prospect of adequate remuneration opened before them, they would not have been wanting in energy to spend the large sums required to establish that Central Factory system so ably advocated by Mr. Justice Williams. I quite agree with Mr. Justice Williams that the Central Factory system is *the* system. But I fear the matter is not so simple as the Paper might lead us to suppose. The lecturer has held up to us examples of the successful working of the system he advocates, the factories of *Queensland*, *Natal*, and *Guadeloupe*. But at the same time he has somewhat let us into the secret of their success, in mentioning that, owing to the over-production of the *Queensland* factories, there is a glut on the Australian sugar market, and the planters are complaining. Whatever success these factories have obtained has been due, in a large measure, I believe, to the markets supplied by them being protected from outside competition. Last year the factories of the French islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, selling their sugar in the open market, found it so impossible to produce sugar at the price then obtaining that the French



Government have not allowed them to send in their sugars to France, remitting them duty so that their sugars are protected to that amount; the truth being that where cane sugar has to be sold on the English markets, in competition with the bounty-fed sugar of the Continent, the price of late years has been below the actual cost of production. Where a new sugar industry is to be started, any man of experience would advocate a Central Factory, but where the industry is the outgrowth of perhaps hundreds of years, and the production very cheap and of excellent quality, it is a grave matter for consideration whether the increased return will pay for the large increase of expenditure. I was a good deal struck by a remark that fell from Mr. Chamberlain to the private deputation that attended him a few days since at the Colonial Office. He said that he did not doubt that all that intelligence and enterprise could do had been done in the Colony of British Guiana, for he had in his experience found that wherever in the British Colonies an adequate return for the investment of capital was to be found, there British capital would be sure to flow. The reader of the Paper has mentioned that the Government of Barbados has passed a bill the object of which is to enable a small Central Factory to be started. The scheme offers a loan of only £50,000, and this is, I consider, not on a sufficiently large scale to show the full value of a Central Factory; but should this pioneer factory prove successful, a very large sum will be required for the starting of others. And where is this money to come from? In Barbados our staple and only industry is sugar. The island being flat and exposed to the trade winds, and with a calcareous subsoil which provides a natural drainage, it is excellent for the growth of the sugar-cane, but apparently unfit for the successful cultivation of any other industrial plant. The revenue of the island depends solely upon sugar, most of the estates are heavily mortgaged, and it seems doubtful whether in these days of great depression the Government of the island, unaided by the Mother Country, could raise a sufficient sum for the establishment of an adequate number of Central Factories, or whether, with the example of the factories in British Guiana before them, they would be wise in taking such a bold step at this critical time, notwithstanding the fact that from its numerous advantages a Central Factory in Barbados would perhaps have a better chance of success than in any other part of the world. I may draw attention to the somewhat severe remarks which have been made upon the action of the West India Committee, of which I have the honour to be a member. To my mind the keystone of the whole position

is the question of bounties given by foreign countries on beetroot sugar. These bounties give an enormous advantage on the British market to Continental beet sugar, with the result that the far larger proportion of sugar on the English market ought, like so many articles of consumption that we see in our shops to-day, to be labelled "MADE IN GERMANY," so that while the beet production has increased from 2,228,000 tons in 1885-6 to 4,975,000 tons in 1894-5, or 124 per cent., the cane production has only increased from 2,140,000 tons in 1885-6 to 2,904,000 tons in 1894-5, or, say, 36 per cent.; and if we go back a little further we find the beet production of 1880-1 was only 1,630,000 tons, while the cane production was in the same year 2,200,000 tons. And the annual contribution, on the basis of the present bounty by Foreign Governments, is as follows:—

Germany	. . . . .	812,000
France	. . . . .	2,075,000
Austria	. . . . .	403,000
Belgium	. . . . .	1,000,000
Total	. . . . .	£4,290,000

It must be remembered that in addition to this sum a considerable bounty is obtained from the taxpayers direct, and it can be safely estimated that the bounty system is costing the Continental taxpayer £5,000,000 per annum. With every other civilised nation the acknowledged policy of the Government is to protect and encourage its industries on the principle which individuals find so useful in every-day life, that they must make their money in some trade or industry before they can spend it. We, of the West India Committee, ask of the English Government no favour, no protection, no advantage on foreign markets, but simply and solely free trade upon our own home market. It is impossible for the British individual planter to compete against the enormous wealth of the Continental States, lavishly applied with the avowed object of crushing our industry. We see the Continental Powers conferring together at the present moment with the object of doing away with the bounty system. They feel the heavy load of the bounties on their finances, and they would willingly be rid of the system; but there are enormous jealousies between them, and if Germany wants one thing, it is certain that France will oppose it in every way, even to her own detriment. This was the position, I believe, at the breaking up of the conference in 1888. Every nation save one was ready to abandon the bounty system, and it depended solely on Great Britain, by prohibiting the bounty-fed sugar of this one

country from entering its market, to put an end to this vicious system, and to bring back once again to the British colonists the glorious advantages of free trade. So long as the bounties continue, so long will the markets be liable to periods of enormous over-production as at the present time, bringing thousands of British subjects in our oldest Colonies to the verge of starvation, and so long will British capital be afraid to subject itself to the instability of the sugar trade. Give to us sugar planters free trade, ensure that we shall compete on equal and fair terms with the foreigner on our own market, and you may be sure that we shall not hesitate to sink capital in large Central Factories and send home orders for machinery and other goods that will keep our English and Scotch engineering firms busy, and provide employment at good wages for thousands of British working men for long days to come.

Mr. JOHN STEVENSON (Queensland): I am glad to find, after many years' absence from England, that the Royal Colonial Institute has not become a mere mutual admiration society, and though we must all thank Mr. Justice Williams for his Paper, we do not all agree with him. It is a very difficult subject to deal with. In the City this morning I was asked by a leading financier what was likely to be the future of sugar-growing in Queensland. I thought that rather "a large order," and was reminded of a partner of mine who, on a visit to this country, was asked a similarly large question about the future of the pastoral industry, and who replied, "You may just as well ask me what God Almighty will do at the day of judgment." No one knows what is going to happen. You never can tell what the price of sugar is going to be. We have heard to-night that certain tastes were to be regarded. Well, I don't believe that any lady or gentleman in London knows the difference between beet and cane—"Oh"—any more than you know you are eating our frozen meat instead of your own, though I may tell you that the frozen meat is every bit as good as the other. For myself, I think Queensland is just about as good a sugar-growing country as any other, and I would add that, although English people are fighting a bit shy about Australian things in these times, I think you might just as well go into them as into anything else.

Mr. J. K. FOWLER declared, as the result of a series of experiments, that in almost every part of the United Kingdom beet could be grown containing as large a percentage of saccharine as the best beet of the Continental countries. Being reminded by the Chairman that this was not the subject before the meeting, Mr. Fowler

said he would content himself by calling upon the Government to encourage the industry.

Sir WILLIAM H. QUAYLE JONES : I know nothing much about sugar except that I believe I know the difference between loaf beet sugar and loaf cane sugar, and I always buy the latter. I came here as a learner, and in connection with the alleged attempt to stamp out the British industry I think one most encouraging fact was stated by Mr. Carrington, viz. that although the foreign production has increased enormously, yet the production of British cane sugar was not a diminishing but an increasing quantity, from which circumstance our sugar growers should take heart of grace and continue the fight, as soon the enormous sums paid in bounties, if things go on as at present without decreasing our output, must lead to abandonment of the bounty system.

Mr. R. G. WEBSTER, M.P. : In common, I dare say, with most of you, I deeply regret that the important arrangement made by Baron H. De Worms was not carried through. Its object really was to establish free trade. We desired that the West India Colonies should, equally with the foreigner, be able to sell in the English market. I may say that I have taken a deep interest in British Guiana, and I am pleased to hear of the future which lies before the Colony. We have to congratulate ourselves on having at the head of affairs a statesman who, I believe, will guard our interests there. We will not allow anybody, whether it be the United States or any other nationality, to take one inch of British territory.

The CHAIRMAN : As I have not served in any so-called sugar-producing Colony, I cannot, I fear, add anything useful to the information on this subject, but I may say that I can perfectly well differentiate between the cane and the beet sugar, and I unhesitatingly say that the cane sugar I habitually use in my own household, which comes from Province Wellesley in the Straits Settlements, is far superior to any beet sugar produced in any quarter of the world. In summing up the debate, I would only say that I think we all recognise that we suffered great loss from Lord Pirbright's arrangement not having been carried out, but we are satisfied if there is any statesman in the British Empire who can bring to a successful issue another arrangement which will promote the interests of our sugar-producing Colonies, it is Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who now presides over the Colonial Office. I am quite sure I am speaking your sentiments, as well as my own, when I convey to Mr. Justice Williams our heartiest thanks for the Paper he has read. It is a Paper marked with great literary ability and

knowledge, and I for one, as an old Colonial Governor, am delighted to find a Paper of this kind coming from one who has held the position of one of Her Majesty's Judges. It is not often we get matters of this kind discussed by others than planters, merchants, or Government officials, and when we find one of Her Majesty's Judges is able so to use his time, it must be a matter of congratulation to all of us who take an interest in the development of all our Colonies and their administration.

MR. JUSTICE CONDÉ WILLIAMS : I am obliged to you for the flattering way in which this vote of thanks has been proposed and accepted. I did not suppose that everybody would agree with my conclusions. It is well, however, that these matters should be as much and broadly ventilated as possible. In regard to the somewhat scathing remarks which fell from Mr. Peace, I may say that I had no intention whatever of saying anything at all depreciatory of the future possibilities of the Colony of Natal. I only remembered very well the journeys which, as a Judge, I made in that Colony some dozen years ago over the rolling veldt, which is the characteristic feature of the interior districts, and I thought, and still think, that if anybody believes that that high upland country, which is of a somewhat arid description and abounds in ant-hills, will ever be covered by fields of waving corn, he is a much more sanguine person than I am. No one wishes Natal more heartily well than I do. The local year-book is responsible for my figures. With regard to British Guiana, I would remind you that I expressly omitted in the Paper saying anything depreciatory of the machinery which exists on the sugar properties of that Colony. I am well aware that their proprietors spent large sums, and that these estates are in fact largely in the van of progress as regards mill sugar machinery ; and on that account I avoided classing British Guiana among Colonies whose machinery of this class is out of date. I will only add, as the hour is late, that I feel we have been much favoured in our Chairman. Sir Cecil Clementi Smith needs no words of appreciation from me. His services are known to all. He has in an able and dignified manner sustained the reputation of our Crown in the successful and crowded East, and his fortunes have not been cast in the depressed and clouded West. He has done his duty ably as statesman and Governor, and I feel we have been favoured in having such a Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN responded, and the proceedings closed.

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### THIRD ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Third Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, January 14, 1896, when Mr. William Austin Horn read a paper on "The Scientific Exploration of Central Australia."

Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., a Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 27 Fellows had been elected, viz., 11 Resident and 16 Non-Resident.

#### Resident Fellows :—

*James B. Akeroyd, Richmond R. Allen, F.R.C.S.I., Rev. Henry J. Borrow, B.A., John E. Chandler, F.R.G.S., Hirschel Cohen, Sidney Ford, Colonel Josiah Harris, F.R.G.S., Charles Heneage, James Murray, William E. Vaux, Waller H. Wolf.*

#### Non-Resident Fellows.

*Henry Abrey (Natal), T. W. S. Barklie (British Guiana), John S. Brunskill (Transvaal), Marshall Campbell (Natal), J. C. Colledge (Queensland), William H. Couldery, J.P. (Queensland), James Crowe (Natal), Francis J. Gardiner, J.P. (Cape Colony), Dudley G. Gisborne (Matabeleland), Sir Augustus W. L. Hemming, K.C.M.G. (Governor of British Guiana), Charles Kewley, M.A. (Cape Colony), Robert M. Little (British North Borneo), George W. Malcolm (Mauritius), Thomas Raymond (Natal), Charles Wm. Rock (Mauritius), Rev. Frederic W. Wingate (Cape Colony).*

It was also announced that donations to the Library of books, maps, &c. had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The names of Mr. F. H. Dangar on behalf of the Council and Mr. W. G. Devon Astle on behalf of the Fellows were submitted and approved as Auditors of the Accounts of the Institute for the past year in accordance with Rule 48.

THE CHAIRMAN : I regret to have to announce that Mr. Childers, who, as one of our Vice-Presidents, had kindly undertaken to preside, is kept at home by a cold, and that is why I appear in the chair this evening. Expressions of regret at unavoidable absence have also been received from Lord Kintore, late Governor of South

Australia; Lord Hopetoun, late Governor of Victoria; Sir Henry Norman, late Governor of Queensland; Sir Maurice O'Rorke, Speaker of the House of Representatives, New Zealand; Sir William Flower and others. In introducing Mr. Horn, I may remind you that the story of the early explorers of Australia—their labours, perils, and achievements—is so well-known to you that there is no need for me to expatiate on the subject. The names of Captain Charles Sturt—the discoverer of the Lower Murray, whose eldest son, Colonel Napier Sturt, is with us to-night—Grey, Eyre, Mitchell, Leichhardt, Gregory, Burke, Stuart, McKinlay, Warburton, Forrest, Giles, and other pioneers of settlement in that great island continent whose shores were mapped by Cook and Flinders, are household words and can never be forgotten. The lecturer will describe another era of Australian development, viz. the scientific examination of the country that has thus been opened up. Of recent years public-spirited colonists like Sir Thomas Elder and Mr. Horn have fitted out expeditions that have materially added to our knowledge, and I think you will agree with me that an account of the latest of these will form a not inappropriate subject for the opening meeting of a new year. I will now ask Mr. Horn to read his Paper on

## THE SCIENTIFIC EXPLORATION OF CENTRAL AUSTRALIA.

### ORIGIN OF THE EXPEDITION.

THE scientific exploration of Central Australia, more particularly that portion known as the MacDonnell Ranges, had for many years been desired by the leading scientific men in Australia, some of whom hold the opinion that when the rest of the continent was submerged the elevated portions of the MacDonnell Range existed as an island, and that consequently older forms of life might be found in the more inaccessible parts. Travellers' tales also of the manners and customs of the natives, and the varieties of plant and animal life in these remote regions, had aroused a widespread interest, and at the solicitation of a few scientific friends I resolved to organise and equip a party, composed of scientific men, to thoroughly explore this belt of country. The proposition was received with great favour in Australia, and numerous applications were made, and even premiums offered, by gentlemen anxious to join the expedition. The failure, however, of previous expeditions made

it necessary to exercise great care in the selection of the various members, so as to avoid the disasters, in the shape of internal dissensions, which had wrecked the others. In order to secure the services of the best men in Australia I decided to make it a semi-national undertaking, and to this end invitations were extended to the Premiers of the principal Colonies, asking them to nominate scientific representatives.

The Premiers of the Colonies of Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia responded most cordially. Victoria, partly through the generous influence of Lord Hopetoun, nominated Professor Baldwin Spencer, of the Melbourne University, and the work done by this gentleman in connection with the whole undertaking, and especially in the zoological branch, will prove of the greatest interest and value to the scientific world. New South Wales nominated Mr. J. Alexander Watt, of the Sydney University, and South Australia nominated Professor Ralph Tate, F.L.S., and Dr. Edward Stirling, F.R.S., both of the Adelaide University. All these gentlemen have done most valuable work, which will appear shortly in book form with numerous illustrations. Mr. C. A. Winnecke, F.R.G.S., was chosen as the surveyor and meteorologist, and the fact that, in addition to piloting the party to such points as they wished to visit, this gentleman traversed and plotted about 27,000 square miles of country, and also made a series of valuable meteorological observations, speaks for itself.

The general public were for some time under the impression that the expedition was going out in search of gold. They could not understand a body of scientific gentlemen going into a desert country, giving up their time and services, and submitting to all the dangers, discomforts, and hardships attendant upon the life for any other reason. There is no doubt that had one of the collectors in pursuit of a butterfly barked his shins against a nugget of gold, he would have recognised, and having recognised, would have "collected" it, although his claim would probably have been disputed by the geological section of the expedition. But the real objects of the expedition were as set out in the articles under which they started, viz. the scientific examination of the country from Oodnadatta to the MacDonnell Range; the collection of specimens illustrative of the fauna, flora, and geological structure and mineralogical resources of that region, and the illustration by photography of any remarkable natural features of the country traversed; the securing of photographs of the aborigines in their primitive state, the collection of information as to their manners,



customs, and language, and the reproduction of their mural paintings.

We made our final start from Oodnadatta, which is the northern terminal point of the railway from Adelaide, on May 6, 1894. Our party consisted of, in addition to the scientific gentlemen already named, two Afghan and two European camel-drivers, two collectors, two prospectors, one aboriginal black tracker, and one cook, making sixteen in all, with twenty-six camels and two horses. Without pretending to any great amount of scientific knowledge myself, I have had considerable experience in bush life, extending over many years, and had done a good deal of exploring work in the Eremian region; and, at the solicitation of several members of the party, I accompanied them to a point 1,000 miles north of Adelaide, and finding that they were all working together with the utmost harmony and enthusiasm, I started on my lonely return journey. When leaving I tried the new experiment of having no autocratic leader, but gave each scientific member of the party one vote, so that all questions as to the route to be taken, the length of time to be spent at one spot, or any kindred questions, were decided by the majority. The safe-conduct of the party to such points as they wished to visit was entrusted to the surveyor and explorer, Mr. Winnecke, who carried out his duties admirably.

In venturing to address you to-night on the subject of the Scientific Exploration of Australia I propose to confine my remarks to that portion of the continent which is now known to science as the Eremian or solitary desert region, the area of which is practically comprised within the central portion of the continent.

The continent of Australia extends from the 38th to the 12th parallel of S. Lat., and from the 118th to 158rd degree of Longitude. Now if we take Ayers' Rock as the centre of an ellipse which has a length of 1,600 miles by a width of 800 miles, we have an area which comprises practically the whole of this Eremian region, which has an average rainfall of from five to twelve inches; but this rainfall is very irregular, as long periods of drought, sometimes of two years' duration, frequently intervene, and much of the country is reduced to the condition of an almost impassable desert, thus rendering the close examination of the central portion a task of no small difficulty and occasional danger, firstly from the scarcity of permanent water, and secondly from the presence of occasionally hostile natives.

In the very centre of the continent, and within the limits of the Eremian region, there exists an elevated tract of country, known as the MacDonnell Ranges. These mountains, barren and rugged in

the extreme, rise to an altitude of nearly 5,000 feet above sea-level, while the country surrounding them has an elevation of about 2,000 feet above sea-level; it slopes away on every side towards the coast, distant 1,000 miles. The mountains are at the head of the river Finke, and for this region, including the valley of the Finke, we have adopted the name of Larapintine, from the native name of the Finke, "Larapinta," and it was over this area that most of our explorations were conducted. The existence of these mountains has to a great extent redeemed this portion of the continent from becoming an absolute desert, as the mountains attract the tropical clouds, and during the occasional heavy downpours of rain a vast amount of storm water rushes down their barren rocky sides into the channel of the Finke River and its tributaries, and overflowing the banks inundates a great deal of the surrounding country, particularly in the south. The consequence of such inundation is that over the inundated portion of the country, and also other lowlands on which the rain has fallen, there is a rapid and luxuriant growth of vegetation. The ground being warm the rapidity of the vegetable growth is almost marvellous. I have seen portions of this Eremian region which have been reduced by drought to the condition of a moving mass of sand, and yet within a month of a heavy fall of rain the country was covered with a most luxuriant vegetation and capable of carrying an enormous amount of stock. These rapid changes have, however, led to ruinous losses among the pastoralists, as people with a meagre knowledge of the climate, and who have seen this country for the first time after one of those tropical downpours, imagine it to be its normal condition, and are induced to send out large numbers of stock to graze; and when the inevitable drought occurs and the country is again reduced to the desert condition, they find their stock dying by hundreds of thousands for want of water. Now these climatic conditions have a marked influence on the animal life indigenous to these regions, and have led to the occurrence of some strange phenomena, to which I will refer later on.

From the number of fossil diprotodons of gigantic size and struthious birds rivalling in stature the New Zealand moa, which have been found within the limits of the Eremian region, it is evident that it had at one time a far heavier and more constant rainfall and a more luxuriant vegetation, capable of sustaining larger and slower-moving forms of animal life than at present. At Lake Callabonna, in the great salt Lake Eyre basin, there are hundreds of fossil skeletons of these animals, some of which have been

successfully removed to the Adelaide Museum. In that locality they are found most frequently on the surface of the dry salt lake, and have been preserved by a natural coating of carbonate of lime ; but I have found their bones at a depth of twelve feet from the surface, at a place 600 miles S.E. of the MacDonnells. As has been remarked by Professor Spencer, the mammalian fauna of this arid region must and does consist of two elements, (1) a small number of forms able to travel long distances with comparative ease, such as the kangaroo or dingo, and (2) a larger number of smaller and usually burrowing ones capable of living a long time without water, and able to feed upon insects and the parched vegetation on the hill-sides ; whereas the diprotodon was a heavy-limbed animal of the sloth tribe, and must have required a totally different environment. The geologists and zoologists attached to the expedition have acquired a great amount of information bearing upon these points, and I look forward with considerable interest to the publication of their reports in February next.

I have always felt that it was the duty of some one to obtain accurate information as to the manners, customs, superstitions, &c., of the primitive races which inhabited the continent of Australia before the advent of Europeans, and also to obtain by photography some faithful reproductions of their ceremonial dresses and general appearance before they had come under the debasing influences of the white man. And in this matter we were most ably and generously assisted by Mr. J. F. Gillen, who has had a long experience among them and is himself an expert photographer. The race is fast dying out, and there are very few tribes left in their primitive condition who have not been in contact with Europeans ; these are all confined to the Eremian region. In this matter we have been signally successful, and have obtained a very large number of valuable photographs, some of them being of ceremonies and rites which are very rarely witnessed by white men, and have also obtained a mass of reliable information as to their superstitions and general customs, copies of a number of their mural paintings, and a very large collection of their weapons and instruments.

#### ABORIGINES.

The Central Australian aborigine is the living representative of a stone age, who still fashions his spear-heads and knives from flint or sandstone and performs the most daring surgical operations with them. His origin and history are lost in the gloomy mists of the past. He has no written records and few oral traditions. In

appearance he is a naked, hirsute savage, with a type of features occasionally pronouncedly Jewish. He is by nature light-hearted, merry, and prone to laughter, a splendid mimic, supple-jointed, with an unerring hand that works in perfect unison with his eye, which is keen as that of an eagle. He has never been known to wash. He has no private ownership of land, except as regards that which is not over carefully concealed about his person. He cultivates nothing, but lives entirely on the spoils of the chase, and although the thermometer frequently ranges from 15 degrees to over 90 degrees F. in twenty-four hours, and his country is teeming with furred game, he makes no use of the skins for clothing, but goes about during the day and sleeps in the open at night perfectly nude. He builds no permanent habitation and usually camps where night or fatigue overtakes him.

He can travel from point to point for hundreds of miles through the pathless bush with unerring precision, and can track an animal over rocks and stones, where a European eye would be unable to distinguish a mark. He is a keen observer and knows the habits and changes of form of every variety of animal or vegetable life in his country. Religious belief he has none, but is excessively superstitious, living in constant dread of an Evil Spirit which is supposed to lurk round his camp at night. He has no gratitude except that of the anticipatory order, and is as treacherous as Judas. He has no traditions, and yet continues to practise with scrupulous exactness a number of hideous customs and ceremonies which have been handed down from his fathers, and of the origin or reason of which he knows nothing. Ofttimes kind and even affectionate to those of his children who have been permitted to live, he yet practises, without any reason except that his father did so before him, the most cruel and revolting mutilations upon the young men and maidens of his tribe.

Yet withal he is a philosopher who accepts feast or famine without a murmur either at the pangs of hunger or the discomforts of repletion. His motto is "*Carpe diem*," and when fortune sends him a supply of game he consumes it all, regardless of to-morrow. No cold missionary graces his side-board, and should hunger, as a penalty for his improvident gluttony, overtake him, he simply ties a thin hair-girdle tightly round his stomach, and almost persuades himself that he is still suffering from repletion. After an experience of many years I say without hesitation that he is absolutely untameable. You may clothe and care for him for years, when suddenly the demon of unrest takes possession; he throws off all his cloth-

ing and plunges into the trackless depths of his native bush, at once reverting to his old and hideous customs, and when sated, after months of privation, he will return again to clothing and civilisation, only to repeat the performance later on. Verily his moods are as eccentric as the flight of his own boomerang. Thanks to the untiring efforts of the missionary and the stockman, he is being rapidly "civilised" off the face of the earth, and in another hundred years the sole remaining evidence of his existence will be the fragments of flint which he has fashioned so rudely. It was for this reason that I thought it desirable to get some reliable information, supplemented by photography, of this race while there were any of them remaining in their primitive condition.

In returning from the expedition my only companion was a semi-civilised native nicknamed Slim Jem. He was quite nude and rode my second horse. He was the most taciturn native I ever met, and only once, when our food ran short and I suggested to him that he should tighten his girdle, so as to engender a feeling of repletion, did I rouse him to a sense of repartee and he exclaimed, "Me big one hungry." On our final arrival at Crown Point, on the river Finke, I told him to come to the camp at dinner time, to get something to eat. I didn't tell him not to dress for dinner, because I knew he wouldn't. He was a sort of king in his own country, and he brought his queen with him. He was dressed in a coat of black grease plus a bone through his nose. She was also dressed in a coat of black grease, plus the crown jewels, consisting of a dog's-tooth necklace. They were not announced: it was quite unnecessary; I knew when they were approaching. They came from the south. The prevailing wind is from that quarter. I could tell when they were between me and the camels! We dined early, and I think they enjoyed the dinner. I noticed when they left that the length of their girdles hardly appeared to be commensurate with the extent of my hospitality.

#### NATURAL FEATURES OF THE COUNTRY.

Oodnadatta is situated 600 miles N. of Adelaide. The country from Oodnadatta for some hundreds of miles on every side has, at one time, been an elevated plateau covered with sand, which has become cemented together by silica; a great portion of this has at some subsequent period, extending over probably some thousands of years, been subjected to a slow process of erosion and become broken up and partially disintegrated, but the harder portions which have resisted this weathering now stand at an elevation of

from one to two hundred feet above the surrounding country, presenting in the distance the appearance of high, flat-topped, isolated ranges; when approached, however, they seem to sink down and prove to be flat-topped ridges with a bold escarpment on the south side, the level top being covered with the desert sandstone. They frequently assume fantastic shapes, as seen in Chambers' Pillar and Castle Rocks, but the more ordinary form is that of a long tent or haystack.

The finer sandy portions of the disintegrated mass are blown for long distances, and are found in the form of long low ridges of sand running parallel to one another like huge ocean rollers, and extending for scores of miles, generally in a N.W. and S.E. direction. The sense of solitude and desolation that oppresses one in these sandhills is most appalling. From the time you enter them you are dominated by the one desire to get out of them. Many a poor fellow never has got out of them, but has perished from thirst; Gibson—Giles's solitary companion—perished in them, and Giles himself had more than one narrow escape. With the exception of the plaintive wail of the dingo or the hum of the ubiquitous blow-fly, absolute silence reigns, and your range of vision is so restricted by the low scrub and sandhills all round that you feel a sense of almost imprisonment. The harder portions of the disintegrated mass, usually in the form of stones of a few pounds in weight, remain *in situ*, and the whole country looks as though it had rained stones. As far as the eye can reach in every direction over the plains there is nothing to be seen but bare shining stones, having a polished surface, from the sand continually blowing over them. They are locally known as "gibbers," (hard *g*). Those gibbers I'll never forget. If we looked out to the horizon we looked over gibbers the whole distance. We travelled all day for weeks over gibbers. We slept at night upon gibbers. We even found small portions of gibbers in our food, and regretted that the *g* was *hard*.

The only herbage is in small depressions where the water lodges immediately after rain. The mean annual rainfall is about five inches, but lengthened periods of time frequently elapse without any rain falling; the country is then reduced to the condition of an almost impassable and waterless desert, where, in the words of Adam Lindsay Gordon—

With fire and fierce drought on her tresses  
Insatiable Summer oppresses  
Sere woodlands and sad wildernesses,  
And faint flocks and herds.

On approaching the MacDonnells, however, the aspect of the country changes. The rainfall increases. The mountains are bold. The rocks are of a different structure. Granite, red sandstone, and quartzites make their appearance. Bare rocky ranges rise up 1,000 to 2,500 feet above the surrounding country, which is sandy, but in places comparatively fertile. The flanking ranges of hills are weathered into bold headlands, capes, bluffs, &c.

The MacDonnells themselves are three parallel ranges of mountains running east and west, and separated by narrow valleys; the most remarkable of these which has been mapped by the explorer has been named "Horn Valley." The total length of this extraordinary valley is 100 miles, and it is only 400 yards in width. It is flanked on both sides by rugged wall-like ranges of rock 700 to 800 feet in height. The only passes are the narrow rocky gorges through which the watercourses pass. Some very interesting beds of fossils, which will be fully described by the geologists, were discovered here.

There are no permanent streams in Central Australia, but in times of tropical rains immense volumes of water rush down from the barren hills, and, flooding the usually dry channels, overflow the shallow banks, and, as I have previously remarked, inundate great tracts of sandy country, causing a luxuriant growth of vegetation. The Finke River is the largest of these watercourses; it drains an immense area, running north and south, and has many important tributaries coming in from the east and west. One of the extraordinary features of this country is that the Finke River, taking its rise north of the MacDonnells and running southward, impinges on the first of the ranges, running east and west. One would expect that the river, on striking this solid wall of rock at a right angle, would be deflected from its course, and would flow along the foot of the range; but not so: the mountain chain is rent asunder at this point and a deep and rocky gorge is formed, having walls of bare rock over 1,000 feet in height, between which the river passes. Some of these cliffs are so nearly vertical that the sun hardly ever penetrates into the gloomy depths of the gorges. The river then crosses the Sandy Valley, and a like phenomenon occurs. The second mountain chain is rent asunder in the same manner, and the river passes through to the third parallel range, which again is opened for its escape on the south side; it then continues its course through rough rocky valleys and sandy plains for 400 miles, and is finally absorbed in the sandy desert to the south-east.

## CHAMBERS' PILLAR

is situated about 100 miles south of the MacDonnell Ranges. This extraordinary natural feature is formed of a greyish sandstone and stands like a broken column on a broad pedestal. It rises 164 feet above the surrounding country, which consists of low sandhills covered with spinifex (*Triodia irritans*). It is visible for many miles on every side, and when looking at it from a distance it is difficult to believe that it is not the work of human hands. It certainly has a most imposing appearance.

## AYERS' ROCK

is situated about 100 miles S.W. of the MacDonnells. This grand old monolith, weather-beaten and scarred by the storms of countless centuries, stands to-day, after defying the eroding influences of frost and heat from time immemorial, 1,100 feet in height and 5 miles in circumference, looking out like a majestic sentinel of the plain watching the signal fires of the savages who are converging from all points of the almost limitless desert beyond, and steering for the narrow oasis at his feet, where is to be found the only permanent water in this desolate region. This is one of the most remarkable natural features of the Australian continent, and is probably the largest monolith known. It is composed of metamorphic grit of a bright red colour, set off by the green bushes surrounding it. For a short distance round the base there is a narrow oasis watered by the drainage from the rock; beyond that the sand extends in all directions. It is a rallying-point for the natives, and the numerous cavities are ornamented with rude aboriginal drawings, some of which were carefully copied by Professor Spencer.

To the west and north-west of this rock, at a distance of some fifty miles, are granite ranges, and among these occurs a strange phenomenon. In the afternoon, frequently on a hot still day, loud explosions are heard, with great crashing of rocks. The early explorers attributed these to earth tremors, but they are now accounted for by the fact that high up on many of the abrupt faces of the gorges are lodged enormous masses of independent rock of all shapes and sizes, many having the form of tall pillars. They rest, owing to the weathering of the surrounding rock, on very insecure bases. On a very hot day, when the sun gets low in the heavens, the eastern side of the rock is in the shade and cools and contracts rapidly, while the western side is exposed to a fierce sun



and expands. A mass scales off the rapidly cooling side. The centre of gravity is thus suddenly shifted; the rock loses its balance and a mass of some thousands of tons is hurled into the valley below, overturning and smashing in its descent other great masses, and shaking all the adjacent country, the noise reverberating through the gorges like peals of thunder. This is succeeded by a dead stillness, only to be broken again in the same manner.

#### SCENERY.

The mountains of the MacDonnells rise to a considerable altitude, Mount Heughlin being 4,760 feet above sea level, and others over 4,000 feet. There are some grand pieces of scenery, and some very pretty oases are formed, notably at Glen of Palms, Reedy Creek, and Cycad Gorge. At sunset the mountains assume that beautiful Orleans plum colour so characteristic of Australian mountain scenery, and stand out with their rugged profiles clear cut against the blue sky, making a bold picture. Yet there is an air of melancholy about the stillness and silence, broken only by the harsh screech of the cockatoo or the plaintive wail of the deplete dingo. The powerful word painting of Marcus Clarke with slight alterations aptly describes the MacDonnell Ranges: "The dominant note of Australian scenery is weird melancholy. The mountains are funereal, secret, and stern. Their solitude is desolation. They seem to stifle in their black gorges a story of Sullen Despair. The savage winds shout among the rock clefts. From the melancholy gum tree strips of white bark hang and rustle. The very animal life of these frowning hills is either grotesque or ghostly. Great grey kangaroos hop noiselessly over the grass. The sun suddenly sinks, and from a gorge in the hills rises a dismal chant, and around their fires dance natives painted like skeletons. All is fear-inspiring and gloomy. No bright fancies are linked with the memories of these mountains. Famished explorers have named them out of their sufferings, Mount Misery, Mount Hopeless, Mount Despair. The soul when placed before the frightful grandeur of these barren hills drinks in their sentiment of defiant ferocity and is steeped in bitterness. And yet withal there is an indescribable fascination about this Australian bush. In it alone is to be found the grotesque, the weird, the strange scribblings of Nature learning to write. The dweller in the wilderness acknowledges the subtle charm of this fantastic land of monstrosities. Whispered to by the myriad tongues of the wilderness, he learns the language of the barren and the uncouth, and can read the hieroglyphs of haggard

gum trees, blown into odd shapes, distorted by fierce hot winds, or cramped by cold nights when the Southern Cross freezes in a cloudless sky of icy blue. The phantasmagoria of that wild dreamland termed the bush interprets itself, and one begins to comprehend why free Esau loved his heritage of desert sand better than the bountiful riches of Egypt."

#### CLIMATE.

The climate of the MacDonnells in winter is simply perfect, with warm clear days and bright cold nights. Day succeeds day without a cloud. In the afternoon there is generally a light breeze from the S. or S.E. The result of observations taken on eighty-four days shows that on twenty-six days a dead calm prevailed; on thirty-two days a gentle S.E. wind; on fifteen days a S. or E. wind; on eleven days wind N.W. or S.W.

In South Australia the hot winds are invariably from the north, and this gave rise to the theory that the winds became heated from passing over the dry hot centre of the continent; but hot winds in the centre are much rarer than in the south. During nearly four months there was not enough rain to wet a pocket handkerchief, and it was never necessary to erect the tents. We always slept in the open air.

#### FAUNA.

There are many forms of animal life in these arid regions which disappear entirely in seasons of drought, and reappear after rains in great numbers, and almost always in the adult stage. This is notably the case with regard to fish and frogs. Professor Spencer has done much to elucidate this mystery.

Among those which suffer most acutely from the droughts are, of course, the fish and the amphibia. The fish are reproduced in a most extraordinary manner, as in periods of protracted drought the bulk of the water holes in the bed of the Finke River become dry; and yet immediately after a flood fish in all stages of growth are again found in the recently dry water holes. The only way in which this can be accounted for is that the fish in the permanent water holes are carried down by the floods into the holes which have previously been dry; but even on this theory it is difficult to imagine that the permanent holes could supply anything like the number of fish that are found. Another theory is that these fish mature very quickly, and that the eggs are carried by the feet of birds which frequent the water holes. Professor Spencer noticed a crow leaving a water hole with a pellet of mud in its claws, and this being taken

from the edge of the water would probably have some eggs attached to it. With regard to the amphibia, there is a species of frog known as *Chiroleptes platycephalus*, which accommodates itself to its environment in the following manner :—When the water hole is nearly dry this frog burrows down into the clay ; then, filling itself with water almost to bursting point, it retires into the burrow, and hermetically seals the entrance, remaining there until the next rain falls. During this period of æstivation, lasting sometimes for twelve months, it loses a great deal of its brilliant colouring, which, however, is soon regained when again exposed to the light. I think you will agree with me that *Longicephalus* would have been almost as appropriate a name as *Platycephalus* for this interesting little animal ; verily, as an Irish friend of mine once remarked, *more than half the world does not know how the other half lives.*

#### REPTILES.

In the sandy deserts there are innumerable lizards and snakes, showing many varieties of colour, some of them being of great beauty. Among the low stony rises there is a large species of lizard, attaining to a length of seven feet, and known to the natives by the name of “parenti.” They run at a great pace, and cast the gravel behind them as they run, leaving a broad trail ; but, as they inhabit the roughest places when breeding, it is rather difficult to catch them *in loco parentis*. The collectors, however, managed to secure several specimens. Out of forty species collected eight are new to science. One very interesting new species of lizard was presented to the expedition by Mr. Byrne, of Alice Springs. This unoffending little creature was named by Professor Spencer *Diplodactylus Byrnei*. There have not yet been any complaints from Mr. Byrne. The lizard is dead !

#### BIRDS.

Birds are only numerous in the neighbourhood of water. There are several varieties of pigeons, the crested bronze-wing and the rock bronze-wing being very numerous. The latter generally rise in coveys, like partridges, and afford very pretty sport, besides being a valuable addition to the larder. We collected altogether seventy-eight different varieties of birds, five of which were quite new to science. Mr. Alfred I. North, F.L.S., ornithologist to the Australian Museum in Sydney, says, “The collections of Central Australian bird skins, beautifully prepared by Mr. Keartland, of the Horn Expedition, is an extremely important one from an ornithological point

of view; the present collection is the most important one formed since Captain Sturt's in 1839, and the results are highly gratifying and satisfactory."

#### ANTS.

Among the "gibbers," before referred to, are found innumerable colonies of ants, and, strange to say, these interesting insects have pathways leading from one colony to another, from which the stones have been cleared and moved on the side, leaving a narrow roadway about one inch in width. These stones vary in weight from an ounce to a pound, and it is hard to divine how these small insects have moved the heavier masses of stone.

#### FLIES.

The whole country is in summer time infested with small black flies, which compel one to wear a veil from 9 A.M. to 3 P.M., at which hour the S.E. wind usually rises and they disappear. Although every member of the expedition was keen on collecting natural history specimens, I am almost afraid that it never occurred to any one to add a fly to the collection. This, however, was an omission which there will be no difficulty in rectifying.

#### FOSSILS.

Several extensive deposits of fossils were discovered, many of them having great scientific interest, and to which I have already briefly alluded.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The party finally returned to Adelaide in August 1894, having fully accomplished the objects for which they went out. The collections, zoological, botanical, geological, and ethnological, are very large and valuable. Among them are no less than six mammals, several birds, lizards, snakes, fish, and insects, and a number of plants new to science. This has necessitated many of them being sent to specialists for classification, and has consequently delayed the publication of the reports. There are also many objects of great interest to ethnologists, besides a great number of drawings and photographs of aborigines and their cave drawings, and also of the natural features of the country, including Chambers' Pillar, Ayers' Rock, and Mount Olga. The two latter were obtained by Professor Spencer at considerable personal hardship, he having to

travel for several days over a sandy and waterless desert under the guidance of Trooper Cowle, to whom my thanks are especially due.

One of the many questions asked of me on my return to civilisation was, "How do you like riding a camel?" Now the camel is at once a perplexing and an interesting study. He looks like a sphinx and smells like a mummy. The aborigines declare him to be a junction of two animals, probably the fore portion of an emu and the hind portion of a kangaroo, and very badly joined, resulting in a hump which is no ornament to the animal and a decided discomfort to the rider. The first thing a camel does when brought in to be saddled is to lie down. He then brings up from some internal larder, in the hidden recesses of presumably the kangaroo portion of his body, his breakfast of the day before yesterday. A more malodorous morsel than this it is hard to imagine; yet he proceeds to remasticate with evident relish the—to him—choicer portions of this relic. He then pretends to be suffering from a sore throat, which I don't wonder at. Now a camel has a very long neck, and when he has a sore throat he has a good deal of it; he opens his mouth and you see down his internal structure to the point where the emu leaves off and the kangaroo begins. Failing to enlist your sympathy, he draws from some internal dispensary, located presumably, from certain evidence, not in the emu portion of his body, a gargle which he uses vigorously, and when his throat feels easier if you have not already departed to a distance it is advisable to do so. After he is saddled and is still lying down you proceed to mount. You throw your leg across, and naturally expecting that the emu portion will rise first, you lean forward, when suddenly there is an upheaval of the kangaroo part, and you are nearly thrown over the emu's head. You lean back to regain your balance, and feel as though you were riding an earthquake, and, before you are quite certain that you are not, the emu is jerked violently upward and you narrowly escape being thrown over the kangaroo's tail. With all the instincts of self-preservation fully aroused, you make a violent clutch at the pommel of the saddle, and clinging to it with the tenacity of a drowning man finally recover your equilibrium, with a strong sense of giddiness and a badly ricked back.

However, when once mounted, the camel is comfortable enough to ride, and a better means of locomotion in Central Australia it would be hard to find; he can go for a fortnight without water, and occasionally has to do so. Without camels our work could not have been accomplished. We had twenty-six, all told, and the bulls use

to carry from seven to eight hundredweight each for eight hours a day. There are at present, according to a paper read by Mr. N. E. Phillipson before the Royal Geographical Society of South Australia, some 6,000 camels in Australia, a great number of which have been bred there, and the Australian camel is found to be a more enduring and altogether better animal than the imported one. Australia owes a great deal to Sir Thomas Elder, G.C.M.G., for his enterprise in introducing them. I drove a pair for 800 miles in an American buggy; it was not exhilarating work, but we averaged twenty miles a day over heavy sand alternating with "gibbers." The near-side camel was a splendid animal, thoroughly reliable, especially when we got into any difficulties; we always felt confident that he would pull us through. The Afghans, with an aptitude begotten, probably, of a close study of the Eastern Question, called him "Salisbury." The off-side camel was very uncertain; we never knew what he was going to do next, and he finally capsized the buggy. I do not wish to enter into the region of controversial politics, so I won't disclose his name.

In giving this short *résumé* of the work of the expedition I have endeavoured as far as possible to avoid trenching on the domain of the various scientists who will shortly tell their own tale in their own words. Our aim is the publication of a book worthy of being considered a standard work of reference on Central Australia.

#### DISCUSSION.

Dr. H. WOODWARD, F.R.S., Keeper of the Geological Department in the British Museum (Natural History): In opening the Discussion, my first duty is to express—what, I am sure, we all feel—our great indebtedness to Mr. Horn for his admirable paper, and also for the admirable slides that illustrated it. I have also to express my regret at the absence of my chief, Sir William Flower, who had very much desired to be present on this occasion. The expedition of which we have had an account is one which, from the natural history point of view, will be of enormous value. In this expedition were brought together some of the ablest naturalists and explorers in Australia—men who were competent to collect not only the flora, but the fauna of this veritable *terra incognita* to naturalists. It is only by means of such an expedition, supported by the Governments of the various Colonies, that naturalists have the opportunity of carrying out such a work thoroughly and effectually. A great deal of the work carried out by this expedition has yet to be made known. I ventured, through the Director of our Museum, to approach Professor Stirling,

with the view to induce him to send some of the specimens over here, and allow us to develop them; but I think he was afraid we should take the cream off the work of the expedition, and so kept them back for the present. There is only one word in the Paper which I venture to ask Mr. Horn to withdraw, and that is the word "sloth" as applied to the diprotodon—all these huge, extinct herbivorous animals being marsupials. Referring to the fossil remains found so abundantly at Lake Callibona, one is led to believe that a very great change in climatal conditions must have taken place since this arid region supported, as it undoubtedly had done, vast numbers of huge herbivorous marsupials, such as diprotodon and nototherium—animals as large as the largest rhinoceros and tapir, and numbers of struthious birds larger than the ostrich, emu, or cassowary. The reduction of the rainfall would result in the destruction of the vegetation, and so bring about the gradual extirpation of animal life, especially of the larger animals. The smaller marsupial animals still survive in numbers, and are adapted to the climate of the country as it is at present. It seems that as many as eighty skeletons of diprotodon, besides numerous bird remains, have been obtained by Professor Stirling at Mulligan Springs, and these, no doubt, when worked out, will give us a perfect knowledge of this huge marsupial. I can only express the hope that the British Museum may be permitted to participate in the benefits to be derived from the Horn expedition. With regard to the desert sandstone formation, which extends over such vast areas of the Australian continent, that seems to have been the old sandstone formation, probably of marine origin, which has since been elevated and become part of the central continent, and there—acted upon by rains and long periods of drought, and intense sun heat—has been disintegrated into that terrible sandy soil, so fertile when watered, and so terrible to the explorer when in a dry condition.

Col. NAPIER G. STURT: It is, I fear, only owing to the name I bear that I have been called upon to address you this evening. I need not say with what pleasure I have listened to the paper, or dwell on the recollections which are called up in my mind. Australian explorers have always been remarkable for freedom from jealousy and a generous wish to help one another. I hold a letter which the great explorer Stuart, after his successful expeditions, wrote to my father, and in which he, with true generosity, attributed to my father in a great measure, and the knowledge gained on his central expedition, the success with which he (Stuart) afterwards discovered the passage through the Lake Torrens district, and

carried through his wonderful journey to the north. I know that my father, at a time when his sight was very much against him, displayed the greatest earnestness and pleasure in writing out memoranda to guide another explorer, Gregory, and I feel convinced if any of our grand line of explorers could be present now they would welcome with the greatest enthusiasm the results which, in a different phase of Australian travel and with better opportunities, the recent expedition has led to—results which must be of inestimable value for all time as regards the Australian continent. I would just note, in passing, the curiously minute resemblance to many parts of my father's books, such as, for example, the account of the flat-topped hills, which he describes in almost the same words as Mr. Horn. My father was always desirous of directing his course in the Central Expedition to the north-west, hoping thereabouts to find a fine country. The main reason, as he has explained in one of his books, was that that was the line of the migration of birds, a fact which he had observed also in his earlier expeditions. It will be interesting to notice when the reports of the scientific gentlemen come out, whether their observations throw any light on this circumstance, and I would like to ask Mr. Horn whether, in the MacDonnell ranges, there was any kind of refuge or resting-place for the birds while passing to a still further haven. I notice, under the head of "Birds," the statement is quoted that the present collection is the most important one formed since Captain Sturt's in 1839, and I would ask whether that should not be 1845.

MR. HUGH WATT: Having recently visited the Australian Colonies, I listened with great pleasure to the lecture, and I had hoped to hear, by way of corollary, something from Lord Kintore in reference to his adventurous trip across the Continent from North to South, a distance of some 2,400 miles—the first trip of that character, I believe, ever undertaken by a Governor of one of the Australian Colonies. We must all feel admiration of the patriotic manner in which the Colonists have acted towards the land in which they have acquired their wealth—men like Sir Thomas Elder, Mr. Horn, and others. We are aware that Australians are welcomed in this country at all times, and not even the recent message from New South Wales on behalf of all the Colonies was required as evidence of their loyalty and devotion. This is not a place for political allusion, but at a time like this one may perhaps be allowed to say, owing to the carping remarks of foreigners, that the time has arrived when practical illustration should be given of the boundless resources



of this Empire. As to this excellent lecture, I do sincerely hope, notwithstanding what Mr. Horn has said, that the Aborigines are not dying out altogether, because my little intercourse with them has induced me to come to the conclusion that they are a race possessing many characteristics that even a higher civilisation might well be proud of. My experience extended over the whole of the Colonies—from the north to the south and from the south to the west, a distance of probably five or six thousand miles along the coast line, the interior being visited as far as time would permit, and I may say I am sorry time did not permit of visiting the MacDonnell ranges, for there were many friends who were anxious I should visit them, and I hope on some subsequent occasion I shall be able to do so. Any insular Briton would be struck to see the remarkable cities of such comparatively mushroom growth that have sprung up in Australia, showing the energy and the capacity which we, as Anglo-Saxons boast of. He will find the first schools of modern architecture represented in no humble way. They have many things to boast of, but with regard to the interior, the question arises—what is required? The first, I say, is capital—English capital, and the second is cheap labour. I was much struck in connection with Mr. Horn's paper to hear he disavowed gold as having anything to do with scientific exploration. At all events, if he disavowed gold, I do not think it is possible for him to disavow silver, and in relation to gold I venture to ask what would New South Wales or Victoria have been without the discovery of gold? Coming to a more recent time, I may point out the remarkable growth of Western Australia since the gold discovery, and in reference to the north of South Australia I venture to say it has most incontestably proved that these remarkable veins, which have made Western Australia advance by leaps and bounds, have been traced to the Northern Territory of South Australia. That is a district of immense capabilities—of enormous resources, and the question arises what are we going to do with it? I venture to say that if Mr. Chamberlain—our energetic and able Colonial Secretary, eulogiums upon whom come from all parties—if he would take in hand this Northern Territory he would make of it the greatest, the most populous, and the richest Colony of all the Australian group. In conclusion, I would say that my connection with Australia is more or less commercial, but from the health point of view I would say that anyone who wishes to put back the sundial of life for ten or fifteen years could not do better than take a trip to these Colonies.

The Hon. THOMAS PLAYFORD (Agent-General for South Australia):

Mr. Horn is what one might call a developer of a Colony. He has spent most of his life in Australia. As a young man he went out into the bush, engaged in pastoral pursuits, and by hard work and perseverance has, after many trials, succeeded in emerging with a comfortable fortune. He is to be congratulated. He is not selfish, but is determined that other men should share the benefits of what he has earned. The whole scientific world is indebted to him for having organized this expedition. Mr. Horn has said that owing to the influence of missionaries and stockmen the natives of Australia are quickly being wiped off the face of the earth. Mr. Horn did not, I feel sure, mean exactly what he said. Too much cannot be said of the self-sacrifice and trouble taken by the missionaries in endeavouring to civilise the blacks and raise them to a higher station in life. Unfortunately they have had to come to the same conclusion as Mr. Horn—that the blacks could not be civilised. At the same time the missionaries have devoted their lives to the work, trying to make the unruly objects of their attention engage in agricultural pursuits and other labour. The blacks are killed in two ways—by introducing diseases amongst them with our foods and drinks with which they are unacquainted, and by our kindness. Mr. Horn says that they wear no clothes; but most tribes, before the white man came amongst them, dressed in the skins of animals, which kept out the wet. Now they have blankets, and these, retaining the water, help to bring on the pulmonary diseases to which the natives have succumbed in such large numbers of late. It appears to me that many of Mr. Watt's remarks are like "the flowers that bloom in the spring" in Gilbert's opera—they have "nothing to do with the case." Mr. Watt said that what Australia wants is capital and cheap labour. He wants to introduce the Chinese into the Northern Territory. The globe-trotter, whose experience is confined to a flying visit, often like Mr. Watt professes to know what the Colonies want better than the Colonists themselves. I can assure Mr. Watt that the Australians know what they want. They can borrow money in the Colonies about as cheaply as they can in the London market. What we want are better prices for our products—our wheat and wool and copper and silver. Give us fair prices; we have got the capital and the labour. As for coolie labour, we certainly do not want the permanent settlement of any Asiatic race on the Australian continent. We want to pay a fair living wage to every man, and mean to keep Australia for the Anglo-Saxon race to the exclusion of Asiatic and the lower races of humanity.

Lient.-Col. J. A. FERGUSSON : I suppose the reason that I, a simple soldier, by no means scientific, have been asked to say a few words, is that I was private secretary to Sir James Fergusson when the Trans-continental telegraph line was opened. My brother is proud of nothing so much as that he was Governor of South Australia at the time the enterprise of that Colony carried that line 2,200 miles across the Australian continent. Mr. Strangways was Premier when the line was projected, and Mr. Hart, whose daughters are here to-night, was Premier when the line was opened. I was glad to hear what fell from Mr. Watt about the immense value of the Northern Territory, which is part of the heritage of South Australia. It has always seemed to me to be a pity that South Australia was not called Central Australia, because there are lots of people who do not understand that South Australia extends right through the continent. In 1882, while serving under it as Deputy-Assistant Adjutant-General of the Defence force, I was sent by the Government of South Australia to negotiate with the Government of India for coolie labour for that Northern Territory. I venture to differ from the Agent-General as to the question of importing Asiatic labour ; at any rate, I hope he will except from what he said the Northern Territory. Depend upon it, the Northern Territory will never be developed without Asiatic labour. I saw a great deal of the Tamil coolie in Ceylon, and that is the only labour which will ever develop the vast territory, watered by great rivers navigable in some cases for hundreds of miles, and which is capable of producing to an endless extent all kinds of tropical produce, such as sugar, coffee, cocoa, maize, and cotton. Till Australians import the Indian coolie, that great country will never be done justice to. It seems an extraordinary thing that the enterprise of the colonists has never led them to start great companies to develop this marvellously valuable territory. I was sent in 1882, as I have said, to negotiate for this labour. I was told off to an Under-Secretary in India, and we revised a bill which had been drawn up in South Australia with a view to the introduction of this labour by indenture into the Northern Territory. The bill passed without amendment in the Supreme Council in India. It also went through both Houses of Parliament in Adelaide. Yet no use has been made of the powers in that measure. It is open to any company any day they like to claim to introduce coolie labour into the Northern Territory, and to take up and develop some of this country. Great fortunes, I am convinced, might be made in that way. I look forward still to the ultimate.

development of the territory by British and Australian enterprise. Australia is ours. There are no foreigners to dispute it with us, and it is our duty to develop it.

The CHAIRMAN: It is now my pleasant duty to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Horn for his interesting and valuable address, which has been made all the more interesting by the illustrations he has been able to give us on the screen. Considering the very important scientific questions that are dealt with, one could not but be struck with the admirable way in which the lecture has been put together, and the amusing and playful anecdotes with which Mr. Horn was able to enliven it. As Dr. Woodward has said, the expedition has rendered enormous service to science. Among other things which amused me was the account of those aborigines of Central Australia who never indulged in washing. It revived in my mind a curious recollection of my early life—namely, the reading of an article that appeared in a publication which had a great run in those days, and which was written by one of the then stipendiary magistrates of London, Mr. Walker, entitled “The Original”—who was a great original himself—in which he argued in favour of the non-necessity of washing, when people were in a perfect state of health. I do not know whether it is because they are in such a rude state of health that the people of whom Mr. Horn has been telling us do not wash. I am afraid there must be other reasons than that suggested by the late Mr. Walker in the “Original,” for the absence of ablution among them. At this late hour I must not detain you by any further reference to the many interesting scientific topics referred to by Mr. Horn in his excellent paper, and which have been so admirably supplemented by the striking lime-light photographic illustrations he has exhibited to us of his expedition, but content myself with proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Horn for the pleasure he has given us in listening to his lecture.

The motion was carried by acclamation.

Mr. HORN: I thank you sincerely for the hearty way in which you have responded to the Chairman's proposal. When I contemplated coming here this evening I looked at the print of my speech, and noticed at the top words to the effect that the Institute as a body is not responsible for the statements made by the authors of papers. I thought “This is giving me a free hand; I can say what I like,” but I find I have made a slight mistake. There has been a controversy. I thank Dr. Woodward for his correction with regard to my using the word “sloth” in connection with the diprotodon.

At the same time I would point out I made no special claim to scientific knowledge. In speaking of the diprotodon as a sloth, it was compared in my mind with the megatherium, an animal very similar in shape, and of the sloth tribe, I believe. I apologise to the sloth, and would apologise to the diprotodon, but he is extinct. With regard to the date of Capt. Sturt's expedition, I would remind Col. Sturt that I was only quoting from Mr. North. It may be in 1845 or 1835. And as to the flight of birds, I would point out that from the position we were in we could not establish anything from their flight. As to our alleged contempt for the royal metal, I thought I said we had no contempt for gold, and that if we had run against a nugget we should have gathered it, without a doubt. We did not go out for that purpose, however, because an expedition going out in search of gold would very soon give up searching for anything else. The Agent-General comments on my remark as to the natives being civilised off the face of the earth. Yet he says the very same thing himself, for he tells us that they are being killed off, precisely as I said, by clothing and feeding. He says the Government gave these missionaries a tract of land, rent free. No doubt, but it did not succeed. Why? Because the rain was free as well. It is one of the driest parts of the whole country; the consequence was the missionaries could not make a living, and as they could not make a living they could not afford to keep the blacks in the way they proposed to do. In conclusion, I beg to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

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An Afternoon Meeting was held in the Library of the Institute on Tuesday, January 28, 1896, Sir Robert G. W. Herbert, G.C.B., a Member of the Council, in the chair, when the Rev. W. K. R. Bedford, M.A., read a Paper on

### MALTA AND THE MALTESE RACE.

#### [ABSTRACT.<sup>1</sup>]

It is possible that remote archæology may not be a very practical pursuit. The stream of time has been compared to a river whose reaches become wider and more variously useful as they near the ocean of to-day. In the present instance my aim is to illustrate from prehistoric remains certain practical considerations bearing upon the immediate well-being of an island of much value to Great Britain; we have a general idea that the Maltese people are Italian in race, and this lies at the bottom of the difficulty we have in utilising the resources of this populous portion of the British Empire. My object is to persuade you that, in Malta has always existed a population distinct from any European race, independent in their instincts, though unable, from the circumscribed limits of their country, to assert that independence unaided; but true to their national traditions and speech. They are descended from a people who colonised the island before the Greeks, or Romans, or Knights of St. John became its possessors. Fifteen hundred years before the Christian era, these emigrants beached their galleys on the shore of Marsa Scirocco, built towers and temples, excavated cisterns, made roads, cultivated the soil, and exercised the hundred arts which colonists require. They came of the same stock as the enterprising adventurers who first mined in Cornwall, they were offshoots of the great Phœnician nation, and theirs is the blood which runs in the veins of a Maltese of to-day.

The emigrants from the seaboard of Palestine, driven away by the rolling back of the tribes of the interior under the pressure of the invading armies of Joshua, would of necessity steer a due western course, in which, the first land they would encounter would be the island of Malta, and the bays of Marsa Scirocco and St. Giorgio would be the most obvious havens. Here we still observe remains of structures of Cyclopean construction, composed of stones from fifteen feet to forty feet in length—designated by old geographers the temple of Melkarte, the Tyrian Hercules.

<sup>1</sup> A copy of the Paper itself is preserved in the Library, and is always available for reference.

The distribution of the population of the Maltese Islands in earlier times differed from the present. Now, the importance of the city of Valetta as a port and a garrison has led to the concentration of population in the north of the main island, and caused the country districts beyond the radius of three or four miles from the capital to decline or remain stationary in population. In early times the south of both islands was the populous side, better watered, less sterile, and more favoured by the sun. Two of the largest of the megalithic structures of the Phœnician period are to be seen on what is now a remote though highly cultivated plateau upon this southern shore, which still bears the native name of the "Great Village," indicating former density of population.

In spite of the neglect and spoliation to which these enormous masses of stones were subjected during the rule of the Grand Masters, and I regret to add the indifferent care taken of them by the British Government, their extent and solidity has preserved them to the present day, and successive explorations of them since 1839 up to the present date (Dr. Caruana in 1885 having made an accurate survey) show us the ground plan and details of the sacred places of an early mythology, and the objects of the worship carried on there, discovered in some of the apses and cells of which the buildings were composed. Seven of these figures of stone, squatting like Hindoo idols, headless, but showing traces of moveable heads having been affixed in some cases by sockets to the necks, are preserved in the museum of Valetta, as well as two smaller images of terra cotta, one a miniature semblance of the same pattern, the other recognisable as the Syrian Venus, Astarte or Astaroth.

These were all found at the large temple near the rock of Filfla known as Hagiar Kim, the stone of Veneration; but in 1694 at St. Giorgio was brought to light an inscription in Phœnician characters, with a Greek translation dedicating certain candelabra to Melkarte (Hercules). A duplicate of this inscription is in the Mazarine collection in Paris, having been presented by the Grand Master to Louis XVI. Every word of this legend save one (the proper names excepted) is intelligible to a Maltese of to-day. Other fragments of Phœnician writing have been found in Malta. One records the burial of Hannibal son of Barmelek, and another consists of a dedication to Baal. In 1870 the independent and painstaking researches of Dr. Adams convinced him that the burial places, which are so numerous in the immediate vicinity of these remains of the temples, were the sepulchres of their builders, an older race than the Greeks or Romans; and the universal testi-

mony of geographers and historians on the subject is confirmatory of a Phœnician occupation. All the writers on the geography of the Mediterranean, from Ptolemy downwards, class Malta and Gozo with the African islands on account of their language, nor was it until the present century that an Act of the British Parliament designated Malta as European.

Were these Phœnicians then the parent race of the Maltese? The political history of the islands is briefly this. Starting from the Phœnician colony of 1519 B.C., we find the Greeks dominant in 736 B.C. The Carthaginians expelled them three centuries later, and in their turn had to give way to the Romans about 240 B.C., who remained masters of the group for close upon 700 years; we have abundant evidence that during this period the native population never identified themselves in language or tradition with their foreign rulers. The narrative of the shipwreck of St. Paul, now I think conclusively proved to have taken place on the coast of this island, expressly states that its people were *barbaroi*, i.e. did not speak Greek or Latin; and the concurrent testimony of geographers and historians is that their language was akin to that of Carthage. That in ten centuries of invasion and misery which followed the fall of the Roman Empire, their race and their language might suffer from their contact with Moorish oppression, is only too probable; and this accounts for some of the idioms which are found in Maltese speech. But the people never became homogeneous with African or Asiatic Arabs, holding them in the highest detestation, and taking every occasion of fighting them to the death.

The government of the Knights of St. John gave in some degree a new character to the islands; foreign artificers and retainers were imported and settled in Malta: the increase of commerce, and the maintenance of a fleet constantly equipped for war, introduced a cosmopolitan element. The natives, while benefiting by the lavish expenditure of the Order, supported by contributions from its European Priors, from Lisbon on the west to Warsaw on the east, had to submit to a purely despotic government, with a ruling caste of a very exceptional character. The easiest way in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of disposing of any troublesome scion of good family was, not to pack him off, as now, to another continent, but to enter him in one of the langues of the Order of St. John, whose members therefore set a far from edifying example to their subjects. From a list of offences committed by these insubordinates during the first century only of the occupation of Malta, we find the crimes (often dealt with by the civil power) to have ranged from



sacrilege and murder, to scuffles ending in the effusion of blood, this last a truly British failing. Nor did their morals improve during the eighteenth century. When at last the conspirators among the Knights of St. John had handed over to Napoleon the almost impregnable defences of Valetta, we have the evidence of the French general Marmont that the native soldiers were with the utmost difficulty persuaded to refrain from a defence of the citadel on their own account, so great was their indignation at the perfidy of the knights.

General Porter has described the patriotic rising, which, though not a single disciplined Maltese soldier had been left on the island, blockaded the French troops in Valetta, and with very little aid from our fleet kept them at close quarters for two years. Nelson, probably from his partiality for the court of Naples, discouraged a British occupation, a view which fortunately his lieutenant Sir Alexander Ball did not share. The proposed restoration of the Order of St. John was ever opposed by the natives, and it seems somewhat unfortunate that we should have retained the use of Italian, which they had introduced, as the legal language of Malta. Even if justice required this at our hands, that is no reason why we should teach Italian in the schools, but leave it to fall into the same official obscurity into which Norman French, while still the language of our courts, fell by degrees in England.

At the present time elementary schools exist all over the island, "efficient though not sufficient," where more than twelve thousand children were enrolled in 1890. The ordinary subjects of education are satisfactorily taught, and excellent discipline maintained; but the Italo-Maltese primer is used. If the education were made more general, and English alone taught with Maltese, the change would be much to the advantage of the pupils, and of the natives generally; nor do I think that it would be distasteful to the teachers, who are aware, as are their scholars, of the solid advantages arising from a knowledge of English. Indeed, the use of our language is spreading fast among the young.

Might it not be found possible to utilise the services of the islanders in our army and navy? This is a subject which I approach with the proper diffidence of a civilian, but I cannot help thinking that there must be climates where the Maltese might relieve our troops of a tour of duty irksome and dangerous, and certainly the objections generally urged lose much of their weight as one becomes better acquainted with the people.

We cannot call the islanders unmilitary when we have the remarkable testimony of Colonel H. T. Hughes-Hallett (Middlesex Regiment), who in 1889, with the assistance of one English non-commissioned officer only, placed, in five months, a battalion nearly 900 strong on parade with the regular troops ; and it adds force to the remarks I have made as to the language, that he says,

The great advantage derived from having as officers none but Maltese gentlemen was most apparent. For they spoke the language, and most cleverly translated and made intelligible to the recruits the technical military terms and *English words of command* which could never otherwise have been done.

The defects of the Maltese peasants are greatly owing to and always aggravated by the contracted society which an island affords. Treat him not as an Italian serf but as a descendant from the most ingenious and industrious people in the world's history, colonists all over the face of the globe, and you may do something to meet the difficulty of utilising the energies of a redundant population, which increased in the decade 1881-91 from 1,352 to 1,487 per square mile. I speak with much diffidence, but wiser and more experienced heads will be compelled ere long to occupy themselves with the problem thus presented, affecting as it does the welfare of an interesting and by no means unimportant portion of the British Empire.

A discussion followed in which the following took part: The Right Hon. Sir George F. Bowen, G.C.M.G., Field-Marshal Sir Lintorn Simmons, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., General Sir Henry A. Smyth, K.C.M.G., Dr. Mattei, Mr. E. T. Agius, and the Chairman. Votes of thanks to the Reader of the Paper and the Chairman were passed.

## FOURTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Fourth Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, February 11, 1896, when Lieut.-Colonel Sir George S. Clarke, K.C.M.G., read a paper on "National Defence."

Admiral Sir Anthony H. Hoskins, G.C.B., a Member of the Council of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 20 Fellows had been elected, viz., 6 Resident and 14 Non-Resident.

## Resident Fellows :—

*W. Woodgate Jones, James Kenyon, M.P., Sir Charles Lawson, Edward Martin, T. C. Tatham, Herbert S. Tew.*

## Non-Resident Fellows :—

*Alexander C. Arthur (New Zealand), Charles V. Creagh, C.M.G. (British North Borneo), Frederick R. H. Fardo (Sierra Leone), Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Guiana, J. C. Knapp (Matabeleland), E. M. Mills (New Zealand), Alfred G. Omant (Tasmania), Sir Maurice O'Rorke (Speaker of the House of Representatives, New Zealand), Harold G. Parsons (Western Australia), Harry Shakespeare Power (Natal), Robert Ridley (Natal), Samuel E. Tench (Ceylon), F. S. Whitaker (Matabeleland), George F. Wills (Transvaal).*

It was also announced that donations to the Library of books, maps, &c. had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

THE CHAIRMAN : Before calling on the reader of the paper it is my duty as your Chairman to allude to a mournful and unexpected event that has occurred since we last assembled—an event that has evoked expressions of sorrow and sympathy from every part of the Empire. On hearing of the lamented death of H.R.H. Prince Henry of Battenberg, from illness contracted while on active service in West Africa, the Council adopted a loyal Address tendering to Her Majesty the Queen and to H.R.H. Princess Beatrice the sincere condolences of themselves and the Fellows. H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, as President of the Institute, was pleased to

present the Address, and a gracious acknowledgment has been received in reply, the terms of which are as follows :—

Osborne: February 4, 1896.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that the Address of Condolence with the Queen and Princess Beatrice on the lamented death of Prince Henry of Battenberg from the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute has been presented to Her Majesty by the Prince of Wales as President of the Institute.

I am commanded to convey to the Council and Fellows of the Institute the sincere thanks of Her Majesty and Her Royal Highness for this kind expression of sympathy in their overwhelming sorrow.—I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

ARTHUR BIGGE.

The Secretary, Royal Colonial Institute, London.

We have also to mourn the loss of a statesman who identified himself with this Institute in its earliest stages, and held the position of a Vice-President up to the time of his death. In the Right Hon. Hugh Childers the Institute has had a warm friend and consistent supporter. He took part in the proceedings at the inaugural dinner in 1869, when he advocated the claims of the British Navy as being intimately associated with our Colonial Empire; and he was only prevented by illness from presiding over our last meeting in this hall. This afternoon the Council adopted a resolution expressive of deep regret at his loss and sympathy with the members of his family, and in this I feel sure you will cordially concur. I have now to introduce Lieut.-Colonel Sir George Clarke, who has kindly consented to give us a lecture. I have an old acquaintance with him, and I know how well qualified he is in every way to do the subject justice.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir George Clarke, K.C.M.G., then read his paper on

#### NATIONAL DEFENCE.

MORE than two thousand three hundred years ago a patriot statesman inaugurated a great scheme of national defence, and laid the foundations of an Empire. Seventy-three years later that Empire was shattered, and to the scheme history, in part, ascribes the catastrophe.

Even before the Persian invasion the sea-power of Athens had conferred upon her a position of marked distinction among the states of ancient Greece, and when the victory of Marathon and the immortal defence of Thermopylæ proved alike unavailing to arrest

the advancing hosts of Xerxes, it was Themistocles, at the head of two hundred Athenian ships, who nevertheless vehemently counselled naval resistance. The oracle of Delphi had announced that "when all was lost, a wooden wall should still shelter the Athenians," and Themistocles affected to find in this ambiguous phrase the presage of naval victory.

Athens was almost deserted when the Persians entered. Her citizens had fled to Troezen and Ægina, or lingered houseless on the shores of "rock-bound Salamis." The fate of Greece was entrusted to the fleet hemmed in the narrow straits, and no sea-fight was ever more decisive than that which followed. Having signally failed to hold the command of the sea, Xerxes, alarmed for his communications, at once retreated to and across the Hellespont, leaving Mardonius to be defeated in the following year at Plataea. The Persian invasion had disastrously failed, and Herodotus fifty years later could fairly claim that Athens had been "the saviour of Grecian liberty."

The realisation of a great danger barely escaped led to a pacific revolution, of which the fleet, like that of James II., was the principal instrument, and out of the chaos created by the Persian invasion, Aristides set himself to organise a league of national defence. The "Confederacy of Delos" was formed to unite the Ionians in preparations to resist the common enemy. Its basis was purely naval; for in the year 478 B.C., the meaning of the command of the sea was better understood than in our day, and if the application was practically limited to the Eastern half of the Mediterranean, the principle was at least so clearly recognised as to supply the leading motive of a great national policy. The confederates agreed to an annual contribution of money or ships to be assessed by Aristides, and all were to send delegates to take part in periodical discussions of the affairs of the League. Dominated by Athens, the confederacy was employed to further her ambitions. After the death of Aristides and the banishment of Themistocles, Pericles rose to supreme power, and Athens was launched upon her brief career of empire. "The reward of her superior training," said Thucydides, "was the rule of the sea—a mighty dominion—for it gave her the rule of much fair land beyond its waves, safe from the idle ravages with which the Lacedæmonians might harass Attica, but could never subdue Athens." "Pericles," writes Sir Edward Creasy, "made her trust to her empire of the sea."

The objects of the Confederacy of Delos were, however, easily forgotten; the tribute increased even when no danger pressed, and

the accumulated funds were misapplied to the fortifying of the Imperial city. Dissatisfaction and jealousy grew apace. The outbreak in 435 B.C. of hostilities between Corinth and her colony Corcyra brought on the Peloponnesian war; and the disastrous failure of the expedition against Syracuse, in 413 B.C., inflicted a deadly blow on Athenian supremacy. The Spartans made common cause with Cyrus, and the capture of the fleet of Conon in the Hellespont at length placed Athens at the mercy of Lysander.

I have dwelt for a moment on this chapter of history, because the Athenian empire, like our own, depended entirely upon naval supremacy and a great Colonial system, and because, in the confederacy of Delos, I trace an attempt to solve, by means of statesmanship, a problem analogous to that with which we are now confronted.

Of all the Colonial systems which the world has known, that of ancient Greece stands nearest to our own; but the analogy is not by any means complete. The Greek colonies owed their origin to the pressure of population, to strong commercial instincts, and occasionally to civil dissensions. They were politically independent, and the bond of union with the Mother Country was easily broken, so that war with each other or with the parent state was not unusual. They were impelled to maintain navies as a safeguard to the commerce upon which their whole prosperity depended. While contributing to the prestige of the Mother Country, they were not regarded as sources of profit; nor, prior to the confederacy of Delos, were they organised with a view to national defence. And so slight was the bond, that temporary self-interest might impel them to take common action with one another and the parent state, or might act as a severing force. Though claiming descent from a common ancestry, the Greeks were never a homogeneous people. Æolians and Achæans in the mythic age, Dorians and Ionians in historic times, formed distinct branches, which were geographically and politically much subdivided. For the Greek unit was the city rather than the State in the modern sense, and the multiplication of such units tended to differentiation. From the parent city, the colony swarmed off like bees from a hive, and the colony itself, when prosperous, continued the process, till the shores of the Mediterranean were lined with Greek settlements which, though closely adjacent, might be not only disconnected but mutually hostile. Sicily alone, before 550 B.C., had no less than twelve such colonies, a single one of which—Syracuse—is said to have had a population exceeding that of Queensland to-day.

No strong race sentiment united the Greeks as a whole; no long

and glorious common history served to inspire their imagination with the idea of national unity. They were proverbially fickle, and endowed with a fatal genius for intrigue. Themistocles, greatest of Athenian admirals, was able to carry on treasonable correspondence with the Persians, and died a pensioner of Artaxerxes. Pausanias, the great general of Sparta and the victor of Platæa, readily accepted the gold of Xerxes. Under such conditions, it was inevitable that the scheme of national defence which Aristides initiated should end in failure. The problem, difficult for us, was, for the Greeks, impossible.

The present development of the British Empire finds no parallel in the world's history. Not only does the scale of the interests at stake enormously exceed all the experience of the past, but the political conditions have no valid counterpart. On the one hand, the sea-borne trade of Greece, Carthage, and Rome in ancient days, and of Spain, Holland, and France in modern times, was relatively trivial. On the other hand, self-governing Colonies in any way comparable to Canada, South Africa, and Australasia, have never previously existed. From out of the rich and varied teaching of the past, the principles of the defence of a maritime Empire stand forth clear and unchangeable. As to the method of applying those principles, however, no light shines from the pages of history. Our problem is a new one; since the present conception of a Colony is a growth of the nineteenth century.

Burke plainly foresaw what has now come to pass, when he wrote—

I was ever of opinion that every considerable part of the British dominions should be governed as a free country; otherwise, I knew that if it grew to strength and was favoured with opportunity, it would soon shake off the yoke intolerable in itself to all liberal minds, and less to be borne from England than from any country in the world.

Free institutions established in the Mother Country must, as Burke foretold, be reproduced and extended in her Colonies; but this knowledge was purchased by the nation at a heavy cost—the loss of America. It is perhaps because France and Germany, our rivals as colonising powers, have not yet attained to freedom as we understand the word, that they have so far entirely failed to create a single real Colony.

But during the period of greatest stress Great Britain had no Colonies in the modern sense. "America," as Burke stated, "was once, indeed, a great strength to this nation in opportunity of ports, in ships, in provisions, in men. We found her a sound, an active,

a vigorous member of the Empire." This "great strength" was, however, potential rather than actual. In the contest for Canada, which formed a memorable episode of the Seven Years' War, the thirteen Colonies of North America did not by any means exert a power proportionate to their population. In the New World 100,000 French colonists confronted fully 2,000,000 of the Anglo-Saxon race; but the latter were split up into separate communities geographically scattered and not organised for common action. In Virginia and along the Eastern slopes of the Alleghanies there was a fine fighting element composed of Scotch colonists from Ulster; but Virginia, whose troops had taken part in Braddock's ill-fated expedition, was far from the seat of war in Canada, and preoccupied in holding a long line of frontier against Indian aggression. Pennsylvania objected on principle to fighting, unless it was carried on by other Colonies in her interests. North and South Carolina, and Georgia especially, were in a backward state of development. Practically it was from the New England group of Colonies alone that real aid to the national cause was forthcoming. Republican in sentiment, and occupying a comparatively poor territory, they were intellectually in the van of progress. To them the French in occupation of Canada appeared in the light of a standing menace. As early as 1690 their ships and troops had attacked Quebec, and in 1745, in co-operation with Commodore Warren's squadron, they had captured Louisburg. At the time of Braddock's disaster, the New Englanders were prosecuting the war with success in Nova Scotia, and later they took part in the abortive operations of General Abercrombie and Lord Loudon. When at length Pitt determined to strike a vigorous blow in North America, New England militia fought under Wolfe in the second siege of Louisburg, as well as at Quebec, and were present under Amherst in the closing scene of the war at Montreal. It is nevertheless just to state that the domination of North America by the Anglo-Saxon race was secured by a great effort, naval and military, on the part of the Mother Country, that the Colonies did not contribute to this supremely important result in proportion to their capacity, and that of any true conception of the meaning of national defence there is no sign at this period. The fighting in North America was an incident in the great struggle between Great Britain and France for Colonial supremacy. Colonists on both sides took part, and the French Canadians, better organised and far more united than their rivals, wielded a military strength out of proportion to their small numbers. The British colonists on the other hand were



neither organised for united action, nor unanimous in sentiment. The contest was supported by a part of them only, and was entered upon out of regard to local interests rather than to the claims of higher patriotism.

In the great war which began in 1775, by hostilities between Great Britain and the North American Colonies, whose most vital interests she had secured, and ended with the treaty of Versailles in 1783, the national resources were strained to the utmost. In 1781, the people of these two small islands were fighting single-handed against France, Spain, Holland, the revolted Colonies of America, and Hyder Ali in the Carnatic. The great struggle was essentially naval, and as Captain Mahan states, "The sea power of Great Britain" was "unequal to the task laid upon it." By the navies of France, Spain, and Holland, American independence was conquered. Throughout this critical period, the British people derived some convenience from their Colonial possessions, but no material aid. In fact, the hostility of the North American Colonies, the direct result of gross impolicy, was alike the origin of the war and the cause of its general insuccess. Unhampered by her revolted Colonies, the Mother Country would have triumphed, even without their active aid, over the European Alliance, and this bitter experience was calculated to effectually blind her imagination to the possibilities of national defence.

From 1793 to 1814, with a brief interlude, Great Britain was engaged in a new war of vast proportions, in the course of which France, Holland, and Spain were again arrayed against her, and for a time Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, menaced her with the so-called "Armed Neutrality of the North." The wonderful story is told with consummate skill by Captain Mahan, whose books should be read wherever the British flag flies. I borrow from him this eloquent summary:—

Great Britain will be seen to enter the war allied with many of the nations of Europe against France. One by one the allies drop away, until the island kingdom, with two-fifths the population of France, and a disaffected Ireland, stands alone face to face with the mighty onset of the Revolution. Again and again she knits the coalitions, which are as often cut asunder by the victorious sword of the French army. Still she stands alone on the defensive, until the destruction of the combined fleets at Trafalgar, and the ascendancy of her own navy, due to the immense physical loss, and yet more to the moral annihilation of that of the enemy, enable her to assume the offensive in the Peninsula, after the Spanish uprising—an offensive based absolutely upon her control of the sea.

The result was victory on sea and land, victory which ushered in an era of peace, conferred a naval prestige still enduring, laid the foundations of the modern Colonial system, and secured its unchecked development. In this gigantic conflict, involving the destinies of the British people, Colonial resources played a subordinate part. The possessions of Great Britain in 1793 were considerable in number. They supplied, in Burke's words, "opportunities of port," provisions and water; for most of them were geographically convenient in regard to naval operations. Colonial troops fought under the flag in the West Indies, and India rendered valuable assistance, especially in Egypt and Mauritius. But, except in Canada, the British Colonist was not, as yet, a real element of fighting strength. The lost Colonies of North America—then the United States—stood aloof, though driven into ineffectual naval hostilities<sup>1</sup> with France in 1798, and in 1812 they drifted for the second time into conflict with the Mother Country. The pre-occupations of British statesmen, and a prevailing ignorance of the question at issue, afford the only excuse for this most unnecessary war, which proved ruinous to the commerce of the United States, and sowed seeds of bitterness not yet sterilized. In this unfortunate struggle, Canadian Militia proved their fighting capacity.

Throughout the long war which sprang from the French Revolution, the Colonies seem to have been viewed as outlying portions of the national estate, to be defended, as far as possible, by the Mother Country on the ground of their pecuniary value, and because the loss of territory involved a loss of honour and prestige. Their commerce was practically a British monopoly, and in the main the war, as Napoleon well understood, was a contest for commercial supremacy. As independent sources of national strength, they were as yet unrecognised.

In the dawn of our colonial era, Newfoundland was regarded as of primary importance. "A successful attack on the Newfoundland fleet," said Raleigh, "would be the greatest misfortune that could befall England," since the fisheries were the "mainstay and support of the Western counties." The commercial centre then shifted to North America. "This great city," said Burke of Bristol in 1774, "a main pillar in the commercial interest of Great Britain, must totter on its base by the slightest mistake in our American measures."

<sup>1</sup> "The mercantile shipping of France had already been so entirely destroyed by Great Britain, that she suffered far more from the cessation of the carrying trade, which Americans had maintained for her, than from the attacks of the American navy."—Mahan.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the West Indies occupied the first position. Their trade was at least one quarter of the total commerce of the United Kingdom. "If our islands should fall," wrote Nelson, "England would be so clamorous for peace that we should humble ourselves." In the West Indies, therefore, hard fighting occurred, in which both combatants, and the French especially, made use of native troops.

Since the crowning triumph of British sea-power in the wars of the French Revolution, the national conditions have undergone an entire change. Captain Mahan has shown that between 1793 and 1800 the total war loss of British trade did not exceed  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and was probably less than 2 per cent.; but this small result of the immense efforts of our enemies was not the most remarkable feature of the period. As the control of the sea was established by her navy, the commerce of Great Britain steadily increased. The fresh impetus was actually given during the great conflict, and when, in 1814, a general peace swept away all external hindrances, the way was clear for an enormous commercial and colonial expansion. A total trade of about £112,000,000 in 1800 has grown to about £970,000,000 according to official returns for 1893; but there is reason to believe that the latter figure is quite inadequate and that, estimated according to the methods applied in the same return to the trade of foreign Powers, this figure should be fully £2,000,000,000.<sup>1</sup> It seems certain that about two-thirds of the entire sea-borne commerce of the world is British. Taking the Suez Canal as a gauge, the proportion of the whole traffic credited to the three leading Powers in 1893 was:—

Great Britain	.	.	.	.	.	74.18 per cent.
Germany	.	.	.	.	.	7.48 „ „
France	.	.	.	.	.	6.53 „ „

Returns of steam shipping, which are doubtless trustworthy, give for 1895:—

					Steamers. Above 17 knots.	Total.
Great Britain	.	.	.	.	90	7,185
Germany	.	.	.	.	14	912
France	.	.	.	.	17	555

Such figures speak for themselves.

The predominance of the British nation in the trade of the world is absolute and unapproached.

The Colonial development upon which this predominance is largely

<sup>1</sup> See a letter signed "Scrutator" in *Times* of September 22, 1894.

based has been phenomenal. Canada, which became British territory in 1763, has passed successively through a period of military rule, a divided Provincial constitution inaugurated in 1791 and greatly extended in 1859, to the powerful Federation established in 1867. A population of 300,000 in 1812 has grown to 5,000,000; the public revenue has reached £8,000,000; an external trade of £49,000,000 has been built up. The Cape of Good Hope restored to the Batavian Republic by the peace of Amiens, and recaptured in 1806, has in 90 years become a great self-governing Colony, with a population of nearly 2,000,000 and a trade of about £25,000,000. East Australia, with a single settlement of 9,000 souls in 1810, has developed into New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland, with an aggregate population of more than 2,000,000, and a trade of about £81,600,000; New Zealand, British territory only since 1840, has already a population of at least 600,000 engaged in developing her rich resources, and in maintaining a trade exceeding £16,000,000.

Time does not permit me to run through the roll of our Colonial achievements during this century. In 1800, there was no single self-governing Colony as the term is now understood. There are now eleven British communities invested with the control of their affairs—eleven vigorous centres spread over the world, from which radiate the principles of civil liberty transplanted from the Mother Country.

The change in the point of view from which we regard the Colonies is complete; and the foresight of Burke has been abundantly justified. "As regards our Colonies," wrote Mr. Gladstone twenty-five years ago,<sup>1</sup> "we have gradually reached the invaluable knowledge that one and the same secret of a free autonomy is a specific alike for the relief of the Mother Country, the masculine and vigorous well-being of the dependency, and the integrity of the Empire." No longer hampered, as in Burke's day, by "prohibitions, guards, penalties, and forfeitures," the Colonies have created a trade of £79,000,000 with foreign countries—a trade previously unknown, and possessing a political importance beyond its intrinsic value.

The magnificent fabric of the Empire thus rests wholly upon a commercial basis. It does not bear the marks of deliberate design; it is not the result of accident, but the product of natural forces springing from the genius of a free people. One condition was, however, vital to its construction. The instinct of sea-power, born in the days of the Saxon kings, and handed down by a long line of great sea men, culminated in the wars of the French revolution.

<sup>1</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, October 1870.

Naval supremacy, finally established at Trafalgar, was the necessary guarantee of secure Colonial development. Under the ægis of the British navy, too little recognised but all present, that development has attained its present dimensions. The menace remained, though the actual assertion of power ended in 1814, and for more than eighty years the vast trade of the Empire has gone free upon the seas. If the hot-bed Colonial system, which finds favour and extremely little success in France and Germany, has not commended itself to Great Britain, and if subsidies for secondary objects have not always been forthcoming, the Mother Country has, nevertheless, provided for her Colonies the guarantee to which is due their whole progress and prosperity. The human mind easily forgets to inquire into the causes of accustomed phenomena, and the debt of the Colonies to the navy is not even now fully recognised. Yet, in these eighty years of uninterrupted commerce, there have been many occasions when only the menace of an inadequate fleet stood between the nation and war; while, thanks to naval force alone, the campaign of 1854-5 imperilled no Colonial interests. The course of recent events has demonstrated in the most striking way the effects of a substantial increase to the navy.

The territorial extent of the Empire has reached 11,000,000 square miles, and embraces half the points of vantage of the world. The subjects of Her Majesty number at least 846,000,000, of whom more than 50,000,000 are of our own race. The aggregate public revenue amounts to £197,000,000; the naval and military expenditure to about £53,000,000, of which the Colonies account for less than £1,500,000. The land forces number more than a million of armed men, of whom upwards of 453,000 are professional soldiers;<sup>1</sup> and, in addition, there are fully 400,000 men in the prime of life who have received military training.

The potential strength and the wealth of resources which the above figures imply are unrivalled, and the British nation, thoroughly organised for defence, would defy aggression. If the national confidence does not as yet correspond to the available strength, the reasons are evident. There is, on the one hand, a wide-spread and a well-founded sense of unreadiness, and on the other hand a curious tendency towards self-disparagement in military affairs. The myriad bayonets of the great Powers of Europe dazzle our imagination; the tremendous drama of 1870-1 haunts our dreams. We unconsciously measure our strength by continental standards, forgetting our own

<sup>1</sup> Including First Reserves at home, Hyderabad Contingent, and local regiments in India.

history and our special conditions. While it is naturally the policy of our rivals to assure us of our impotence, there are, nevertheless, signs that the dormant strength of the British nation is not unmarked, and that the astonishing vigour shown during the last period of trial has not passed wholly out of remembrance. Nations, however, like individuals, are for the most part taken at their own valuation. A Power, rich and prosperous, impelled towards expansion by its inherited instincts, and by the natural vigour of its people, yet regarded by foreign nations as weak and unprepared, must always tempt aggression. The apparent disproportion between the activity displayed in every part of the world, and the organised power at its back, is one of the principal causes of our general unpopularity.

To confer on the nation strength proportionate to its means; to insure such due forethought that its immense resources may be quickly and smoothly made available in the event of war; to define the obligations of individual numbers; to decentralise measures of preparation, while retaining the necessary power of imparting an undivided impulse; and, by thus firmly welding together the scattered units of the Empire, to inspire universal confidence—these are the objects of national defence. Their full attainment would be the surest guarantee of peace, and in one respect at least the omens are favourable. The old view of Colonies as the property of the Mother Country has disappeared. They are now regarded as integral parts of the Empire, contributing to its resources, its prestige, and its stability. The mutual interdependence of Great and Greater Britain is beginning to be understood. We feel the truth embodied in Sir John Robinson's words: "If Greater Britain should fall to pieces, then God help Great Britain." Mr. Deakin spoke for the whole nation, when he declared that<sup>1</sup> "We cannot imagine any description of circumstances by which the Colonies should be humiliated or their powers lessened, under which the Empire would not be itself humiliated, weakened, and lessened."

In a greater or less degree the whole prosperity of all the members of the Empire depends upon sea-borne commerce; to most of them it is vital. To Canada, to South Africa, and to Australasia, a sustained interruption of ocean communications would mean ruin. India grows more and more sensitive even to minor fluctuations of commerce. Singapore and Hong-Kong are simply great trade centres in themselves almost resourceless.

The first postulate of national defence is, therefore, a navy able to

<sup>1</sup> Conference of 1887.

maintain open communications. A trade which *must* continue during war can be protected on the seas alone, and fortified harbours—never of first-rate importance to the British nation—have lost value in proportion to the necessity for the sustained movements of the mercantile marine. The Empire is the proof that, in the past the navy was able on the whole to guard the ocean highways.

Commerce-destroying is sometimes spoken of as if it were a new object of war, a new form of national peril. It is, in actual fact, the oldest of all methods by which maritime Powers have sought to injure their enemies. Against Great Britain it has been tried over and over again. At the beginning of the present century it was attempted with deliberate purpose, backed by all the force at the disposal of Napoleon. It broke down absolutely, and Napoleon, failing at sea, was driven in despair to invent the so-called "Continental system," which demanded the military domination of Europe for effective accomplishment, and entailed the downfall of the inventor. Nothing stands out more clearly from the pages of history than that successful commerce-destroying is possible only to a Power which, by naval victories or by menace, has established supremacy, physical or moral, over the fighting fleet of its adversary. The idea that an inferior Power, keeping its battleships in port, and declining fleet actions, can, nevertheless, bring the trade of an enemy to a standstill, has no basis either in reason or in experience.

The *Alabama*, a slow steamer, wrought easy havoc among sailing ships. Her commander has shown how her career might and ought to have been cut short; but in any case the restrictions imposed upon sailing vessels render them indefensible in most waters against the attack of steamships. The greater part of British sailing vessels must be laid up during war with a naval Power, and this is a factor of which national defence must take cognisance. The steam mercantile fleet of the British Empire is, however, never employed up to its full capacity. We have an available reserve of transporting power,<sup>1</sup> and in less than a year large numbers of fast steamers could be built. On the other hand, a steam mercantile marine, by the elasticity, of course, open to it, and by its power of dispersion in dangerous waters and of concentration upon points which can be guarded, is far more defensible than was the trade which, under the effective protection of the navy, thrived during the wars of the past. Again, the convoy system can now be applied with advantages formerly

<sup>1</sup> In 1885, no less than 102 large steamers were employed in conveying troops and railway plant to Suakim. The whole sea-going steam tonnage of Russia would not have sufficed for the purpose; but British trade was quite unaffected.

unattainable. Finally, the American War has shown the difficulties of maintaining commercial blockades. There were vessels which ran into southern ports almost with the regularity of mail steamers, in spite of the utmost efforts to restrain them, and it should never be forgotten that the Confederate States possessed no sea-going fleet whatever.

The primary duty of the national navy may be best defined as "the protection of the sea communications of the Empire." I prefer this definition to any other, because it alone is adequately comprehensive, and because it expresses the broad view of the relations of the navy to the Empire as a whole, and serves to correct the narrow local ideas which occasionally find utterance both at home and in the Colonies. The navy is and must be essentially the defensive force of the Empire. Its functions cannot be localised; the national security turns upon its effective action as a single unfettered force. To Australasia, the Channel and Mediterranean Fleets are fully as important as the squadron in Australasian waters; the interests of Great Britain are defended in China as well as in the Channel.

That this view is gaining ground is proved by the following extracts from Colonial newspapers published 6,500 miles apart. The "Cape Times" states—

"We want to strengthen the fleet, not to split it up and distract its forces. The ideal of the immediate future is not a network of petty Colonial fleets which might be chaffering about differences of opinion in the face of the Mede, like the auxiliary ships of Athens before Salamis. The ideal is that while the central power keeps, as keep it must for many a long day, the responsibility for the defence of the Empire, and wields as with one brain and one arm the great weapon which secures this, the scattered parts that depend on this protection should care also to help with the cost."

At about the same time the "Brisbane Courier" referred to "the tremendous importance of the British command of the sea to Australasia," and added :—

"Probably no other community of four millions in the world has so large a commerce exposed to so great an ocean risk. This trade reached its present dimensions, and is growing rapidly now under the shelter of the British flag. It is the strength represented by that flag which has preserved peace on the ocean for us."

These wise and statesmanlike opinions would not have been forthcoming ten years ago. In them we may surely find grounds of hope for the cause of national defence.

I do not propose to enter upon the much-vexed question of a



general Colonial contribution in aid of the one pre-eminently national force. When once the first principle of national defence is fully understood, this question will resolve itself. The arrangement voluntarily entered upon by the Australasian Colonies, if defective in some respects and conceived in a spirit insufficiently catholic, is nevertheless a satisfactory sign of an awakening sense of a common interest and a common responsibility. Meanwhile, I may point out that the navy must be homogeneous in organisation, and controlled during war from a single directing centre. There are some few ports where local small craft might find useful employment; but the navy which guards the sea communications and unites the scattered members of the Empire, must be one and indivisible. While the provision and maintenance of sea-going Colonial warships would be an extravagant and an ineffective policy, the scattered units of the Empire can nevertheless afford valuable assistance by improving the "opportunities of ports" and by facilitating the creation of local reserves of men. The resources of the navy are too much centralised within the United Kingdom. Each naval station should be rendered capable, as far as possible, of supplying in every sense and of repairing the ships of its squadron during a period of war. The present system of manning the navy is not sufficiently elastic, and there are already in some Colonies quasi-naval forces, and in others excellent material, which if periodically trained on board Her Majesty's ships and drilled on shore to the service of naval armaments, would form invaluable reserves in time of need. Herein lie possibilities of advantage which no other Power possesses in equal measure—possibilities which any scheme of national defence must take into due account.

As regards the necessary standard of naval strength, it would be improper for me to offer an opinion. I may say, however, that this standard should be based upon the naval resources of our possible enemies, and that calculations by which a proportion is sought to be established between the tonnage of our sea-borne commerce and that of our warships are misleading. Our naval experts are well able to tell us what amount of naval force is required to control the navies of the Powers whom we must be prepared to meet, and the recent awakening of public opinion is a guarantee that, for the present at least, there will be no slackening of effort on the part of the Mother Country. One new consideration cannot be passed over. In the wars of the past, our rivals were able to excel us in speed of shipbuilding. This great advantage has now passed to us, and Great Britain alone of all Powers could build and complete a

battleship for sea in eighteen months ; while, if as we are sometimes asked to believe, the naval conflicts of the future are to be decided by small craft, our powers of construction are absolutely unrivalled.

A navy able to maintain open communications is not merely the first postulate of national defence, but the prime condition of security. No accumulation of highly trained troops on shore, no fortifications equipped with all the luxuries which modern science offers, will, of themselves, avail should the sea communications of the Empire be definitely severed. Both are necessary in due measure ; but, if it were the case that the national means ran short, military demands should, as Lord Wolseley has stated, be unhesitatingly set aside.

A navy able to keep open the communications of the Empire will, of necessity, suffice to debar an enemy from invasion, whether of the United Kingdom, or of the great self-governing Colonies. Large hostile expeditionary forces cannot be transported across the seas, in face of a superior fleet, without risking the fate of Conflans in 1759, or incurring the disaster which befel Napoleon's Egyptian venture in 1798. In the many projected invasions of this country, British aid has invariably been counted upon. Even Napoleon reckoned with singular lack of judgment<sup>1</sup> on a popular rising in his favour. In none of the members of the Empire could a modern invader pretend to seek effective allies, and one of the principal inducements to accept naval risks has disappeared.

Small expeditions, directed not to effect territorial conquests, but to destroy national resources, may, nevertheless, as in the past, evade a superior navy. If launched on distant errands, their task is distinctly more difficult and dangerous now than formerly, in consequence of the restrictions imposed by coal supply ; but we dare not overlook the contingency. Such expeditions, whether accompanied by troops, or carried out by cruisers, are of the nature of raids. Wherever national resources necessary for purpose of war are accumulated, local means of resistance against a raid are needed. Wherever valuable property, easily accessible from the sea, is gathered together, local protection may be desirable.<sup>2</sup> Thus is justified the fortification of certain harbours by a Power

<sup>1</sup> "He did not understand that, though discontented with their Government, they (the English) were extremely jealous of foreigners."—James.

<sup>2</sup> Local protection in this case is evidently a measure of insurance which each Colony is bound to take into consideration. The means necessary to deny a harbour to a hostile cruiser are simple and inexpensive.

which depends for existence on naval supremacy. The real defence of those ports lies upon the seas; but just as the commander of a great field army, operating in a country everywhere traversable by light cavalry, would provide defences for his dépôts, so a nation possessing a dominant navy must be prepared against injury by small forces which may evade its warships. The object of an enemy under such conditions being merely to effect the maximum damage in the shortest time and with a minimum risk of becoming compromised, it follows that the defences to which I refer may be always moderate in scope, but will depend on the geographical propinquity of the possible base of attack. A harbour which could be raided by a force able to retire to the shelter of its own defences on the following day, obviously occupies a different position to one lying 4,000 miles from such shelter.

Here arise a host of technical considerations and details into which I cannot enter. The principle for which I contend is, that the entire question of the selection of harbours for defence, and of the nature of the requisite defence, is one which needs to be dealt with on broad national lines. It is not a number of geographically isolated States, with interests only partially coincident, which have to be defended, but a united Empire linked together by a powerful navy. In times of peace, the objects of the members of this Empire must frequently take a local shape—this is a healthy sign of individual vigour—but national defence recognises no separation between Colonial interests and those of the United Kingdom.

Great efforts have been made by several of the self-governing Colonies for the fortification of their ports. Large sums have thus been ungrudgingly expended, while other Colonies have freely voted generous contributions for the same purpose. At the same time the Home Government and that of India has devoted relatively enormous funds to the defences of the ports under their direct charge. The spirit evinced by these measures is altogether admirable, and if the results are not in all cases satisfactory, the cause can be clearly traced to the way in which the several local problems were approached. Coast fortification presents many fascinations, to which the number and variety of its weapons lend force. The question, "How can this port be most efficiently defended?" leads straight to demands which have no end. Each successive professor of the art will discover some new defect, or will advocate as essential the adoption of some new weapon. Finality will prove to be unattainable. The principles of national defence, however, require that the question should be put as follows:—"This port belongs to

a maritime Empire, which depends for existence on sea-borne trade and open harbours. The naval resources of possible enemies and the position of their bases are known. Hasty raids for purposes of destruction have to be guarded against. Having regard to the geographical position of the port, what permanent defences do you propose?" The difference in the point of view is vital, and it may happen that the expert in matters of fortification is not well qualified to give an authoritative answer.

An exaggerated—even a wasteful—capital expenditure on coast defences is in itself a minor evil. Perversion of national aims, and ever increasing expenditure on sedentary forces which, as history shows, will be of little account in war, constitute the main objection to ill-advised fortification. The theory, that by means of fortification naval deficiencies can be supplied, is for us distinctly dangerous. Happily, there are everywhere signs that this theory is passing out of favour.

The means of destruction at the disposal of a hostile ship in an unfortified port are rigidly limited. Shipping may be sunk if accessible to fire or to unresisted boat attack; dock caissons may be injured, if exposed. Shell may be thrown into a town; but the damage would not be great, and unless means of replenishment were close at hand, nothing approaching to a heavy bombardment would be attempted. In order, therefore, to inflict substantial injury, men must be landed.<sup>1</sup> Hence arise the immense advantages of possessing an effective military force on shore. Knowing the ground, such a force becomes formidable beyond its numbers to an enemy whose time may be short, and whose ships may be rendered *hors de combat* by a loss of *personnel*. Even where coast fortifications are absent, the presence of a trained and well-armed mobile force will confer substantial protection. Where such fortifications exist, they are—unless known to be unprepared—most unlikely to be subjected to direct attack—a process which has rarely commended itself even to the superior Naval Power. As on a small scale at Bastia and at Calvi in 1794, and recently on a large scale at Port Arthur and Wei-hai-wei, it is the back door which is usually selected. In these, as in a hundred other cases, coast defences helplessly fell as a consequence of operations in which their specialist garrisons could play no part. Even from the local point of view, field troops should be regarded as the most important factor in coast defence.

<sup>1</sup> The striking experience of Foochow shows the small amount of material damage capable of being inflicted without putting men on shore.

Oblivion of this consideration, induced by the fascinations of fortification, is by no means confined to the Chinese.

I have designated the Navy as the defensive force of the nation, notwithstanding that its action should be strategically offensive, in the sense that it must be enabled, as in the past, to regard an enemy's coast-line as its frontier, and observing his ports, to court fleet actions. The offensive power of a navy, however strong, ends with the shore. We cannot, during a naval war, afford to commit our sailors to operations on land. As in Egypt (1800), in Mauritius (1810), and in numerous other instances, the absolute need of military forces must arise. To facilitate the task of the navy in guarding our sea communications, it may be necessary to employ troops for the capture of positions which aid the naval operations of an enemy. There comes a point, at which the employment of military force is alike more economical and more decisive than any action possible to a navy. And, further, a defensive policy will not suffice either to bring war to a rapid conclusion, or to secure adequate guarantees for a lasting peace. For all these reasons, mobile troops, not sedentary garrisons, are supremely important. "If we be once driven to the defensive," said Raleigh, "farewell might."

So soon as the navy has obtained physical or moral supremacy, military force—the real offensive weapon of the nation—is set free for action. The idea of intervention in a Continental struggle, by handing over two Army Corps to become appendages of the armed strength of a Power possessing twenty, may be dismissed as a vain dream. It is not thus that the national honour can be guarded, and the national interests secured. Obligations to allies, if such exist, cannot thus be most effectively discharged. On the other hand, in the employment of expeditionary forces—"conjunct expeditions," as they used to be termed—against the outlying possessions of an enemy who is restrained by the navy from adopting similar measures, a tremendous weapon lies ready to our hands. Immense resources in steam shipping and convenient harbours combine to facilitate over-sea operations, and our military forces, if duly prepared, possess an offensive power out of all proportion to their numerical strength.

History clearly indicates that the primary duties of the military forces of the Empire in war must be offensive, and that their functions in regard to local defence, whether at home or in the Colonies, are subordinate. Modern conditions add force to these considerations. Nevertheless, for reasons easily understood, this

great principle of national policy is little recognised, and defensive ideals are permitted to inspire our military organisation and measures of preparation.

During the old wars, the United Kingdom and India alone furnished men and material for equipping over-sea expeditions. The time has come when we may confidently expect the co-operation of Greater Britain in this most important branch of national defence. The armed strength of the Colonies now reaches a total of more than 90,000 men, and evident strategic advantage lies in the power of operating from distant bases. The patriotic action of New South Wales in 1885 is significant of the new possibilities. Many of our Colonial forces are models of their kind, and for warfare of the nature implied, are distinctly better fitted than the European conscript. Other such forces are in a somewhat backward state, and some Colonies neglect to provide themselves with military organisations. Much has, however, been effected of late years in this direction, and the education of national opinion, supplemented by well advised assistance from the Mother Country, and supported by energy and tact on the part of Colonial Governors, would bring about great results. Colonel Man has lately told you<sup>1</sup> what has been done in Trinidad; but, as he has pointed out, this one small island maintained in 1884 a force of 4,500 men, officered largely by loyal subjects of alien descent. It is impossible not to believe that in other Colonies—as, for example, Mauritius—excellent material for the formation of military forces only awaits a fostering hand.

Each Colonial force, however small, should regard itself as an integral portion of a great national organisation, and should be prepared if necessary to act outside its own territory. From the strategic point of view, Greater Britain may be divided into spheres of action corresponding to the naval stations of the Fleet. All the local forces of the Dominion of Canada, the West Indies, South Africa, Australasia, and China, should in case of necessity be available for service in any part of the naval commands,<sup>2</sup> to which they severally belong.

The regular troops of the British Army and of India are at all times available for service in any part of the world. In the event of national emergency, the Militia should be enabled, by proclamation, to share this distinction, and the employment of Volunteer

<sup>1</sup> December 2, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> Both Canada and the West Indies would thus belong to the North American station. I should prefer to add China to the Australasian sphere.

battalions in the Mediterranean garrisons should be facilitated. I believe that this extension of their spheres of usefulness would be welcomed by the forces in question. To accustom them to the contemplation of a purely defensive rôle, waiting at home for an enemy who cannot arrive till the national cause is already *in extremis*, appears a grave mistake.

There is no fear that local defence would suffer neglect by the adoption of measures conferring greater elasticity upon our military arrangements. The local view may be safely counted upon to assert itself. If invasion were really impending, it is certain that volunteers would not be sent out of the country. If Melbourne is imperilled, Victorian troops will not be transported to Tasmania. Such contingencies depend entirely on the naval situation, and the real danger is that a too rigid system may prevent a needed reinforcement of the troops of one Colony by those of another ; or that the chance of a strategic stroke of extreme importance to the national cause may be lost for want of pre-arrangement.

Spheres of action being allotted to Colonial forces, regular troops reinforced by them become available for expeditions which are certain to be necessary in a great war. To regular troops, assisted perhaps by native irregulars, must be entrusted the defence of the land frontier of India. Upon this question I speak with the diffidence necessary to one who has not the advantage of knowing the country. I have, however, carefully studied the matter in the light of our many frontier campaigns—campaigns which of late years have been based upon a well-equipped railway system, with the great resources of populous India at its back. Considering the enormous transport required even for operations so limited in scope as those in Chitral, it is my deliberate opinion that for many years Russia will not be in a position to threaten serious invasion. Plans have been lightly sketched by alarmists ; but I do not find any real attempt to show how our Asiatic rival is to procure and to feed the vast number of transport animals necessary for operating in strength across the most difficult frontier in the world. Central Asia cannot compete as a base with India. The long single line of railway which runs from the Caspian to within 170 miles of the frontier of Afghanistan is not comparable as a line of military communications to the sea, which can carry the resources of the Empire to the mouth of the Indus. That curious distrust of our military strength to which I have referred, tends to blind us to the great increase of the efficiency of the Indian Army achieved in recent years. We were never so strong in India as now, and so long as internal

tranquillity is assured, there are no present grounds for apprehension in this portion of the Empire. Russia has many Asiatic projects in hand; but for years the invasion of India will not find place among them. On the other hand, full advantage will certainly be taken of the leverage supplied by our fears, which experience has shown to be peculiarly effective. Our policy in regard to Russia has for some years been characterised by a want of dignity, and might well be replaced by a mutual understanding.

The long land frontier in North America cannot be passed over in discussing national defence. In spite of recent deplorable events, I do not believe that any valid ground for war between the two kindred races will ever arise. Such a war would be a crime against light and liberty. Its necessary result would be to arrest for a century the progress of that Anglo-Saxon form of freedom of which the whole race is justly proud, and to destroy the brightest hopes of the future. In any case, the defence of her long frontier cannot be left to Canada unaided, and so long as it is her free wish to remain a member of the Empire, she must be and she will be supported with the whole force at our disposal. To state this proposition is, of course to proclaim the reciprocal obligations of the Dominion.

It would be easy and utterly useless to present a detailed plan of national defence. We are not prone to adopt paper schemes which possess merely an academic interest, and the practical problem before us cannot be thus solved. It is necessary first to create a body of broadly national opinion, and to lead it in the right direction. Time will do the rest, and the pace cannot be forced.

The points on which I desire to fix attention may be summarised as follows:—

1. The recognition of the navy as the defensive force of the whole Empire—the force which stands between each member and invasion, the force which alone can guard the commerce on which each member depends. In time, such recognition would doubtless assume a practical form, each member of the Empire aiding the national force in the way best suited to its circumstances.<sup>1</sup> The military contributions of some Crown Colonies, which cannot be fixed on any rational basis, would then terminate.

2. The adjustment of measures of local defence in conformity with a definite national policy, based upon the special conditions of the Empire.

<sup>1</sup> Money contributions do not by any means constitute the only form which such aid might take. The maintenance of naval reserves would in such a case as Newfoundland be preferable.



8. The encouragement of local forces wherever suitable material exists, such forces to be available for employment in case of need within defined spheres. Assistance in the form of arms to be freely given by the Home Government to the poorer communities.

4. The welding together of the military forces of the nation, each unit of which, in addition to its territorial title, should bear a distinguishing number connecting it with a general organisation.

5. The decentralisation of naval and military stores, so as to enable the national forces in each sphere to be as far as possible independent on the outbreak of war. The distribution to be made with regard to the nature of the operations which might have to be undertaken. The concentration of *matériel* of war and its manufacture<sup>1</sup> in the United Kingdom, which was perhaps necessary at the beginning of the century, is an evil under the changed conditions of to-day.

6. The provision of machinery for the full discussion and settlement of all questions directly or indirectly bearing upon national defence. The present means are altogether inadequate. Matters affecting several members of the Empire cannot be satisfactorily dealt with by written despatches, and the time has long passed when such matters can be determined by a central authority. Conferences in which local views are personally represented are now essential.

The principles above stated practically imply the federation of the Empire for purposes of defence. If political federation by groups of Colonies existed, the task would be simplified. There is no reason, however, why organisation for national defence should be delayed.

In each of the five groups a representative body might be established holding session each year, and varying its place of meeting. Such a body would be in touch with local defence committees and in direct communication with the standing committee in London, with which the Agents-General should be associated. It would have proper records and would accumulate information in regard to naval and military matters within its sphere.<sup>2</sup> It would bring questions of defence to a focus, and would take note of all military progress or backsliding.

Larger questions of national defence could be settled by con-

<sup>1</sup> In this respect India is making great advances.

<sup>2</sup> The centralisation of all "intelligence" in London would prove a great drawback in war, and in peace is not without disadvantage.

ferences held in London at regular intervals of four years. The Conference of 1887, though limited in scope, had far-reaching results, in the clearing up of matters effectually obscured by over-much paper. If to such a conference, which might be assembled this year, were submitted the task of filling in the details of the machinery which I have suggested, the work would be successfully accomplished. It is only by taking all the members of the Empire into council that an effective organisation for national defence can be attained. To the objection that such conferences would have no executive power, I reply that what is first needed is mutual understanding in regard to questions of defence, that good-will and an earnest desire to co-operate in upholding the national cause abound, that light and leading alone are needed to enable the immense resources of the Empire to be rendered available for purposes of war, and that the impulse must come from the Mother Country. Meanwhile, it behoves all Colonies to look earnestly to their military forces,<sup>1</sup> remembering that men trained and equipped for field service are of far more importance to the national cause than fortifications and their many adjuncts.

The greatest national interest is peace. The spirit of aggression which marks some periods of our history has been exorcised by the development of that commerce upon which our whole prosperity has come to depend. With heavy stakes in every sea and in most lands, with rivals whose unconcealed jealousy casts dark shadows across our onward path, the nation must stand united in the defence of its integrity and its honour, or fall like imperial Athens.

As Mr. Chamberlain has recently pointed out,<sup>2</sup> we are approaching a new parting of the ways. Irresistible forces are at work which may bring about a consolidation of the national strength, or tend towards national effacement. The old order has changed, and new conditions have arisen which call for practical recognition. We can so organise this great Empire, that the unknown future may be faced with confidence and hope. If we neglect the task, our brilliant history will, before long, close with the despairing epitaph—

<sup>1</sup> The reductions of military expenditure which have taken place in certain Australasian Colonies are to be deplored even from the purely local point of view, apart from national considerations. A State which regards preparation for defence as the readiest subject for its economies is like an individual who, at a moment of temporary financial pressure, abandons, first, his insurance policies.

<sup>2</sup> November 6, 1895.

. . . . Occidit, occidit  
 Spes omnis et fortuna nostri  
 Nominis. . . .

It is for statesmen at home and in the Colonies to make choice between these alternatives.

#### DISCUSSION.

The Hon. ROBERT REID (Victoria): I have to thank the lecturer for his valuable contribution to this very important subject. As a representative of one of the groups of Colonies to which he has referred—Australasia—I take the opportunity of speaking upon their account with reference to the defences of that part of H.M.'s dominions. The Colony to which I have the honour to belong—Victoria—has spent in forty years since gold was first discovered, the sum of £6,000,000 on the defence of that part of the Empire, and in the year 1898 Australasia, that is, the group of seven Colonies, including New Zealand, spent the sum of £716,829. I state these few facts and figures because, as a member of this Institute for the last ten years, I have ever and anon read speeches alluding to the necessity in future of these Colonial dependencies contributing to the national defence, and referring to them as though they had done nothing. Before I conclude I hope to prove that these distant Colonies are at one with you as to the imperative necessity of defending our Empire and in the belief that the Empire is worth defending. Now these figures for 1898, which are the last available, mean a maintenance in these seven Colonies of a land force of 26,325 men and a naval force of 2,864 men, total 29,189. When you consider that the total population is only 4,000,000, and that you have this number of men trained and ready for arms, the achievement, I think, shows we are not unworthy of the race from which we spring. In addition, we have an Australasian squadron, armed by British seamen, consisting of five fast cruisers, with two torpedo boats, the annual cost to Australasia being £128,000. This is a contribution to the defence of the Empire, because we pay, as our Chairman knows full well, five per cent. interest on the capital invested, together with the necessary wages for this auxiliary squadron. The seven Colonies contribute *pro rata* according to population. In addition, we have established a fort at Albany, where we have spent £16,000, and at Thursday Island we have spent £23,000 in establishing a fort to give a foe a warm reception, making together a sum of £39,000 contributed by the five Colonies of the mainland. Comparing the territory that is to be defended, I would

remind you that here we have 87,000 square miles, while in that far-off continent we have three million square miles. I say, having regard to the fact that we are only four million people, we are doing our full share in the protection and defence of our part of the British Empire. I, of course, read with the greatest pleasure the proceedings of this Institute, and having regard to what has been said, I would try to bring out this fact—that every mile of railway we build, and that our friends in Canada and South Africa build, is a contribution to the defence of the Empire. What has been done in this matter? In our island continent we have 18,000 miles of railway and 48,000 miles of telegraph wires. The railways cost us 121 millions sterling. It is true we owe the grand old Mother Land some 204 millions, but in what part of the world have you a better investment? In what other part of the world have you the interest paid so regularly? And if, out of these 204 millions of national debt—debt not for wars, but for the development of the continent and the interchange of produce—if 68 per cent. of all we have borrowed has been spent in the development of our three million square miles of territory, that, I say, is a contribution to the defence of the Empire. You can send from Adelaide to Brisbane, a distance of 1,800 miles, within a day or two. These are facts which have not been dwelt upon with sufficient emphasis in this Institute. Then I would ask you to contrast what you have to defend with what we have to defend. We are four million British subjects—as British as any of you here. It is amazing to think there are people who have an idea that the population of Australia and New Zealand are half black. Do you know we are as white as any of you—people of the same race, the same instincts, the same grand history, as proud of Empire as any of you, and that our only desire is to go hand in hand for successive generations with the grand old Mother Land to which we are proud to belong? To show you what we have to protect, I will quote the figures of exports and imports. In the five years ending 1892, I quote from the “Australasian Year Book,” the average imports were 66 millions odd, exports 64 millions odd, total 131 millions. Those figures are not easy to realise, but when you remember that when Queen Victoria ascended the Throne the trade of Great Britain was only 115 millions, I think we may claim there is no sign of decay among the British in Australasia. Let us follow the figures further, and here we come to the defence question, the important question so admirably dealt with by the lecturer. In 1892 Great Britain imported 423 millions and exported 291 millions, total 714 millions.

(The figures will now be some 60 or 70 millions more.) In "other British possessions," including Australasia, the imports were 228 millions, and the exports 258 millions, total 486 millions. Adding these figures together, you have the stupendous total of 1,200 millions. This is the trade this Empire has to defend. It all depends on the supremacy of the British navy on the sea. We have no reason to complain about that Power in the past. Our only anxiety is, Will Britons rise to the importance and necessity of maintaining that supremacy in the future? It is a trade unheard of in the history of the world. Let us consider the cost of this Imperial Navy. A simple  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. upon this enormous volume of trade covers the whole bill. In addition to protecting this trade, you have to consider the safety of every home—the protection of life and property. Therefore, I say, what is a matter of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.—what is 18 or 20 millions per annum—to secure a navy supreme at every point, when you consider the enormous interests at stake? I am not in a position to speak for Canada, with its three million square miles of territory, nor for South Africa, which has not, like us, three million square miles, but which may grow to it. But if you consider the vastness of our Empire, and of all the interests concerned, you arise from the contemplation of the subject with the thought that to maintain that Empire is worth any sacrifice. I have heard, since my arrival in this country, of a proposal for a conference on Imperial defence, as in 1887. It is, I think, highly important and necessary, in view of the changing phases of our national life, that we should call together councillors from all these important parts to consider what is best for the common cause. I feel quite certain that if we came to a proper conclusion between ourselves as to what is necessary and desirable, many of the suggestions embodied in this paper would be adopted. I could have wished that, as a military man, the lecturer had devised a scheme whereby the different forces in the various Colonies could be made part and parcel of one imperial whole—that we could have an Australasian, a Canadian, and a South African army corps, each in its position, with officers passed through, and with uniformity in weapons and ammunition. These are subjects of the highest moment to the Empire. It cannot be beyond the reach of our intelligence to combine in this fashion one grand national army and navy—not to say that one part is Colonial, but that the whole is one. It is true we are only four millions, and Canada only five. But look forward some fifty years. There will be little trouble about the defence of the British Empire, provided we start on

proper lines now, and organise ourselves on a proper basis. We want to be organised for defence—to stand together with hands across sea—one grasping the other, and holding up each other for all that is right, honourable, and true. If we in all parts of the Empire are determined upon this course, the decadence of our Empire is indefinitely postponed.

Sir JOHN COLOMB, K.C.M.G., M.P. : The eloquence of the speech to which we have just listened, and the earnestness of the speaker—who can dispute? The only thing is that, I think, the noble sentiments Mr. Reid uttered at the finish rather conflict with the statements at the commencement. He says truly that an enormous expenditure has been incurred in the past by the Colony he so ably represents. In the last forty years, he says, Victoria has spent six millions. But I would draw his attention to the pith and marrow of the paper, which is that that enormous sum has been expended on false conclusions and based on false reasons. We cannot blame the Colony for that. We must blame public feeling in England and its ignorance, which has prompted Government action. With regard to this vast expenditure on fixed fortifications, with which my friend Sir George Clarke so admirably deals, I would say that the Mother Country has been responsible for a great deal of that expenditure by the Colonies that has been useless, because the Mother Country herself is now only beginning to grasp the true principles of defence. Mr. Reid, who, I take it, represents in this matter the Colony of Victoria and, in fact, the great Australian Colonies, admits that to secure the sea-supremacy of this Empire is worth any money. That being so, I will give him a fact or two. Great Britain spends per head of population 10s. 6d. a year on the ordinary naval expenditure, while Victoria pays 18½d. per head. I trust no one here will imagine I am cavilling at what our kith and kin in Australia are doing; but I think the moment Australasians grapple with the real facts, they will see they are not doing their duty as regards naval supremacy. Take the Pacific Ocean, and compare the Australasian Colonies with Japan. I find that while Japan spends £4 out of every £100 of annual revenue upon maintaining her little plan of naval power, Australasia spends 10s.—that while Japan is content to pay over £4 per £100 value of sea commerce per year for protection, Australasia, even leaving out the value of her commerce with the United Kingdom, only pays 6s. per every £100 of annual value of that sea-interchange, irrespective of trade with the United Kingdom. I am aware how warmly Mr. Reid feels on the importance of British naval supremacy, and I do trust that when he returns he will show the people of

Australasia that this is a question of cost, and one which cannot be shirked. I congratulate this Institute on the opportune moment at which Sir George Clarke's paper is produced, and also on the choice of lecturer, than whom there is no one more competent to speak on defence. I am more than pleased to find that, whereas he has, I am persuaded, for years been rather halting between two opinions, he now comes boldly forward with all his expert knowledge, with the accumulated experience and thought of years, and puts forward a paper that is a credit and an honour to the literature of this Institution. I congratulate the Institute, also, on having secured a Chairman who, from his past services and distinguished abilities, is, perhaps, more competent than almost any other to sum up this debate. It is a curious fact, illustrating the growth of this Institution side by side with the true idea of defence, as explained to-night, that of some two hundred papers read before the Institute in the past twenty-seven years, only four prior to this dealt with the question of imperial defence. Of those, I was responsible for three. It is a satisfaction to know, comparing those papers, that they all accord, and that Sir George Clarke, with his ability and knowledge, expands, confirms, and stamps the continuity of the principles put forward in this Institution. The first paper, as my friend Sir Frederick Young will remember, I read before some thirty people in a room over a shop in the Strand. It will be found to be precisely, in principle, the paper you have heard to-night. I cannot conceive that any but the most ignorant can cavil with any general principle laid down by Sir George Clarke. There is only one point I would like to emphasise, and that is that I do not think he sufficiently dwelt on the want of a mobile military force, which, he shows, was so great a want in Egypt in 1800 and in Mauritius in 1810. He might have added another instance in our own time, for if the Admiral at Alexandria in the early 80's had had a military force at his back, which is the necessary complement to the exercise of naval power, the horrible scenes there would never have taken place, nor would some of the further complications have occurred. When you total up the enormous number of military units within the Empire, do not forget that practically the greater portion of these are of no use at all under present circumstances for the purpose of supplementing and complementing the naval power, for you cannot move them. They are all in water-tight compartments. Therefore don't be misled by big figures. Real military strength lies in the mobility of land force and freedom of your fleet. A fleet controlled by one brain and policy, and behind that fleet a mobile military force—

this I take to be the gist of the paper. There is one other point—that relating to Canada—on which I would make one observation. We all hope and trust there never will be such a thing as a war with America, but so long as America keeps up an army and a fleet she, at all events, believes war is possible. You cannot—such is human nature—count upon certainties, and you have no business to say of any power in the world we shall never be at war with it. We may pray God we shall not, but we must be prepared for any contingency. The lecturer speaks of the defence of the long line of frontier, saying that that cannot be left to Canada alone, but adds that that implies reciprocal obligations. I want to see these obligations a little bit better expressed. Look at the map, and you will see there, in the extreme west of Canada, a very important position by reason of the presence of coal—on which depends your naval operations in the Pacific, for the sake of the trade of the Empire and especially of Australia. What is Canada doing for its protection? True, there are works there, but, as Sir George Clarke will tell you, works, without adequate strength of garrisons, are only a danger, and the total discharge of Canada's reciprocal obligations is that she pays for seventy-five marine artillery at that point. I do not blame Canada, but it is time these facts should be stated, because it is no use beating about the bush. United effort to carry out the principles the lecturer has laid down comes, after all, to a simple question of cost, and I say those who shirk that question are not true friends of the Empire. It is too serious a matter for platitudes and fine phrases. It is a question of mutual trust producing a common power, and the facts must not be held back simply because they are unpleasant.

The Hon. THOMAS A. BRASSEY: I am exceedingly grateful for the opportunity afforded me to-night of saying a few words on the important subject dealt with so ably by Sir George Clarke in his paper. On the broad principles of naval strategy, on the relations which should exist between the Army and the Navy, in the general scheme of national defence, Sir George Clarke has propounded views, not only to-night, but on other occasions, which I am glad to believe are held by those who are responsible for the naval defence of the British Empire. There are two considerations, both of very great importance, to which I would wish to draw the attention of this audience. The first point is of immediate importance, as it constitutes a very serious weakness in the naval defence of the country at the present moment. In spite of the great activity in naval construction both in H.M. Dockyards and private



establishments, during the past year the shipbuilding resources of the country have not been unduly taxed. Captain Robinson, the Naval Editor of the "Army and Naval Gazette," in a most valuable paper contributed to the "Naval Annual" of 1894, pointed out that there are no less than twenty-four firms in this country capable of building warships of the larger classes. Ten of these have experience in the construction of battleships, and in an emergency they could undertake to build some twenty to thirty battleships, and twice that number of cruisers in from three to three and a half years. Forty cruisers could probably be built in from one and a half to two and a half years, by the other fourteen firms; and there would still remain a considerable number of shipbuilders who have not hitherto contracted for the larger classes of warships, but who might be relied upon to add to the output in an emergency. I am justified in stating that no anxiety need be felt as to the power of the country to supply all the *matériel* for a naval war of which it may stand in need. But if we turn from the *matériel* to the *personnel*, the outlook is very serious in spite of the large additions to the permanent force of the Navy in recent years. The numbers available for sea service including the coastguard are 81,500 in 1895-6, as compared with 67,700 in 1892-3. We have 25,000 in the Naval Reserve, but practically the whole of this force would be required to man ships in reserve and building. There is certainly no margin to meet the wastage of war. It should be a fundamental principle of naval administration that to retain in peacetime in the ranks of the Navy the numbers required for the emergency of war is a gross waste of the national resources. Our efforts should rather be directed to creating in the mercantile marine and the fishing population, not only of the Mother Country, but of the Colonies, a reserve, adequate in numbers, and made efficient by a period of training in the Navy. The necessary strength of the Naval Reserve cannot possibly be put at lower than 50,000 men, and in view of the large additions that are being made to the fleet, 100,000 men does not seem too high. But the *source of supply is deficient*—and herein lies our great national danger at the present moment. It was estimated by Mr. Williamson in an address to the Liverpool Chamber of Shipping, that there are only 55,000 British seamen in the mercantile marine. This fact means that the source of supply for a naval reserve is to a great extent lacking. Such a state of things can no longer be tolerated by those who are the guardians of the national defences of the Empire. To remedy it the Government need not have recourse to conscription,

but it must establish the close relationship which exists in France between the seamen of the Mercantile Marine and the Royal Navy. There is not time, nor is this the place, to go into details. The second consideration is one which especially deserves the attention of a gathering as representative of the Colonies as any can be in this country to-night. The standard of strength for the British Navy, hitherto accepted by all political parties in the State, has been a superiority to the navies of any two foreign Powers. France and Russia have been generally considered the two Powers with whom we had most grounds of dispute, and we should have been content had our navy been of sufficient strength to secure for us the command of the sea as against those two countries. Recent events have shown that there are other important nations who are jealous of the greatness of the British Empire, and who might be ready to pick a quarrel with us whether about the Transvaal or Venezuela. The naval force of Germany is insignificant compared to our own, but there is a considerable agitation in Germany to largely increase the navy. The United States and Japan have recently made large additions to their naval strength, and both countries appear to be determined to raise themselves to the rank of the Powers whose navies are serious factors at sea. In view of these considerations, and in view of the fact that in the recent time of trouble, British people, not only in the Mother Country but in the Colonies, declared with no uncertain voices that at all costs must we maintain the command of the sea, it is probable that we shall have to make considerably larger sacrifices than we are making at present. According to a return recently issued, the United Kingdom spent in 1898-4 over sixteen millions out of a revenue of ninety-one millions on the navy. France spent ten and a half millions, Russia and the United States about five millions apiece, Germany and Italy about four millions, Japan spent over one million out of a revenue of sixteen millions. The aggregate revenue of these five first named countries is considerably over five hundred millions. We may well feel some apprehension that, against resources such as these, the burden of maintaining the supremacy of the British Navy on the seas will become almost too heavy for the United Kingdom alone. We who live in the Old Country will have to look in the future to you who live in the Colonies for substantial assistance in maintaining the strength of the Imperial Navy. We recognise that in the past the Mother Country has rightly undertaken the burden of the defence of the Colonies who, in their infancy and youth, have wisely employed revenue in the development of their resources.

We recognise that the Colonies have made considerable contributions to the burden of Imperial defence by defending their ports, and in other ways. The time may come sooner or later when an appeal for further assistance may have to be made. There have been ample and most gratifying indications in the past few months from Canada, from Australasia, and from South Africa, that when that time comes, the Colonial taxpayer will be prepared to stand shoulder to shoulder with the British taxpayer in a matter of such supreme importance to the Empire.

Admiral the Hon. Sir EDMUND FREMANTLE, K.C.B., C.M.G.: After the excellent speeches we have heard from men so competent to address us from different points of view, I feel it is unnecessary for me to address you at length, the more especially because I am almost entirely in agreement with the lecturer. The object of the lecturer was not so much, I take it, to go into details as to lay down certain general principles. The first point is that we have a substantial base for the defence of the Empire in the Empire itself. In the language of Sir James Harrington, as quoted in Mr. Froude's "*Oceana*"—"The situation of these countries being islands seems to have been designed by God for a Commonwealth," and after referring to Venice he proceeds, "whereas *Oceana* is a commonwealth for increase and upon the mightiest foundation that any has been laid from the beginning of the world to this day." Here we have, in the quaint language of three centuries ago, a statement in a nutshell as to the qualifications we have in this great Empire for the foundations of defence. Our lecturer has told us not only graphically but clearly and plainly, as he always does, that the defence of this great Empire must rest upon naval defence, and he has shown us that this is acknowledged throughout the Colonies. Mr. Reid endorses that fully. This is at least a great step in advance. I am tempted to refer to what happened seven or eight years ago, when I was in command in the East Indies. I refer particularly to Ceylon, where at the time there was great agitation against the Imperial military contribution. They said: "We will pay for the military who are to defend Kandy and for the military defence of Colombo"—a perfectly indefensible position by the way; "we will pay for the few soldiers we have at Kandy, but we are not called upon to pay for soldiers at Trincomalee, an imperial harbour, the only use of which is the provisioning and re-victualling of the ships on the station. In fact, this is simply a coaling station for imperial purposes. We will pay for a couple of guns being put up for the defence of Colombo, but to pay for those indirect purposes

is ridiculous." I had the opportunity, in a publication which may or may not have been read in Ceylon, to point out the simple fact that Ceylon was an island mainly dependent on its trade, and that if the navy were efficient and we were able to keep the enemy from the gate they would not only not require indefensible batteries in Colombo, but that the amount of military force required would be very small. I endeavoured to bring home to them what has been brought home to us in the eloquent language of Captain Mahan, who speaks of "those far distant storm-tossed ships on which the grand army of Napoleon never looked, standing between it and the empire of the world. While bodily present before Brest, Rochefort and Toulon, strategically the British squadrons lay in the Straits of Dover barring the way against the army of invasion." This truth is being pretty well brought home to all the numerous representatives of this great Empire. It is being brought home to them, from the lecturer's quotations, both in Australia and in our other great possessions, that the defence of the Empire not only rests on the navy but may very often rest on the fighting which takes place, and on the actions in which our navy is engaged in the Channel and in the Mediterranean. Here we have gained a great point—the point of seeing where our defence should mainly be. At the same time, as a naval man, who has always felt that by the navy we must stand or fall, I would say that our want just at present, as far as I can see, is, as the lecturer has said, a small army—a mobile army. We want, if war should be declared, some military force which is capable of being embarked and taken to the coaling stations and the ports of the enemy's positions and seize them and prevent their being made the base for an attack on our shipping. You have been addressed by the lecturer, who is, I take it, about the best authority in this country on all questions connected with fortifications, on which he takes a large view, and also by Sir John Colomb, who is a great authority, chiefly on the naval side, on the defence of the Empire. I have said we are dealing with general principles, and therefore I will not follow Mr. Brassey on the question of the necessity for much larger naval reserves, on which point I entirely agree with him. At the same time, I agree with Sir John Colomb that we must not lose sight of facts, and that pounds, shillings, and pence have to be considered. I hope they will be considered, and that the Colonies will rise to their responsibilities and subscribe the amount that may be necessary towards the defence of this great Empire. I trust we shall all put our shoulders to the wheel and endeavour to effect some arrangement,

either by a meeting of the representatives of the Colonies and the home authorities or in some other way, though I for my part think there is no better method than a conference as proposed by the lecturer, and we have all seen how Mr. Chamberlain, whose conduct has been so generally approved, hopes to settle the vexed question of the Transvaal by personal communication with the President of the Republic.

Sir DONALD CURRIE, K.C.M.G., M.P. : At this late hour I will not detain you. The question of the fitness of the Royal Navy to defend the Empire at home and abroad has been discussed over and over again for many years past. Two circumstances occur to me at this moment. It is well the public and Parliament did attend to the voice of those who gave warning of what might happen. We have supposed for a long time past that we could blockade the enemy's coast, and that we were free from all risk of foreign aggression. It was found, however, not very long ago, that we could not blockade an enemy's coast, and, that in the Channel, France had somewhere about 100 torpedo-boats, which could be despatched from light-draft harbours along their coast, with the risk to us that we would not have had the power to maintain our fleet as it then existed, in the Channel or in safety in outports. Through the exertions, however, of those who advocated the necessity of a stronger navy and adequate defensive positions at Portland, Dover, Portsmouth, and elsewhere in the Channel, due protection is being secured. I remember saying to one of our greatest statesmen of the day what might happen if we did not enter account of the ships then being built by France. He said, "Supposing the Channel were open to them—what matter?" Think for a moment, ladies and gentlemen, of our Colonies and of the great Powers hearing that the Channel was in the power of an enemy—that the command of the seas, so near home, no longer belonged to Great Britain. That has been avoided, thanks to the energy of those who, in this room and elsewhere, have advocated the necessity for a stronger navy. The hallucination in regard to blockade was one circumstance that struck me, and the other is, that the idea which has prevailed, that no nation, except certain Powers I might name, would attack us: it was said we would have friends in America in case of need, and that Germany would be with us in a naval war. And yet, within a few weeks lately, circumstances occurred which made it clear that we could have no such dependence, but, happily, with the result that the whole country has wakened up to the necessity of supporting

the Government in the determination to have a strong navy as essential for our protection.

Lieut.-General Sir J. BEVAN EDWARDS, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.P: It has, of course, been my duty to study this question for many years, and I cannot tell you with what pleasure I have listened to the excellent paper read by my friend Sir George Clarke, than whom, I believe, there is no greater authority on the subject. As indicating how far we have advanced in the past thirty years, I may say that I remember Lord Palmerston being requested by the late Emperor Napoleon to fortify the English dockyards, because, the Emperor said, "My colonels are always egging me on to invade your country, and if you leave your dockyards in a defenceless state I shall be driven to war." I went down to the House of Commons to hear Lord Palmerston make his speech on the subject. The feeling of the House was at the outset opposed to him, and everybody said there was not the slightest chance of his getting the money he asked should be spent on the fortification of the dockyards, but he spoke with such great force that he obtained his eleven millions. Even that great statesman had not grasped the principles of the defence of this Empire, for his reply to the Emperor should have been: "Very well, if that is your wish I will not spend my money on the fortification of the dockyards, but I will spend money on the increase and improvement of the navy instead of fortifying the dockyards, and then you may come and invade us if you can." In his excellent speech, which deserves to be read through the length and breadth of the Empire, Mr. Reid expressed a wish that some officer would draw up a complete plan by which all our forces could be utilised for the defence of the Empire, and deplored that nothing of the sort had been done. I would observe, that before a complete plan can be drawn up for all the different parts of the Empire, you must tackle the matter piece by piece. It was my good fortune some six years ago to be sent to Australia to inspect the forces, and I think I may say, without fear of contradiction, I laid down for the defence of those Colonies, or rather for the organisation of the forces, a complete and inexpensive scheme, well thought out, which would have enabled them to put some 25,000 or 30,000 men in the field for the defence of the Continent, or for the defence of imperial interests in any part of the world. What has been done to carry out that scheme? Not only has nothing been done, but the forces of Australasia at the present moment are nothing like as strong as they were when I visited the Colonies some six years ago.

Sir George Clarke says the standard of defence is not for him to lay down. That is the question that requires to be settled, for I do not see how it is possible to place the navy in a proper state unless statesmen will lay down the policy required; we shall then be able to arrive at a conclusion on this question. As I have found by recent experience, there is no subject that elicits so much interest from the people of this country as the great subject of the navy. It is not only the defence of the trade and shipping of the Empire, but the accumulated wealth of the nation, which is said to be 12,000 millions sterling. The present annual cost of the navy is only 8s. 2½d. per cent. on this great sum, which is surely a very low rate of insurance. As regards *personnel*, which seems to be the great requirement of the navy, I should like to have asked some of my naval friends why steps have not been taken to utilise in some way for the use of the Imperial navy those excellent sailors who exist on the Atlantic coasts of Canada. I think some steps ought to have been taken when a large reserve could be formed from this source. The resources of this country are practically unlimited, and all that is required is, some means should be devised of applying them for the defence of the nation.

The CHAIRMAN (Admiral Sir Anthony H. Hoskins, G.C.B.): Like previous speakers, I must intimate my entire agreement with the views of the lecturer as to the principles on which national defence should be conducted. I know that he has unrivalled experience in such matters, that he has on many previous occasions laid down absolutely correctly, as far as we can judge as naval officers, what are the principles on which our commerce and Colonies should be defended, and I think you may trust implicitly to the general views he has taken. One of the principal differences amongst the speakers appears to have been on the subject of Australian defence. I think very little has been said of a Colony which, perhaps, is more exposed to attack than any other, which is Canada. Mr. Reid rather challenged me to say that, in consequence of the Conference of 1887, Australia had contributed very largely to our naval resources. It is very true that they did a great deal for us, but I must confess at the same time they did not show quite that catholicity of which the lecturer spoke and recommended, because in raising the joint squadron now at work in Australia, they laid down the stipulation that the Imperial naval forces on the station should never be reduced or removed. I think they ought to undertake as far as possible to protect their own coasts in conjunction with our forces, but no such stipulation

should be laid down, because it may be all-important at any moment for the squadron to be moved elsewhere with the object quite as much of protecting the Colonies in the proper place, though not necessarily in colonial waters. With reference to strategical considerations, I think the lecturer perfectly right in dealing only with general principles and not with details. The conditions of warfare are so peculiar now, that any details laid down would surely mislead in case of war. The necessity of coaling in all parts of the world has completely altered all our naval views as to blockade and other measures. Sir Donald Currie ably touched on that point, which has been ever present to naval minds, and he is quite as naval-minded as any officer of us all. With reference to manning, I quite agree it is most important that a far more intimate connection between the navy and the mercantile marine should be established, not only with reference to men, but officers. It is too late to do more than glance at the measures which are necessary, but I have reason to know that the Admiralty are fully aware of what is necessary, and are steadily pursuing measures to that end.

Lieut.-Col. Sir GEORGE CLARKE: In Mr. Reid's excellent speech one thing struck me. He spoke of what "we" have to defend, and what "you" have to defend. That is just the point of view my paper is designed to combat. There is only one thing we have to defend, and that is the United Empire. It seems to me that recent events teach us two important lessons. One, to which Mr. Brassey has alluded, is that there are contingencies which we did not take into account—that our liabilities are greater than we expected. That is a lesson we must take to heart. The second is, that it is more probable a war will arise out of some colonial question than out of any other. That, when you think of it, is natural, because our colonists touch the interests of foreign nations at so many points all over the world, and because the smallest interest of the smallest Colony must be defended if necessary by the whole forces at the disposal of the Empire. In the period of anxiety through which we have just passed, numerous messages have been received from all parts of the world. The strong sentiment such messages disclose is a powerful factor, which we may fairly take into account. But do not let us forget that sentiment is not equivalent to organisation. We must most carefully discriminate between the solidarity of opinion and solidarity which would be implied by readiness to place the whole of our resources at the disposal of the Empire to defy aggression. This has been a wonderful century; I am not sure the philosophical



historian of the future will not say that among its most wonderful developments has been the reduction of organisation to a science. That has been done not only in naval and military matters, but in civil business. There is perhaps a British tendency to trust to rough and ready methods, devised on the spur of the moment, which very often have served as well. In the past I do not think this disregard of method has done us much harm, since we competed with peoples whose methods were not more scientific than our own; but at the present time, when a high standard of organisation is universal, it is dangerous to assume that we can dispense with what other nations are striving to attain. My plea, therefore, is for organisation. It is not easy. It cannot be reached by laying down hard and fast lines, but I believe it can be done, and that there never was a more favourable time for a new departure than the present. If we can be united in general organisation for defence, as we are already united in devotion to the Queen, and in pride of empire, there will be no need to fear the future. To achieve an end like this is to my mind the first object a great statesman can set before himself. As the navy is at the root of the whole question of national defence, it is fit that to-night we should have a great practical sailor in the chair. Admiral Hoskins has filled, with distinction to himself and immense value to the Empire, one of the highest posts any one can hold—that of First Naval Lord. In the course of about fifteen years' writing on the subject I have written a good many things which have not been regarded with enthusiasm, but I do not think I have ever written anything which Admiral Hoskins would not have approved. I ask you to accord to him a hearty vote of thanks for his able chairmanship to-night.

The motion was carried with acclamation.

The meeting then terminated.

## TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE Twenty-Eighth Annual General Meeting was held in the Library of the Institute, Northumberland Avenue, on Tuesday, February 18, 1896.

Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., a Vice-President, presided.

Amongst those present were the following :—

MR. J. ALDENHOVEN, SIR HENRY BARKLY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., MESSRS. H. H. BEAUCHAMP, G. BEETHAM, DR. A. M. BROWN, SIR HENRY E. G. BULWER, G.C.M.G., MESSRS. GEORGE CROPPER, G. C. CUNNINGHAM, F. H. DANGAR, C. DUDLEY, FRED DUTTON, S. EDWARDS, C. WASHINGTON EYES, C.M.G., JOHN FERGUSON, S. FORD, D. G. GISBORNE, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY GREEN, K.C.S.I., C.B., MR. W. S. SEBRIGHT GREEN, SIR ROBERT G. W. HERBERT, G.C.B., MESSRS. T. J. HANLEY, H. R. HARGER, ADMIRAL SIR ANTHONY H. HOSKINS, G.C.B., SIR W. H. QUAYLE JONES, MR. JAMES KEMSLEY, RT. HON. LORD LOCH, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., SIR HUGH LOW, G.C.M.G., MR. NEVILLE LUBBOCK, CAPT. FRANCIS H. LYTELL, MESSRS. J. L. LYTELL, JAMES MARTIN, S. VAUGHAN MORGAN, DR. D. MORRIS, C.M.G., MR. H. NORTH, SIR MONTAGU F. OMMANNEY, K.C.M.G., MAJOR J. ROPER PARKINGTON, MR. H. M. PAUL, CAPT. W. P. ROCHE, MR. C. ROCKE, SIR SAUL SAMUEL, K.C.M.G., C.B., MESSRS. EDMUND SHARP, WM. STANFORD, JOHN STUART, T. J. THOMPSON, DR. G. A. TUCKER, MR. R. WYNDHAM VAUGHAN, LT.-COLONEL R. S. F. WALKER, C.M.G., MESSRS. J. P. G. WILLIAMSON, GEORGE WOOD, J. F. WYLDE, SIR JAMES A. YOUL, K.C.M.G., MR. J. S. O'HALLORAN, C.M.G. (SECRETARY).

The Secretary read the notice convening the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN: Before declaring the ballot open I have to explain that since the issue of the balloting list we have had to lament the loss of Mr. Childers—one of the oldest friends and supporters of this Institute—whose name appears on that list as eligible for re-election as a Vice-President. It is for you to fill up the vacancy thus occasioned in any way you please. It appears to the Council that the interests of the Institute would be well served by the election of Sir Robert Herbert as a Vice-President in succession to Mr. Childers, and of Sir James Garrick in succession to Sir Robert Herbert. This, however, is merely a suggestion, and it is quite competent for each Fellow present to erase from the ballot paper any name he proposes to omit and substitute another in the last column. I now beg to name Mr. S. Vaughan Morgan and Mr. W. Stanford as scrutineers of the ballot, which will remain open for half an hour.

Dr. G. A. TUCKER asked what interval had elapsed between the death of Mr. Childers and the election of his successor by the Council.

The CHAIRMAN: Neither Sir Robert Herbert nor Sir James

Garrick has been elected by the Council. The names are merely suggested as those of gentlemen fitted to fill the vacancies.

Dr. TUCKER : I think we can scarcely deal with members elected by the Council.

The CHAIRMAN : They are not elected. It is simply a suggestion on the part of the Council.

The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report which had been previously circulated amongst the Fellows was taken as read.

#### REPORT.

THE Council have the pleasure of presenting to the Fellows their Twenty-eighth Annual Report.

During the past year 80 Resident, and 218 Non-Resident Fellows have been elected, or a total of 298, as compared with 88 Resident and 172 Non-Resident, or a total of 260, during the preceding year. On December 31, 1895, the list included 1,800 Resident, 2,458 Non-Resident, and 9 Honorary Fellows, or 3,767 in all, of whom 881 have compounded for the Annual Subscription, and thus qualified as Life Fellows.

The Honorary Treasurer's Statement of Accounts exhibits a satisfactory increase in receipts as compared with 1894. The expenditure of the year includes the cost of a new and complete Library Catalogue; and also of the Journal and Proceedings for two Sessions, which charge will, in future, be defrayed quarterly in terms of a revised contract for printing. The loan of £85,020, which was raised in 1886 in order that the freehold of the Institute might be acquired, stood at £21,770 10s. 4d. at the close of 1895—no less than £7,752 10s. 10d. having been applied to its reduction beyond the amount originally stipulated—and the rate of interest thereupon has been still further diminished.

The figures on page 157 illustrate the growth of the Institute since it was founded in 1868, and also its present position as a self-supporting body.

The obituary of the year 1895 is the heaviest on record, and comprises the names of 98 Fellows, including two Councillors:—

*Samuel Bannerman (Gold Coast Colony), H. Barrow (Jamaica), Captain R. D. Beeston (British North Borneo), E. B. Boulton (New South Wales), J. Francis Boyle (Sierra Leone), Henry Brooks (late of Victoria), Alfred D. Broughton, Sir H. J. Burford-Hancock, C.M.G. (Jamaica), Herbert Cave (Queensland), Hyde Clarke, Joseph Clarke (Victoria), William P. Clarke (Barbados), Reginald T. Cocks, Hon. Edward Combes, C.M.G., M.L.C. (New South Wales), William Copland (Grenada), Frederick J. Crocker, John Cumming (British Guiana), John Davidson, J.P. (Jamaica), Wm. Holme Davis, Charles Day (South Australia), G. H. Deffell (late of New South Wales),*

Date.	No. of Fellows.	Annual income (exclusive of Building and Conversation Funds, but inclusive of Life Compositions and Entrance Fees).		
		£	s.	d.
To June 11, 1869 . .	174	1,124	14	5
" 1870 . .	275	549	10	8
" 1871 . .	210	503	16	4
" 1872 . .	271	478	10	0
" 1873 . .	349	1,022	9	1
" 1874 . .	420	906	12	11
" 1875 . .	551	1,038	15	8
" 1876 . .	627	1,182	3	3
" 1877 . .	717	1,222	18	3
" 1878 . .	796	1,330	13	11
" 1879 . .	981	1,752	18	2
" 1880 . .	1,131	2,141	8	10
" 1881 . .	1,376	2,459	15	6
" 1882 . .	1,613	3,236	8	8
" 1883 . .	1,959	3,647	10	0
" 1884 . .	2,306	4,539	0	10
" 1885 . .	2,587	5,220	19	0
" 1886 . .	2,880	6,258	11	0
To Dec. 31, 1886 . .	3,005	6,581	2	5
" 1887 . .	3,125	6,034	3	0
" 1888 . .	3,221	6,406	11	5
" 1889 . .	3,562	7,738	7	11
" 1890 . .	3,667	6,919	7	6
" 1891 . .	3,782	7,362	2	10
" 1892 . .	3,775	6,966	12	4
" 1893 . .	3,749	6,458	18	6
" 1894 . .	3,757	6,691	19	0
" 1895 . .	3,767	6,854	2	11

*F. R. Despard (East Africa), James Dilworth, J.P. (New Zealand), William O. Dodgson, James W. Doré, Rt. Hon. Sir Robert W. Duff, G.C.M.G. (Governor of New South Wales), George Fairbairn (Victoria), Thomas Fisher, M.D. (late of New Zealand), James Ford (Damaraland), Harcourt Forte (British Guiana), Lieut.-General Sir W. A. Fyers, K.C.B., Sydney F. Gedge, Sir Cyril Graham, Bart., George Green (late of South Australia), George F. Halse (Honorary Fellow), Sir Robert G. C. Hamilton, K.C.B., Thomas F. Hamilton, Hon. Mr. Justice G. R. Harding (Queensland), Hon. G. C. Hawker, M.P. (South Australia), H. H. Hayter, C.M.G. (Honorary Fellow), William Holman, L.R.C.P., William H. Hutchens, M. B. Isaacs, Hon. R. H. Jackson, M.L.C. (Jamaica), Alexander Johnston, M.D., F. P. de Labilliere (a Councillor), Hon. G. W. Leake, Q.C., M.L.C. (Western Australia), A. Stanger Leathes (New South Wales), P. G. Leeb (Cape Colony), H. A. Lovett, A. G. McHattie, M.D., (Antigua), Daniel Mackenzie, W. Cavenagh Mainwaring (South Australia), Hon. Wm. Malabre, M.L.C. (Jamaica), Thomas P. Manifold (Victoria), J. T. Matson, J.P. (New Zealand), H. W. Maunsell, M.D. (New Zealand), Sir Charles Mills, K.C.M.G., C.B. (a Councillor), Sir William Milne (South Australia), John Muirhead, James Murray (Canada), Sir Joseph Needham, J. C. Newbery, C.M.G. (Victoria), Percy Nightingale (Cape Colony), Hon. Sir James B. Patterson, K.C.M.G., M.L.A. (Victoria), Augustus G. Pawley (British Bechuanaland), Hon. A. J. Pell, M.L.C. (Lagos), George P. Robertson (Victoria), Augustus O. Robinson, Murray Rogers, Henry Rose, jun. (New Zealand), R. McMillan Ross (Cape Colony), Col. J. H. Sandwith, C.B. (St. Vincent),*

Arthur J. Scott (late of Queensland), Charles H. Smith (Gold Coast Colony), Hon. R. Burdett-Smith, C.M.G., M.L.C. (New South Wales), Hon. P. S. Solomon, Q.C., M.L.C. (Fiji), Kenneth J. Spicer (Jamaica), H. Villiers Stuart, A. F. Tancred, J.P. (Cape Colony), F. A. Thompson, George Tinline (late of South Australia), John E. Vardy (Cape Colony), James L. Verley (Jamaica), Hugh A. Vickers (Jamaica), B. C. Wainwright, G. Fred Want (New South Wales), Randolph C. Want (late of New South Wales), William Webster (Queensland), Arnold Wienholt (Queensland), Hon. John N. Wilson (New Zealand), Sir Samuel Wilson (Victoria), Reader G. Wood (New Zealand).

Vacancies on the Council having arisen through the lamented deaths of Mr. F. P. de Labilliere and Sir Charles Mills, K.C.M.G., C.B., and the resignation of Messrs. T. Morgan Harvey, J. R. Mosse, and George R. Parkin, M.A., have been filled up, under the provisions of Rule 6, by the appointment, *ad interim*, subject to confirmation by the Fellows, of Mr. W. J. Anderson, Admiral Sir Anthony H. Hoskins, G.C.B., Lord Loch, G.C.B., G.C.M.G. Mr. Septimus Vaughan Morgan, and Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, G.C.M.G. The following retire in conformity with Rule 7, and are eligible for re-election:—President: H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, K.G. Vice-Presidents: The Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, K.P., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., The Marquis of Lorne, K.T., G.C.M.G., M.P., The Earl of Aberdeen, G.C.M.G., the Right Hon. Hugh C. E. Childers, F.R.S., and Sir James A. Youl, K.C.M.G. Councillors: Messrs. Frederick Dutton, R. J. Jeffray, William Keswick, Lieut.-General R. W. Lowry, C.B., Mr. Neville Lubbock, and Sir Saul Samuel, K.C.M.G., C.B. The Fellows of the Institute will have noted with great satisfaction that the indefatigable and valuable services of their Secretary have been recognised by his being appointed a Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George.

A Banquet to celebrate the Twenty-seventh Anniversary of the foundation of the Institute took place at the Whitehall Rooms on March 6, the Earl of Jersey, G.C.M.G., presiding; and the proceedings formed an important demonstration in favour of the great national sentiment of the Unity of the Empire.

The Annual Conversazione was held at the Natural History Museum, Cromwell Road, on June '27, by the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, and was attended by about 2,000 guests, representing all parts of Her Majesty's Dominions.

The following Papers have been read and discussed since the date of the last Annual Report:—

#### Ordinary Meetings:

“The Critical Position of British Trade with Oriental Countries.” The Hon. T. H. Whitehead, M.L.C., Hong Kong.

"British New Guinea: Administration." Sir William MacGregor, K.C.M.G., Governor of New Guinea.

"On the Kashmir Frontier." Capt. F. E. Young-husband, C.I.E.

"Some Social Forces at Work in South Africa." The Rt. Rev. Allan Becher Webb, D.D., Bishop of Grahamstown.

"The Imperial Aspects of Education." The Rev. J. E. C. Weldon, M.A., Head Master of Harrow School.

"Western Australia." Sir William C. F. Robinson, G.C.M.G., Governor of the Colony.

"The Extension of British Influence (and Trade) in Africa." Capt. F. D. Lugard, C.B., D.S.O.

"The Future of our Sugar-producing Colonies." Mr. Justice Condé Williams (of Mauritius).

"The Scientific Exploration of Central Australia." W. A. Horn (of Adelaide, S.A.).

**Special Meeting :**

"New Zealand in 1895." The Hon. J. G. Ward, Colonial Treasurer of New Zealand.

**Afternoon Meetings :**

"The Writing of Colonial History." James Bonwick.

"Australian Stock Pastures and British Consumers." John Hotson (of Melbourne).

"Colonization and Expansion of the Empire." W. S. Sebright Green.

"The Defence Question in Trinidad." The Hon. Col. Alexander Man (M.E.C. Trinidad).

The additions to the Library during the year numbered 1,243 volumes (of which 879 were purchased and 864 acquired by donation), 2,148 pamphlets and parts, 33,051 newspapers, 10 maps, and 85 miscellaneous gifts. A large number of the books and pamphlets which have been added to the Library are entirely out of print and of great value, but every opportunity is taken of obtaining such works, so that the collection of Colonial literature in the possession of the Institute may be to a large extent completed. Additional shelf space has been provided, by which the books have been rendered more readily accessible to the Fellows, as well as the public, who have visited the Library to a constantly increasing extent, for the purpose of obtaining information and advice upon questions regarding the trade, resources, and government of the Empire. The

Council have again to acknowledge the liberality of numerous donors, including the Imperial and Colonial governments, the Agents-General for the Colonies, Societies, and other public institutions both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and of a large number of publishers, proprietors of newspapers and magazines, and Fellows of the Institute and others, a list of whom is appended. A special donation of £25 for the purchase of books was kindly contributed by Mr. Frank M. Dutton, to whom the best thanks of the Institute are due. A new Library Catalogue, embracing the whole contents of the Library, which was urgently required for reference purposes, and was issued in the early part of the year, was most favourably received by the Fellows, the press and the public generally, both at Home and in the Colonies. On December 31, 1895, the Library contained 14,461 volumes, 11,816 pamphlets, and 802 files of newspapers.

The Council have addressed a circular letter to the various Colonial Governments, inviting them to issue periodical registers of official publications and all other locally published works, with their full titles, so as to furnish complete records of the literature of each Colony. The invitation met with a cordial response, and valuable information on this important subject is regularly received from many of the Colonies and carefully preserved.

Frequent enquiries on almost every variety of subject connected with the Colonies continue to be addressed to the Institute by Fellows and others, and amongst those in reply to which information has recently been imparted may be mentioned Emigration; Agricultural, Pastoral, and Industrial Resources; Trade, Banking, and other Statistics; Climate, Education, Land Tenure, Patent and other Laws and Regulations, Currency, Copyright, Openings for Professional Men, Defence Forces, Income Tax, Death Duties, Payment of Members, Enquiries for Missing Friends, and many others. Assistance is constantly being given to the pursuit of important investigations of a scientific, commercial, and literary character; and facilities are afforded for the interchange of experiences by representatives of various Colonies, by which means the most recent and authentic intelligence based on personal knowledge is always available.

The Council deputed Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., a Vice-President, to represent the Institute at the International Geographical Conference held last year under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society, when a highly instructive exhibition of maps and geographical appliances was held, and several questions

of Colonial interest came under discussion. Members of the Conference were admitted to Honorary Membership of the Royal Colonial Institute during their stay in London.

For many years past the Council have been very deeply impressed with the national importance of imparting to the rising generation a fuller and more accurate knowledge of the British Colonies and their resources, and they have not ceased to urge upon the educational authorities and other public bodies that greater prominence should be given to the subject in the schools of the United Kingdom.

The Council regard as a document of the highest national significance the Despatch of November 28, 1895 (see *Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* for January 1896), which the Secretary of State for the Colonies has addressed to all Colonial Governors, emphasising the extreme importance of securing as large a share as possible of the mutual trade of the United Kingdom and the Colonies for British producers and manufacturers, whether located in the Colonies or the United Kingdom, and desiring thoroughly to investigate the extent to which in each of the Colonies foreign imports of any kind have displaced, or are displacing, similar British goods, and the causes of such displacement. Mr. Chamberlain expresses his appreciation of the work that has been, and is being done in this direction by the Royal Colonial Institute and other agencies; and the Council not only cordially concur in his view that in a matter of such importance no additional efforts can be superfluous, but feel persuaded that the official action thus inaugurated cannot fail to elicit information that will be of material service to the commercial classes both at Home and in the Colonies.

The Council are glad to learn that her Majesty's Government propose to recommend the Imperial Parliament to grant a subsidy towards the establishment of a fast mail-service to the Dominion of Canada (as advocated at the Ottawa Conference of 1894), which will form another link in the chain of communication between the Mother Country and her more distant Colonies.

It is noted with much interest that a measure entitled the "Federal Enabling Act" has already been passed through all its stages by the Legislatures of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania, thus placing on a more definite footing the movement in favour of a closer union of the Australasian Colonies.

The extension of railway communication in South Africa promises materially to promote settlement on the land and stimu-



late the work of progress and prosperity that has been inaugurated in that important section of the Colonial Empire.

The measures that are being taken by Her Majesty's Government for developing the resources of tropical Africa by means of railways, and at the same time opening up fresh markets for British commerce, will, it is confidently hoped, be productive of important results.

It must be a source of sincere satisfaction to all Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute that the soundness of the policy of directing public attention to the Colonies as the natural outlets for British enterprise and capital, a policy by which the Institute has continuously been guided for upwards of a quarter of a century, now meets with general recognition and approval from all classes of the community; and the Council feel more than ever persuaded that the maintenance unimpaired of the integrity of the Empire, and the adequate protection of its commercial interests, demand the loyal co-operation and united action of all British subjects, in whatever part of the world they may have their homes.

By Order of the Council,

J. S. O'HALLORAN,

*Secretary*

*January 28, 1896.*

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES, DECEMBER 31, 1895.

LIABILITIES.		ASSETS.	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Sundry Accounts.....	495 3 9	By Subscriptions outstanding £515. 12s., estimated at .....	257 16 0
" Balance of Loan for Purchase of Site and to pay off Debentures on security of Mortgage 21,770 10 4		" Journal account outstanding .....	27 4 0
		" Property of the Institute—	
		Building (cost price) .....	£20,070 3 10
Balance in favour of Assets .....	22,265 14 1	Furniture.....	£1,918 5 9
		Less Depreciation, say 5 % .....	95 18 4
		Books &c., valued at .....	1,822 7 5
			5,300 0 0
		" Cost of Freehold .....	27,192 11 3
			30,520 0 0
		Balance at Bank .....	57,997 11 3
		" in hands of Secretary .....	£467 17 3
			18 15 0
			486 12 3
			£58,484 3 6

January 1, 1896.

M. F. OMMANNEY,  
Hon. Treasurer.

Examined and found correct. A list of the Fellows in arrear on the 31st December, 1895, has—in conformity with Rule 22a—been laid before the Auditors by the Honorary Treasurer, showing an amount due to the Institute of £515 12s.

January 20, 1896.

F. H. DANGAR,  
W. G. DEVON ASTLE, } Hon. Auditors.

**STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS**  
**FOR THE YEAR ENDING**

RECEIPTS.			£ s. d.		
Bank Balance as per last Account .....	£1,144	1	4		
Cash in hands of Secretary .....		11	11	8	
					1,155 13 0
8 Life Subscriptions of £20 .....	£160	0	0		
49 " " £10 .....	490	0	0		
1 " " £10. 10s. ....	10	10	0		
5 " " to complete .....	46	14	0		
77 Entrance Fees of £3 .....	231	0	0		
206 " " £1. 1s. ....	216	6	0		
12 " " to complete .....	23	8	0		
1,197 Subscriptions of £2 .....	2,394	0	0		
1,547 " £1. 1s. ....	1,624	7	0		
139 " £1 and under to complete...	127	6	0		
					5,323 11 0
27th Anniversary Banquet, received in connection with.....				137	0 6
Conversazione, ditto .....				192	10 0
Rent for one year to December 25, 1895, less Property Tax .....				1,160	0 0
Insurance repaid .....				7	7 0
Interest on Deposit .....				1	17 3
Proceeds of Sale of Papers &c. ....				31	7 6
Library Catalogue (sale of) .....				31	10 0
Donation to Library (Mr. Frank M. Dutton).....				25	0 0
Journal .....				273	10 2
Credited in error by Bank.....				0	4 0

£8,339 10 5

Examined and found correct

F. H. DANGAR,  
W. G. DEVON ASTLE, } *Hon. Auditors.*

January 20, 1896.

AND PAYMENTS

DECEMBER 31, 1895.

PAYMENTS.		£	s.	d.
Salaries and Wages.....		1,716	13	11
Proceedings—Printing &c. ....		746	9	6
Journal—				
Printing.....	£628 8 7			
Postage .....	140 6 4			
		768	14	11
Printing, ordinary .....		130	7	8
Postages, ordinary .....		176	19	5
Advertising Meetings .....		48	13	9
Meetings, Expenses of .....		209	10	0
Reporting Meetings .....		38	17	0
Stationery.....		143	17	6
Newspapers .....		120	4	6
Library—				
Printing Catalogue .....	£357 11 3			
Compilation of ditto .....	50 0 0			
Books .....	169 13 4			
Binding .....	28 1 9			
Maps (revising) .....	16 0			
		606	2	4
Fuel, Light, &c. ....		145	5	4
Building—Repairs and Furniture.....		85	0	2
Guests' Dinner Fund .....		38	19	3
Rates and Taxes .....		323	17	0
Fire Insurance .....		23	19	0
Law Charges .....		5	5	0
27th Anniversary Banquet .....		159	1	0
Conversazione—				
Refreshments .....	£149 6 0			
Electric Lighting &c. ....	143 12 0			
Floral Decorations .....	20 0 0			
Music .....	47 5 0			
Printing .....	14 10 6			
Fittings, Furniture, &c. ....	35 12 6			
Attendance &c. ....	26 14 6			
		437	0	6
Gratuity .....		80	0	0
Miscellaneous .....		61	6	9
Subscriptions paid in error refunded .....		8	4	0
Payments on Account of Mortgage—				
Interest .....	£898 10 1			
Principal.....	879 19 7			
		1,778	9	8
		7,852	18	2
Balance in hand as per Bank Book.....	£467 17 3			
Cash in hands of Secretary .....	18 15 0			
		486	12	3
		<u>£8,339</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>5</u>

M. F. OMMANNEY,

*Honorary Treasurer.*

January 1, 1896.

## LIST OF DONORS TO THE LIBRARY—1895.

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|---|--|
| Aborigines Protection Society                             | Australian Mail, Proprietors of                              |
| Aburrow, Charles  | Australian Medical Journal, Proprietors of                   |
| Adams, Rev. Principal T. (Quebec)                         | Australian Mining Standard (Sydney), Proprietors of          |
| Affleck & Co., Messrs. T. (Albury, New South Wales)       | Australian Museum (Sydney), Trustees of                      |
| African Critic, Proprietors of                            | Australian Stock Exchange Intelligence, Proprietors of       |
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 India, Secretary of State for  
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 Montreal Weekly Herald, Proprietors  
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 Mount Alexander Mail (Victoria),  
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 Naz, Sir Virgile, K.C.M.G. (Mauri-  
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 Nederlandsche Maatschappij ter  
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 Society of  
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 (New South Wales)  
 Newcastle Morning Herald (New  
 South Wales), Proprietors of  
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 New Zealand, Agent-General for  
 New Zealand, Department of Agricul-  
 ture  
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 Norman, J. H.  
 North Borneo Herald, Proprietors of  
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 North Queensland Register, Proprie-  
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 Quebec General Mining Association  
 Quebec, Government of  
 Queen's College and University, Kings-  
     ton, Canada  
 Queensland, Agent-General for  
 Queensland, Department of Agricul-  
     ture  
 Queensland, Department of Mines  
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 Queensland Mercantile Gazette, Pro-  
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     elles)

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 Southern Economist (New Zealand), Proprietors of  
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 Standard and Diggers' News (Transvaal), Proprietors of  
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 Stanton, A. G.  
 Star (Transvaal), Proprietors of  
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 Sydney Daily Telegraph, Proprietors of  
 Sydney Mail, Proprietors of  
 Sydney Morning Herald, Proprietors of  
 Sydney Trade Review, Proprietors of  
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 Symons, G. J., F.R.S.
- Table Talk (Melbourne), Proprietors of  
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 Young, Sir Frederick, K.C.M.G.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY DURING THE YEAR 1895.

Mode of Acquisition	Volumes	Pamphlets &c.	Newspapers &c.	Maps	Miscellaneous
Donations .....	864	1,780	22,003	10	85
Purchase .....	379	368	11,048	—	—
Total.....	1,243	2,148	33,051	10	85

The Council are indebted to The Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, The Castle Mail Packet Company, and The Royal Mail Steam Packet Company for their assistance in the distribution of the "Proceedings" of the Institute in various parts of the world.

The Hon. Treasurer (Sir MONTAGU F. OMMANNEY, K.C.M.G.): It is customary on these occasions for your Hon. Treasurer to render some account of his stewardship during the past year; but, as I have often had occasion to remark in this room, the accounts are themselves in such a very simple form, and all the matters of interest in these accounts are so fully dealt with in the report of

various parts of the Empire have given us the benefit of their important and valuable experiences: "The Trade of India, and its future Development;" "British West Africa, and the Trade of the Interior;" "Hong Kong and its Trade Connections;" "Inter-British Trade, and its Influence on the Trade of the Empire;" "The Influence of Commerce on the Development of the Colonial Empire;" "British Trade with Oriental Countries," &c. The reports of our meetings are bound up in the twenty-six volumes of our Proceedings which have been already published, and which are in great request both at Home and in the Colonies as works of reference, so that it has become a matter of no small difficulty to procure a complete series apart from those that have been regularly presented to the principal legislative, commercial, and other libraries throughout the Empire. An enormous amount of valuable work has been unobtrusively performed through the medium of our intelligence department, which possesses one of the most complete Colonial libraries in existence, which is in close touch with newly-arrived Colonists, and day by day affords opportunities of answering inquiries on almost every conceivable subject connected with the Colonies and India. It should be borne in mind that highly important services are thus rendered to the general public by an organisation that relies solely on the subscriptions of its members for support, and is without endowments or subsidies of any kind. The report of the Council now before you, besides referring to various trade questions, forcibly urges the importance of teaching Colonial subjects in the schools of the United Kingdom, and sympathetically alludes to the establishment of a fast mail service to the Dominion of Canada, the passing of a Federal Enabling Act by several of the Australasian Colonies, the extension of railway communication in South and Central Africa. It also continues to express the sentiments of the Council in their earnest advocacy of the maintenance unimpaired of the integrity of the British Empire, and the adequate protection of its vast commercial interests. The Council cannot doubt that this Report, clearly indicating their views on the various subjects to which I have drawn your attention, will meet with the cordial sympathy, and elicit the approval, of the Fellows of the Institute.

Sir HUGH LOW, G.C.M.G.: After the eloquent speech of the Chairman, I am sure all I need say, in seconding this motion, is that we must all hail with the greatest satisfaction this very satisfactory statement of our affairs.

Dr. TUCKER: I observe the first item in the account of receipts and expenditure, and by far the largest—that relating to salaries and

wages—is *in globo*, and I would like to know why that is the case, because I am under the impression that some two years ago we were promised the details should be stated. At the present time we have no idea whatever as to the salaries. Some we might wish to increase or to decrease, or we might wish to equalise them somewhat. I think you promised, sir, the year before last, that you would consider whether this plan of lumping them together should be continued. As the balance-sheet is intended to enlighten the Fellows, I think the items under this heading should be given.

The CHAIRMAN : I had the honour of presiding at the meeting to which Dr. Tucker refers, and I think he is in error in saying that I promised these details. But there can be no objection to their being given if they are asked for by any Fellow. It has always been open to any Fellow at any time to inquire what were the items. The Hon. Treasurer is present, and he, I am sure, will be glad to explain.

The HON. TREASURER : I understand Dr. Tucker would like every detail of the item "salaries and wages." The salaries are as follows—

Dr. TUCKER (interposing) : If you will be kind enough to present them in future balance-sheets I won't trouble.

The CHAIRMAN : It is hardly worth discussing. The Hon. Treasurer is ready to give the details.

The HON. TREASURER : There is not the slightest desire to withhold any information that can be reasonably asked for. It is unusual, of course, and it would be very easy to swell the accounts into a very inconvenient volume if every detail of every item were published every year.

Sir JAMES A. YOUL, K.C.M.G. : For myself I may say I would not like to see the salary of each individual officer published to the whole world. No other institution—bank or otherwise—with which I am connected does such a thing, and it would, I think, be quite unusual.

Major ROPER PARKINGTON : If any Fellow desires to know what the salaries of the officers are, I presume he can get the information downstairs ?

The CHAIRMAN : Quite so.

Mr. F. H. DANGAR : As one of the Hon. Auditors, fresh from every item, I may say that I find the salaries as they are charged are in strict accordance with the rules of this Institute. I quite agree with Sir James Youl that to publish every detail is most un-

usual. It would be absurd. If such a proposal were made to one of the great banks, they would laugh at it.

Dr. TUCKER : I do not doubt the order or the straightforwardness of the accounts. I merely asked for information.

The CHAIRMAN : I think the mode adopted is the usual one, and moreover all the information is to be obtained at the office by any one who wishes it. I wish to correct the impression that I had pledged myself.

Dr. TUCKER : I do not say you pledged yourself, but I think you said you would bring the matter before the Council. I once spoke to the Secretary about it.

The SECRETARY : I beg pardon ; I offered the information to Dr. Tucker, and I said the books were at the disposal of any member of the Institute. He said, "I do not care about that, but the details ought to be published in the accounts."

Mr. NEVILLE LUBBOCK : Speaking with a long experience of the City, I can say that Dr. Tucker would have a difficulty in finding a single institution in which what he proposes is done. It would be a most unusual and invidious thing to do.

Dr. TUCKER : There is no possibility of voting an increase of salary even ?

The CHAIRMAN : The charter itself provides that the Council shall arrange those matters. It says :—

The Council shall have the sole management of the income, funds, and property of the Institute, and may manage and superintend all other affairs of the Institute, and appoint and dismiss at their pleasure all salaried and other officers, attendants, and servants as they may think fit ; and may, subject to these presents and the rules of the Institute, do all such things as shall appear to them necessary and expedient for giving effect to the objects of the Institute.

The motion for the adoption of the Report and accounts was carried *nem. con.*

Major ROPER PARKINGTON : Very few words will be necessary from me to commend the next resolution to your hearty acceptance. It is that the thanks of the Institute be given to the Hon. Treasurer (Sir Montagu Ommanney), the Hon. Corresponding Secretaries in the various Colonies, and the Hon. Auditors (Mr. F. H. Dangar and Mr. W. G. Devon Astle) for their services during the past year. It is not necessary to comment on the very efficient manner in which our Hon. Treasurer carries out all his duties. I am sure we are all proud of the analysis of accounts he has been able to put before v . . . eminently satisfactory

statement. Sir Montagu Ommanney has, I find, been Hon. Treasurer for seven years now, and our satisfaction with him is seven times greater than in his first year. As regards the Hon. Corresponding Secretaries, it is manifest to everybody we owe them a deep debt of gratitude. Without them we should be frequently in ignorance of what takes place in other parts of the Empire. There are forty-one Hon. Corresponding Secretaries, and they are ever willing to give the Institute every possible information. In the same way we are indebted to the Auditors for the manner in which they carry out their duties.

Mr. H. M. PAUL seconded the motion.

The HON. TREASURER: On behalf of the honorary officers of the Institute, I beg to return our sincere thanks for this very complimentary resolution. For myself, I am greatly beholden to the proposer, who has been good enough to attach an altogether exaggerated value to such small services as I have been able to render. Of this, at least, I am sure, that the honorary officers give their services willingly and ungrudgingly; and that it is a gratification to them to be able to promote, in ever so small a degree, the objects and the interests of the Royal Colonial Institute.

Mr. JOHN FERGUSON (Ceylon): As an unworthy representative of the Hon. Corresponding Secretaries of the Institute, I thank you very heartily for the motion you have just carried. As an old Colonist, I may say that I find no more congenial home in this metropolis than the Royal Colonial Institute; and there could not be officers more ready to give information than the officers of this establishment. The longer I continue a member of this Institute, and the longer I continue to live in the Colonies, the greater is my appreciation of the value and importance of the Institute. In the past year a fresh bond has been created between the Institute and the Colonies—one that will unite members in thinking more of the Institute—in the very valuable catalogue of the Library. I am full of admiration of the work, in which, together with the Proceedings of this Institute, the future historian of the Colonies and of the Empire will find materials ready to his hand of the greatest possible value. I am glad to see the Institute continues to devote attention to the resources of the Colonies, and on that I would point out that while in Ceylon we have a large tract of unoccupied territory—very valuable in its way—in India, especially in the south of India, there is in many parts an overcrowded population; and thus in our Colony of Ceylon there exists an opportunity for putting into practice plans relating to what Mr. Chamberlain has called the utilisation of our



"undeveloped estates." Our waste lands in the north and east are capable of taking several millions of the population of Southern India, whose protection against famine and other evils now puzzles our Anglo-Indian administrators.

Mr. F. H. DANGAR : On behalf of the Hon. Auditors, I beg to thank the meeting for this resolution. Our duties have been very simple, and at the same time very pleasant. We are not in a position of having to determine when a dividend shall be declared, but I can assure you we found everything in the most perfect order, and that if every institution found its affairs in as satisfactory a state it would be a very good thing for all of us.

The CHAIRMAN announced the result of the ballot as follows :—

*President.*

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES, K.G., G.C.M.G., &c

*Vice-Presidents.*

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF YORK, K.G.

H.R.H. PRINCE CHRISTIAN, K.G.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, K.G., K.T.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K.G.

THE MARQUIS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA,  
K.P., G.C.B., G.C.M.G.

THE MARQUIS OF LOERNE, K.T.,  
G.C.M.G., M.P.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN, G.C.M.G.

THE EARL OF CRANBROOK, G.C.S.I.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN, K.P.

THE EARL OF JERSEY, G.C.M.G.

THE EARL OF ROSEBURY, K.G., K.T.

LORD BRASSET, K.C.B.

LORD CABLINGFORD, K.P.

SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, BART.

SIR HENRY BARKLY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

SIR HENRY E. G. BULWER, G.C.M.G.

GENERAL SIR H. C. B. DAUBENET,  
G.C.B.

SIR ROBERT G. W. HERBERT, G.C.B.

SIR JAMES A. YOUL, K.C.M.G.

SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G.

*Councillors.*

W. J. ANDE SON, Esq.

F. H. DANGAR, Esq.

FREDERICK DUTTON, Esq.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR J. BEVAN EDWARDS,  
K.C.M.G., C.B., M.P.

C. WASHINGTON EVES, Esq., C.M.G.

W. MAYNARD FARMER, Esq.

SIR JAMES GARRICK, K.C.M.G.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY GREEN,  
K.C.S.I., C.B.

SIR ARTHUR HODGSON, K.C.M.G.

ADMIRAL SIR ANTHONY H. HOSKINS,  
G.C.B.

R. J. JEFFRAY, Esq.

H. J. JOURDAIN, Esq., C.M.G.

WILLIAM KESWICK, Esq.

LORD LOCH, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.

LIEUT.-GENERAL R. W. LOWEY, C.B.

NEVILLE LUBBOCK, Esq.

GEORGE S. MACKENZIE, Esq.

S. VAUGHAN MORGAN, Esq.

SIR WESTBY B. PERCEVAL, K.C.M.G.

SIR SAUL SAMUEL, K.C.M.G., C.B.

SIR CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH, G.C.M.G.

SIR FRANCIS VILLENEUVE SMITH.

SIR CHARLES E. F. STIRLING, BART.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART., G.C.M.G.,  
C.B.

*Honorary Treasurer.*

SIR MONTAGU F. OMMANNEY, K.C.M.G.

On the motion of Sir William Quayle Jones, seconded by Captain W. P. Roche, a cordial vote of thanks was given to the Chairman for presiding.

The CHAIRMAN : It has been a great pleasure to me to preside, and to be the mouthpiece of the Council in presenting so favourable a Report. I am, as ever, most enthusiastic in my devotion to the Institute, and I am proud to think of the dimensions and prosperity we have attained.

The meeting then terminated.

## SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING.

A SPECIAL General Meeting was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, February 25, 1896, when Mr. J. G. Maydon, M.L.A., read a paper on "Natal."

Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G., a Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 5 Fellows had been elected, viz., 1 Resident and 4 Non-Resident.

Resident Fellow :—

*Major Ernest Pemberton, R.E.*

Non-Resident Fellows :—

*Alured A. Cunningham (Canada), Hon. George W. Dickson, M.C.P. (Colonial Civil Engineer, British Guiana), Percy M. Earle, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. (Government Medical Officer, British Guiana), Sydney T. Harrison (Gold Coast Colony).*

It was also announced that donations to the Library of Books, Maps, &c., had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN : This meeting, which is an extra and special meeting, interposed between two ordinary meetings, has been called together in order that we may have the opportunity of hearing read a paper on the Colony of Natal by a gentleman who is resident there and a member of its Legislature, and who is in this country on a short visit. It is, I believe, nearly fourteen years since a paper on this subject has been read before the Institute, and under the circumstances the Council has been exceedingly desirous to avail itself of the offer which Mr. Maydon kindly made to read a paper before his return to South Africa. Mr. Maydon is a member of the Legislative Assembly of Natal. He is well acquainted with the circumstances of the Colony, and he will be able to tell us something of its present condition and prospects, of the state of its resources, and of those questions which at the present time engage its attention. In introducing him to you, I am sure that I only fulfil your wishes when I assure him as I do, in your name, of a very hearty welcome amongst us.

Mr. MAYDON then read his paper on

# NATAL.

## INTRODUCTION.

IN venturing to address to-night so distinguished an audience, whilst filled with a sense of my own incompetence for the task, I am sustained by the knowledge of the interest my subject has for all British people. The day has happily passed when Colonial possessions were regarded by even intelligent Englishmen as a source of embarrassment to the Mother Country; they have come to assume their rightful position again in the public mind as a rich field for the development of the energies of the younger generation, and of generations yet to come, as an inalienable field, of vast scope, for that trade expansion on which the very destinies of Britain depend.

Napoleon's jeer was just, we are a nation of shopkeepers; but in that very fact is to be found the source and cause of his own vast empire being overturned. It is to the trading instincts of the nation that we owe that steady growth of power which enabled these Isles to sustain the stupendous struggle which resulted in the overthrow of the greatest military organisation, directed by the greatest captain, the world has ever known.

The foundations of that power are to be sought far back, but they are plain to view. When Louis XIV. deliberately turned his back on the sea and sought the aggrandisement of France in Continental empire, he made the choice which was to eventuate in the overthrow of the usurper who had seized his children's throne; for, from the moment that the French war fleet was permitted to decline, the balance of sea power swung steadily towards England. So long and so steady has been the swing that to our own day at this end of the nineteenth century, our naval supremacy has been maintained, and from it has grown our Empire, British North America, the West Indies, India, South Africa, and Australasia.

But this naval power, which has brought us so rich a harvest, is merely the result of the trading instincts of a seafaring people, instincts which have led to the establishment of interests in every known quarter of the habitable globe, so valuable that naval force adequate to their defence was created and maintained. And as all human forces act and react, the naval power created to protect and maintain the mercantile interests was only possible, because, it recruited itself from the industries it was created to guard.

To the disastrous choice of Louis, and to the natural conditions

of England, which offered no alternative but to occupy the whole field thus abandoned by our ancient rivals, and urged on by the trading instincts of her people, is due the fact that England alone of all the nations of Europe issued from the constant wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, not only unexhausted, but actually recuperated and invigorated. Never before in the history of this or any other land did a nation, even when at peace, present such a scene of smiling prosperity as did England when during the Seven Years' War, whilst subsidising Frederick of Prussia and half the nations of Europe, she herself maintained an army on the Continent, and lost no less than 800 ships per annum to the French privateers, notwithstanding her unchallenged mastery of the sea. And this prosperity was and is due to the trading instincts of her people, and can only live whilst those instincts prevail. This is, indeed, the apotheosis of 'shopkeeping.' To the trading instinct, therefore, we may ascribe all that is most glorious in our past history, and it is not Clive alone of the names which live in story, who has exchanged the trader's pen for a soldier's sword, and with that sword won an undying renown. There needs, therefore, no apology for claiming interest in Colonial possessions on the ground that they afford scope for trade, because if that ground is in itself an apparently somewhat sordid one, we have seen how it has constantly in the past controlled the fate of empires. And on another very obvious ground every British possession must have a deep interest even for every stay at home Englishman as offering an answer to that very prevalent question, "What shall we do with our sons?"

#### THE COLONY OF NATAL.

But you will be asking when we shall come to Natal, which is the subject you have gathered to-night to hear about. Let us then arrive at it. First let me remind you that Natal, though very near the Cape, and with interests closely allied, is not a part of the Cape Colony. Till quite recently, indeed, there was interposed between the seaboard borders of the two territories a strip of country which was in the hands of an extremely turbulent and troublesome native tribe, under a still more turbulent and troublesome native chief, and only within the last two years, with the absorption of Pondoland by the Cape Colony, has the southern boundary of Natal become continuous with the north-eastern boundary of the Cape Colony.

#### HISTORY.

The past history of Natal is full of a romantic interest. Discovered, if one may so describe so unimportant an incident as the

mere sailing by, and bestowal of a name, 400 years ago save one, by the Portuguese discoverer, Vasco di Gama, on a Christmas morning, it received its name "Natal" therefrom, but for two centuries thereafter was visited only by shipwrecked mariners, nor, indeed, till this present century was any settlement attempted; the British flag had indeed been hoisted in that short period, when the Dutch East Indian settlement at Table Bay had been temporarily handed over by the Netherlands to the guardianship of England, lest it should fall into the possession of the French, who at that time were not only strongly established at the Isle of France, but were practically in possession of India, and were therefore looking with covetous eyes at the half-way house at the Cape. This merely formal act of hoisting the flag, however, resulted in nothing, and once more it was the acquisitive and trading instinct which led to the settlement of the country.

Early in this century the territories of Zululand, including the New Republic now incorporated with the Transvaal, and Natal, from the Tugela to the Umzimkulu on the north and south, and to the Quathlamba mountains westward, was in possession of various tribes of Kaffirs, numbering in all about 400,000. These people were of a peaceful disposition, and in all instances both chiefs and people had treated white castaways with a helpful friendliness. Their hour, however, had come.

Some eighty years ago there was in command of a division of Dingiswayo's army—Dingiswayo being the most martial of these various chieftains—one Chaka, a prince of the then unimportant Zulu nation. Chaka, by military aptitude and courage, became the favourite general of Dingiswayo, and by his favour and support had (though not the direct heir) been elected to the chieftainship of the Zulu tribe, and at Dingiswayo's death carved for himself a throne, establishing his kingdom in the centre of Zululand. His standard attracted all that was warlike, and he quickly established a despotism which either wholly absorbed the neighbouring tribes and clanships, or entirely destroyed them root and branch.

In 1820 Natal by these means was completely depopulated, save by a very small tribe inhabiting the Bluff, and numbering less than five hundred souls. All its other native tribes had enrolled themselves under the banner of the Zulu king, or had been utterly destroyed, or driven far beyond the boundaries of Natal. Thus the Fingoes (or pedlars) had been pushed far south into the Cape Colony to afford to-day the most valuable labour supply that country possesses, and the people of Moselikatse far north and west to wage desperate war first on the Basutos, who beat them off through the

happy possession of their mountain strongholds, then upon the Trek Boers wandering through the Free State, who also, after heroic struggles, beat them off, till they finally conquered a resting-place and possession from the Bechuanas, and established themselves as the tribe known to us as the Matabele.

Chaka, then, by desperate war and ferocious cruelty had firmly established his kingdom from Delagoa Bay to St. John's River; from the sea to the mountains. His own royal kraal was at the Umfolosi River in Zululand; he now, however, came south of the Tugela, and founded a new stronghold on the south-west border of his peopled districts—thence south and west the land was waste.

Meantime, some adventurous spirits, under Lieuts. Farewell and King and Mr. Fynn, had found courage to establish a settlement at the Bay of Natal. They managed to avoid Chaka's jealousy; indeed, in some sort enjoyed his favour, and the little Colony grew, reinforced from time to time by sailors and by missionaries. Even the fact of rebels and malcontents of the native races flying to the English settlement in some numbers did not upset the magnanimity of Chaka, who contented himself with saying they had fled to his friends, not to his enemies.

At the Cape the Dutch East India Company had resumed its sway on the Peace of Amiens, and had succeeded in earning the deepest hatred of its own people, who had determined upon a departure to more distant territories, free from the sway of the company.

But there was to come a fresh change of masters without, however, any alleviation of those conditions which rendered life within the borders of the settlement endurable. In 1806 England again, and permanently this time, annexed the Cape—not, however, winning much goodwill from the settlers; while in 1833 the abolition of slavery, notwithstanding that compensation was paid to the owners for the value of slaves set free, was regarded as a great interference with private rights. The final ground of severance was found in 1835 in a despatch of Lord Glenelg, then Secretary of State, which animadverted in the strongest terms upon a war of retaliation waged by a Boer commando on native tribes near King Williamstown to recapture stock seized from their friends by the Kaffirs, and avenge the murder of their people. Sir Benjamin Durban, then Governor at the Cape, approved the war, and annexed the conquered territory. Lord Glenelg reversed his decision, and spoke of the war in terms of mistaken philanthropy, deeply offensive to the

Dutch, who thereupon commenced a trek which was to become instrumental in the final acquisition of Natal.

During this time the settlement at Natal had grown sufficiently important to petition for Government recognition. A constitution was drafted, a town council was formed, the town was named Durban in compliment to the Governor, and annexation and protection were asked for ; but nothing came of this, save the naming of the town.

The emigrant Boers had, however, sent a deputation to inspect Natal with a view to deciding the direction of their trek. The contrast of a beautiful well-watered country, covered with rich grass on the uplands, and on the coast and low lands with beautiful forest trees, was so great, the Cape being a country almost devoid of grass and timber and not well watered, that the description brought back promptly decided the direction of the new trek. Natal too was swarming with game, its forests were alive with elephants, and its lands were unoccupied by Kaffirs, whilst the Zulu king who claimed sovereignty was friendly to the whites. In this respect, however, a change was now to come. As a natural consequence of his ferocity Chaka was dreaded and hated—two of his brothers formed a conspiracy against him, and with the connivance of his body servant assassinated him. Dingaan, one of these brothers, assumed the sovereignty, and quickly got rid of his successful co-conspirators. The change of rulers was for the worse : there was more, rather than less ferocity, but instead of martial courage cunning and treachery possessed Dingaan.

The Boer trek was now approaching under Retief and Maritz—they had successfully beaten off all attacks on their long and perilous march, and crossed the mountain range to the fair land of their promise ; the leaders visited Dingaan with presents, were received with fair words, and promised unmolested settlement on condition of the recovery of certain captured Zulu cattle from a native free-booter settled over the Berg. This was accomplished without difficulty, though by a treacherous artifice, for which a speedy Nemesis awaited them. The recovered herds were marched back, and a Commando of about seventy men went to the Zulu king to receive the promised reward, a grant of settlement. A friendly reception again awaited them, the deed of grant was drawn up by an English missionary living near the royal kraal, solemnly executed with all due formalities, and the next morning was set for departure. An invitation to drink the stirrup cup with the king was in the light of a command, and was unsuspectingly accepted. All arms had to be left



behind, since it was improper to bear them into the royal presence, and the hour of penalty for their own treachery in the matter of the recovered cattle had come. The entire party was murdered, and the bodies were dragged to the hill of slaughter. Meantime, with the confidence of peaceful possession the main body of the Trekkers had broken up and formed small isolated camps; these were attacked simultaneously with the butchery at the royal kraal and all overwhelmed in succession, until that of the family of Rensburg was reached. This, happily situated near a small stony koppie or hill, stemmed the tide and beat back the Zulu impi, thus saving the remnants of the expedition. The English Colony made gallant efforts to assist their fellow Europeans, having the effrontery with a small force, chiefly composed of native refugees from their own camp, to cross the Tugela and attack Dingaan, but only to meet complete annihilation. Then a perilous time passed for both the Trek Boers and the English Colony; indeed, an impi of Dingaans occupied the town of Durban, the inhabitants escaping with such of their possessions as were portable by going aboard a small brig in the Bay, till after some days' occupation and the complete destruction of all that could not be moved, the impi withdrew, when the plucky Colony resumed possession of the site.

Reinforcements to the European cause were, however, now at hand, in the shape of a further large party of Trek Boers, led by one Pretorius, a capable leader, cunning of fence as Dingaan himself. All defensive operations were completely successful, and an invasion of the Zulu country partially so, the royal kraal being abandoned by Dingaan; but the Commando attempting to follow the Zulu army into the forest fastnesses near by fell into an ambushade, and a severe check was again met. Peaceful possession of Natal was, however, now secured, and shortly after by fostering the rebellion of Umpanda, Chaka's rightful heir, and aiding his arms, Dingaan was overthrown, and Umpanda reigned in his stead as the fast friend of the white men who had assisted him in his conquest. At the royal kraal the remains of the murdered Commando had been found and given burial, the clothing of Retief yielding up the grant of Natal extending from the rivers Tugela to the Umzimvubu (or St. John's), and from the sea to the Berg.

But even now the troubles of the young Colony were not over; for it was fated that a dispute as to authority should break out between the Boers and the English, who had both contributed to its conquest. On the return of Pretorius and his Commando to Natal a small British garrison was found stationed at Durban; it had been sent

up by Sir George Napier, Governor of the Cape, to protect the settlement against Dingaan. Needless to say, this assertion of an authority from which the Trek Boers had fled, in the new land to which they had come, and which had been wrested from the murderous Dingaan by themselves, greatly assisted by individual Englishmen, but without any shadow of help from English authority, was most unwelcome; however, for the moment actual collision was avoided, and the garrison, after a few months' occupation, withdrew, a Republic was proclaimed, and its affairs directed by a Volksraad.

Soon, however, a punitive expedition against a native chief in the southern districts excited the fears of the Pondo chief Faku, who appealed to the British Governor at the Cape for protection. A detachment under Captain Smith was ordered up as a corps of observation, and this was subsequently moved on to Durban, and established a camp there. Its withdrawal was demanded by Pretorius in the name of the Republic, and a rival camp of hostile Boers was established to control it. After the exchange of mutual incivilities the Commandant decided upon an attempt to dislodge the Boers, and a fight, known to history as the Battle of Congella, occurred. A worse devised, more badly managed plan cannot be conceived, and the engagement resulted in the complete defeat of the English with heavy loss, and from that moment the position of the garrison was desperate. The redeeming feature of the affair is to be found in the gallantry and devotion of an individual. Help was urgently needed, but was far away; Grahamstown, the nearest English station, was 600 miles distant, through a trackless country of river, mountain and bush; near at hand threatened by the Boers, farther away threatened by natives, treacherous and unfriendly. A volunteer, however, was quickly found, and Dick King's ride will live in Natal's story. The singular ineptitude of the Commandant was, however, again shown; he still had command of the Bay, a ship at ready for sea, with many refugees on board and yet the whole chances of rescue were trusted to a single horseman. Happily the trust was well founded, the ill news was successfully carried, and after a month's complete beleaguerment and great hardship patiently endured, H.M.S. "Southampton" brought aid and established the Queen's authority in Natal, which has never again been challenged.

Such is the early history of this little Colony, which, though so recent, reads to us, all accustomed as we are to the regular order of things which characterises this latter end of the century, as remote

and romantic as the story of Sindbad. Yet Marthinus Ouisthuiden who, perhaps, saved the remnants of the Trek Boers, still lives. His story deserves to be told. I have related how, concurrent with Dingaan's murder of Retief and his Commando, impis were sent out to annihilate the Dutch camps, and how the successful flood of savages was stemmed by a heroic defence of Rensburg's koppie. Here fourteen men, assisted by their women and children and the nature of the ground, held the Zulus at bay for many hours; their ammunition was nearly exhausted, and their resistance spent, when a single horseman was seen outside the ring of Zulus. To him Rensburg signalled that their guns were empty, upon which he turned and rode back to his own laager, brought thence a fresh supply of ammunition, and without waiting for any support succeeded alone in riding through into the camp, which was thus enabled to be successfully defended. Weenen (or weeping) is still the name of this district, and the memory of the dreadful slaughter inflicted on the immigrants is not dead.

We have now, however, come to the piping times of peace, and though the early story of the Colony, as a recognised British possession, controlled by the Colonial Office, and administered as a Crown Colony is not without interest, and was certainly full of incident to the inhabitants, I propose to pass it by and to shortly review those points of material prosperity which are giving a growing importance to this latest accession to the ranks of self-governed Colonies.

#### GOVERNMENT.

A little more than two years ago it seemed good to the advisers of Her Majesty to sanction the transference of the governing power from the Colonial Office to the hands of the Colonists themselves, and the boon of self-government, which had been sought for fully ten years was granted to Natal. An enlarged House of Assembly was created, elected by popular suffrage, whence a cabinet of five ministers, who are the responsible advisers of the Governor, is in the main selected. A second House, the Legislative Council, created by nomination, was devised, following the model of the British Constitution and performing similar functions to the House of Lords, in deference to an express stipulation of the Colonial Office. Naturally so great a change had been greatly resisted amongst Colonists themselves, and by a large section was received with much trepidation, but with the common sense which characterises the British people in the mass, the change having been made, its strongest opponents have set themselves to aid in making

its successful working assured. Whilst the transitory stage is hardly yet passed, and the new method may be still regarded as undergoing its trial, enough has been seen to afford assurance that the Colony will wear its new responsibilities with a self-respecting dignity, and with a thorough determination to do right, which must achieve success.

Fortunately, the financial position of this younger sister is remarkably strong. It has, of course, a public debt of about £8,000,000, but its public works represent considerably more in value than the amount of the debt. Indeed, I have little hesitation in saying that were it possible for its railway to be put up for sale it would be eagerly purchased for a sum largely in excess of Natal's total indebtedness.

#### RAILWAY SYSTEM.

The railway, then, as you will see in common with that of most Colonies, but differing from the English system, is owned and worked by the Government. There are disadvantages in this plan, but on the whole, I am convinced that it is the best system applicable to an honestly managed Colony—it cuts off all spirit of competition, but it substitutes the surveillance of the public men informed, of course, by the public of any opportunity of harvest going unreaped, or of any maladministration being perpetrated, the equation being thus fairly approached. The great advantages are, however, offered of its being worth while for business to be undertaken on terms that merely recoup the consequent outlay, in order that thereby special industries which indirectly in their development greatly advance the general Colonial progress may be encouraged into existence.

In the same way lines are built into districts where the immediate prospects of return on capital appear somewhat remote, yet the spur which good transport lends to the development of new districts amply compensates the State for even partially unremunerative capital. To these it may be urged that there is the compensating disadvantage of railways being possibly converted into means of political bribery. It is impossible to tell what is hidden in the womb of the future, but at least at this present such has not been done, because the entire railway system of Natal can be sold for far more than it has cost, nay for more than will liquidate her whole State Debt.

This railway system extends from the sea at the port of Durban, through Maritzburg (the capital) to Charlestown on the Transvaal

border, where it connects with the Netherlands railway running into Johannesburg and Pretoria. From Durban branch lines run north and south; the first terminates now at Verulam, but is about to be extended to the Tugela, thence on to the rich coalfields near St. Lucia Bay, an extension undertaken by private enterprise to be executed under Government supervision, and subsequently to be taken over by Government; a second extension is now being completed of the southern branch to tap the rich sugar estates lying fifty miles south of Durban, those lying to the north being already served by the existing Verulam railway. The mere projection of these two extensions has already led to the embarkation of much capital in planting operations, and most profitable industries are thus being encouraged and enlarged. All the lands being opened are highly suitable for growing sugar or tea, and all the planters engaged in these pursuits are following highly successful occupations. Further north from Ladysmith a branch runs to Harrismith in the Orange Free State, which will no doubt, in the near future, be connected by that Republic with the Cape main line, tapping on its way the rich grain district of the Conquered Territory. Still further north a fourth branch connects the port with the coalfields of Dundee, and this is also to be extended to afford a direct connection with Vryheid, the capital of the New Republic (now absorbed into the Transvaal); the Natal portion of the surveys is already complete, and the Transvaal Government is pushing on the far larger portion lying within its own borders with great energy.

Thus Natal already possesses, as is seen, a main trunk line connecting her port with the great business centres of South Africa, as well as tapping her own richest centres of trade; this trunk line is fed by four important arteries, affording quick and easy transport for her staple productions, viz., sugar, tea, coal, and agricultural produce. In a country which rises from its seaboard to the summits of a chain of mountains 6,000 feet high, in a distance of less than 800 miles, it must readily be perceived that the construction of a line of railway offered great engineering problems; these have all been successfully overcome, and not only do passengers travel with great celerity and comfort, but heavy goods trains are hauled up and down with scarcely a hitch or fault.

#### PRODUCTS.

A land which rises from the tropical heat of Durban to the temperate cold of the Drakensburg offers of course the most delightful varieties of temperature and productions.

## SUGAR.

The industries of the coast are chiefly sugar, tea, and fruit-growing, and their order of importance is that followed in naming them. Sugar-planting has, after a chequered history, now settled down into an occupation of very great importance, with a thoroughly established assurance of success, which is chiefly founded on the establishment of central mills enabled to deal with large growths of cane, and thereby to apply the most economic and approved methods to the actual manufacture of sugar, the production of which has accordingly become possible at a much cheaper rate than heretofore. But the system has a much farther reaching consequence, because the actual planter has by it been enabled to turn all his attention and capital to the agricultural portion of his business, which is by so much the better and more profitably conducted. Moreover, sugar-planting has by this means been brought within the reach of many men who, from lack of the very large capital necessitated to conduct the two operations of planting and manufacturing, were formerly debarred from the pursuit of this industry. A very modest capital will now suffice to start a sugar plantation, provided ordinary business energy and acumen are displayed.

The demand for sugar in South Africa is of course far, far beyond the production, and the consumption, with the rapidly-increasing population, is likely to grow for many years to come in a quite disproportionate ratio to the possibilities of increased production. The cane will not thrive farther south than the River Umzumkulu, as although it grows still further south, its sugar-producing qualities diminish; thus unfortunately the Cape Colony is deprived of the benefits of devoting its coast lands to this very remunerative and successful industry. Frost is of course fatal to sugar cane, and for that reason only the semi-tropical coast lands are adapted to its production; but in Natal many thousand rich acres, and happily situated, only await the mattock and the ploughshare to return an ample harvest to the planters who shall commence their tillage. This remark is especially applicable to the land lying south of Durban, now being opened by the railway, in course of construction through it, and which is generally very fertile.

## TEA.

Tea is also an industry of great and growing importance. It is only within the past five years that it has emerged from the experimental into the industrial stage, and to the dogged perseverance and

industry of Mr. J. Liege Hulett this successful *début* is largely due. Even yet, however, the annual production has not reached quite 1,000,000 lb., though this present season of 1895-6 will probably see that quantity exceeded. The increase of late years has been exceedingly rapid, which is partly due to an ever growing acreage under tea cultivation, but also still more largely to the greater productiveness of the tea plant, as it reaches maturity about eight years after being planted. The very slow growth of the tea shrub, and the consequent long period of waiting for a return on the capital invested, will always prove a deterrent to the wide embarkation in this special industry; at the same time the very delightful nature of the occupation and its extreme profitableness when once established offer a very strong inducement, and where a pleasant occupation is the desideratum, with a view to ultimate rather than to immediate return on capital, it is difficult to conceive a more attractive career.

Tea planting is like sugar, confined to the coast lands, but being a hardier plant, and thriving best on a lighter and less fertile soil, is conducted on a slightly more elevated plateau. Both industries are alike in offering a very wide field for expansion, and a demand far, far larger than production can reach for many years to come.

#### FRUIT.

Fruit growing of the tropical kinds is also a very successful industry, and is admirably adapted to the man of small means. The importance of close supervision, both in cultivation and even more in harvesting and packing, renders it distinctly an enterprise which should be conducted on the principle of small holdings, and up to now its history is a history of the successes achieved by the small landholder of quite limited means. There are, indeed, many instances of these fruit farms proving highly successful under the management of a widow aided by her children. Their thriving prosperity may be judged from a single instance I will cite, of a farm so managed by a widow and her sons, which though only about 100 acres in extent, returned for many years a net profit of £1,000.

These productions mark roughly a gradual retreat inland, and the edge of the fruit farms marks the termination of the belt of bush veldt bordering the sea.

#### GRASS COUNTRY.

Behind it lies the region of grass. Treeless, except in river valleys and sheltered nooks, until human culture began to clothe

the hills with forest, this grass country, which stretches from the first plateau, some fifteen miles inland to the very summit of the Drakensburg, enjoys a magnificent climate of complete temperateness, with a gradually increasing rigour as a higher, and yet higher level is attained. Although from the first plateau one looks down some 2,000 feet over beautiful valleys filled with quite tropical growths and of almost tropical heat, with the sea fringing the horizon with a deeper blue than the sky, and not fifteen miles away, one is nevertheless in a temperate climate, the sun indeed hot and powerful at midday, but morning and evening of a delightful freshness and invigoration.

The productions of this region are ascendingly more and more English in character, and as soon as an elevation of 4,000 feet is reached, that is at a distance of about fifty miles from the sea as the crow flies, and about twice as much by rail, the fruits, as well as the industrial productions, have become of the English kinds. In this region frost and snow accompany every winter, and the hottest summer day is one of merely pleasant warmth so soon as one enters a shady wood.

#### FARMING.

Farming throughout the length and breadth of this region is conducted with more or less enterprise, more or less after English methods, except that there is far less than the average proportion of an English farm under cultivation, and wherever cultivation has been undertaken, and particularly where irrigation has been applied, an amazing prosperity has rewarded the enterprise. The fast growing demands for all kinds of agricultural produce at the gold-mining centres of the Transvaal and Zululand are now accentuating the farming prosperity in Natal and the neighbouring territories most markedly, and will result in a corresponding advance in the progress of the industry.

#### TIMBER.

I have incidentally mentioned that human culture is beginning to clothe the treeless uplands of Natal with forest. Trees indeed of all kinds thrive marvellously from the oak and the pine of Northern Europe to the olive, the cork, and the camellia of Italy and Spain. But the tree which is of the first importance to us is the *Acacia molissima*, or wattle, brought to us from Australia. This tree grows most readily from seed, and thrives splendidly. At eight years old (having from its second year needed neither cultivation nor care),



it has become of great value for its bark, which is the most useful of all the vegetable agents used for tanning, and its timber for the thousand and one purposes for which timber is indispensable to the agriculturist. Its timber is beginning to be sought too for mining purposes, as gradually a deeper and a deeper level in the mines necessitates the timbering of shafts and tunnels. The production of bark alone, however, makes the owning of a wattle grove a very lucrative possession, and as the sides and crowns of hills little fitted for agricultural purposes offer the best site for these groves, there is every prospect that gradually the face of the country will be changed by an afforestation which must be productive of many benefits in addition to that of mere money producing.

Such, then, is the nature of this beautiful land, enjoying already the advantages of great fertility, a delightful climate, ranging from the temperateness of the mountain slopes to the sunny heat of Durban, with, in fact, every natural quality to invite development, and with, above all, immense opportunity in having at its very doors an unlimited market for all its productions.

#### COAL.

But there is yet another natural product, though of a very different kind, which renders Natal a possession of vast importance to the British Empire, as well as offering a great source of individual and national wealth. This product is, of course, coal. Already the demand for coal for marine purposes has led to the establishment of an extremely successful industry, and several mines are being successfully worked—one, indeed, with phenomenal success. The monthly supply of coal to mercantile shipping in Durban is already about 12,000 tons, and the demand is somewhat in excess of the supply, which is unfortunately limited not by the nature of the deposits, nor even by the mining facilities already applied, but by the limitation of carrying power. The chief source of supply at present is situated some 240 miles from Durban, and though the rate of carriage is exceedingly moderate (viz.  $\frac{1}{3}$ d. per ton per mile), there is a difficulty in arranging the various calls on the carrying powers of the railway in such a way as to accommodate unvaryingly the demand for coal. It is only recently that this lack has been making itself felt, and there need be no doubt that fully adequate steps will be taken to remove the inconvenience.

Happily, too, these large coalfields lying wholly in Natal are

not the only, and probably are not even the richest coal deposits available to Natal ; for across the Tugela, lying in territory which it is promised is in the near future to fall within the boundaries of Natal, and which even if developed before that promise is redeemed must still benefit Natal, as natural conditions dictate that Durban shall be the port of shipment, there are to be found in the territory of Zululand immense deposits, which up to now have been exploited only far enough to show that the seams are of immense thickness and of wide extent, and that the quality of coal is as excellent as that already in use. These fields, too, are some seventy miles nearer to Durban than those whence her present supply is drawn, and the country offers no great engineering difficulty to the construction of a railway connecting these deposits with the port. The building of this railway has been just undertaken by a private company in connection with the undertaking of a North Coast extension of the Government Railway now running to Verulam, and to which I have already referred.

It is impossible to overestimate the value of these two practically inexhaustible coal supplies, both from a colonial and from an imperial standpoint ; its importance from the former is self-evident, and from the latter I shall ask you briefly to consider. The stability of the British Empire, as has now come to be universally recognised, depends on her command of the sea, and the second essential to such command is the possession of ample coal supplies, from which the warships of the empire can maintain their motive power. No matter how powerful may be the fleet, once let its coal stock fail it, and nothing remains but ignominious surrender to, or complete destruction by, a fleet of half or less than half its power in other respects, but well equipped in this all-important point of motive power. Until the discovery of coal in South Africa, all steamships in those waters, indeed in oceans stretching from Britain herself to Australia on the one hand, and from India to Canada and the United States on the other, depended wholly for motive power on seaborne coal. How limited and precarious such supply must be in the event of England being engaged in war makes one shudder to conceive. Within the past five years this condition has been greatly modified, if not indeed wholly changed ; and Natal would, in the event of war, afford a source of supply of one of the chief necessities to our warships, the value of which is inestimable. This value becomes greatly enhanced by the consideration that Natal is in the direct route of what would in war be the only ocean highway to India and the far East, because the

instant abandonment of the Mediterranean and Suez canal route has come to be regarded as a naval axiom.

#### POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.

Let us now turn to, and briefly review the political and social conditions of this young and thriving Colony. We have seen how it was originally conquered and occupied by the Trek Boers even more perhaps than by the English, and though the discontent with the English administration which led to the Trek operated to continue it, yet a large proportion of the party remained behind; indeed, a very large proportion of the farming population, especially in the North and North-eastern districts, continues Dutch in name in language, and in customs, and yet so thoroughly loyal to the English Government of the Colony as to form valued recruits to the two Houses of Parliament now entrusted with the management of colonial affairs. So loyal, indeed, even in sentiment that I have known a young Dutchman who in visiting Europe never went beyond the shores of England, and regarded his trip as a visit "Home."

Natal, then, is the one essentially English (I use the word as covering the whole Britain, not the part England) Colony of South Africa, and in Natal more completely than elsewhere in South Africa the Anglo-Saxon race has developed that absorptive power which has characterised the race to such a marked degree, both in these Islands and in the United States. Many of our Colonists are German and Scandinavian in origin, but they are now Colonists as thoroughly British in all their aspirations as the most fervent Anglophile could desire. More wonderful still, the same may be said with equal force of colonists of French extraction, who form an important section of the Natal people. So marked is this characteristic that it is an almost unvarying source of surprise, and occasions frequent remark from the chance visitor, "How very English you are here in Natal!"

#### KAFFIRS.

But the white population by no means cover the ground. There are within the boundaries of Natal now a number closely approximating to 500,000 Kaffirs. These do not, of course, represent the natural increase under peaceful conditions of the scattered few whom we have seen left in the country by Chaka's wars and devastations, nor even of those few recruited from the arrival of natives attracted by the protection afforded by the little English settlement at Durban.

But the very same movement which then went on at the town has ever since been going on on a far larger scale in the whole Colony. The Kaffir population of Natal to-day is with almost the sole exception of Umnini's people a population of refugees. Whenever the burden of a fierce military despotism has become too heavy to be borne, Natal has been the harbour of refuge; whenever, through a too great prosperity, a chief and his people have been marked by the supreme chief for destruction—could but Natal be reached, the people of the tribe were safe and their possessions secure. It has, of course, happened that these refugees have been the remnants of a tribe originally dispossessed by Chaka, and forced into subjection to the Zulu power, but even then the fact remains beyond dispute that Natal has been repopulated by Kaffirs only by reason of its possession by the English, and their supposed priority of title is a baseless dream. But their presence in Natal has ever been a welcome one to all classes of settlers. Their character is an admirable one, based on the highest moral qualities—of truthfulness, honour, and fearlessness; and the efforts to improve them by instilling the principles of a pinchbeck Christianity have resulted and are resulting in their moral degradation. So incontrovertible is this result that the most earnest workers in the promotion of the missionary cause amongst the Kaffirs can only urge that one must suspend one's judgment, and not condemn too hastily. They hope, and let us at least join them in hoping, that though there is at present absolutely no good result to be shown, that it is analogous to the execution of a sculpture; during the progress of the work the original ugliness of the block is rather accentuated than improved, and only as it nears completion does the beauty of it shine forth. But a reflection that dims this hope somewhat, is that in the present case the original block, *i.e.* the native character, was full of beauty. We must still, however, hope for eventual good results. As a source of labour these people have been of the utmost value to the Colony; they are not naturally industrious, however, and they are not in the least animated by any desire to perfect a work they have begun; they come in to work merely for some specific end; they want the rent of their huts, or a cow, or a blanket, and so soon as their wages amount to the sum required their work is done, and back they go to their homes. It has frequently happened that this practice has resulted in a farmer tilling, sowing, cultivating, and bringing his crop to harvest, and then being left himself to gather it. His servants having attained the sum they set out to acquire, no inducement that

can be offered, neither threat nor bribe, proves sufficient in these cases to retain their services.

#### COOLIE LABOUR.

This singular characteristic has led to the anomaly of a country which possesses natives available for labour many times more numerous than the white employers, being reduced to the straits of having to import coolie labour. Arrangements were therefore made under Government auspices, and with the sanction of the Government of India, for an organised system of recruitment and importation of chiefly field labourers. For many years this system has been in operation, and to it and the reliable labour thence available is due the successful conduct of all the larger agricultural enterprises. Mere farming was barely possible without coolies, plantations were completely unattainable. But although the Colony has thus derived enormous advantage, it has been, as is always the case, governed by a compensating disadvantage. By the time the period of indenture has elapsed, the imported Indian has completely lost all desire to return to the land of his birth; he has discovered the enormous advantages of the new country he is in, over his own native India. For the first time, not only in his own life, but in the life of generations of his kind, he finds himself a small capitalist, and in a position to indulge an appetite which possesses him to the full as much as it does all people of the Caucasian race—viz., land hunger—and he straightway determines to remain in Natal. A clearer refutation of the statement put forward by certain Indians in Natal, interested in creating an agitation, that the Indian is down-trodden and oppressed there, can hardly be offered than in the fact that he deliberately abandons his claim to a free passage for himself and all his people (a passage, too, offering a period of the greatest luxury and comfort his life has ever known), back to the land of his birth, with an accumulation of wages in his pocket which would make him a little prince among the people from whence he sprung.

This decision of his to settle in Natal has, however, provided one of the greatest political problems its statesmen have to solve. It is involved in and accentuates the Native problem, for what I have said of the native has indicated that there is a Native problem. And the proper control and advancement of two black races, each already more numerous than the white race which governs them, and each rapidly increasing in numbers, is indeed a problem which may well give pause to the best and most thoughtful intellects we possess. Control alone is easy enough; no more law-abiding peoples could be

desired, as inhabitants of a country, as peoples, apart from the idiosyncrasies of the individual criminals, but when to control, one has to add the factor of advancement, then the problem becomes arduous indeed; and in this respect "hasten slowly" must be the Colonial motto, a policy which, alas! was greatly jeopardised by the Secretary of State who presided over the Colonial Office at the precise moment when one movement of that policy was sought to be carried out. Happily, that jeopardy, which was no less than the refusal to sanction the withholding of political power from Indians dwelling in Natal is now past, and a measure sanctioning the withholding it from all people who, under the conditions which governed their lives in their native country, did not enjoy it, will become law in the present year. The political horizon from within is therefore bright.

#### RELATIONS TO CAPE COLONY, &c.

It remains only to briefly review the position of Natal in relation to her sister Colony and the neighbouring States.

The affairs of Natal have long been quite apart from the affairs of the Cape Colony, and have been administered from a different standpoint. The only point they have in common is the possession of a single official to control the general Imperial interests in South Africa. This official is of course the High Commissioner. Very unwisely, the personage holding the office of Governor of the Cape Colony unites in himself the other office. One objection should suffice to prove fatal to this duality—though there are many others hardly less cogent—How can the most disinterested of men divest himself of the unwitting bias his office as Governor of the Cape must inevitably lend his consideration of questions affecting the welfare of all? There is good reason to believe this unwisdom will not be extended beyond the existing régime.

The relations between the two English Colonies are chiefly controlled by a trade rivalry. This competition has been made most adroit use of by the President of the Transvaal Republic, who has hitherto played off the one against the other with great skill, and derived therefrom much advantage; indeed, the rescue of the Transvaal by Mr. Rhodes from its financial crisis of 1891, which but for that rescue would probably have wrecked even the strong Government of Mr. Paul Kruger, must be attributed to the desire of the Cape Colony to outstrip Natal in the railway race to the goldfields of the Transvaal.

Whatever the motives, the result has been fortunate. The con-

tinuance of a strong Government in Pretoria, imperfect as it is, still tends to the general progress of South Africa; and the prosperity of Natal has only been deferred, not destroyed, by the postponement of her railway connection with Pretoria.

The distinguishing difference, however, between the two English Colonies is in their Customs Tariff, for in each the main sources of public revenue are their railway earnings and customs. Railway earnings in all parts of the world must in the main be based on mileage: the principle can never very greatly vary. But in Customs the Cape fixes her schedule on a protective basis, whilst Natal founds hers on the reverse. The Natal Customs tariff in fact is formulated first on the recognition that a certain minimum income must be derived therefrom to cover interest on borrowed capital, and the necessary expenses of Government; and a favourable budget is generally accompanied by some corresponding reduction in the tariff.

In consequence of this policy living in Natal is very much cheaper than in the Cape Colony, the difference between a 5 per cent. and a 12 per cent. tariff by no means measuring the full difference in cost of all articles imported.

Both Colonies carry out the principle of allowing imports for inland states passing through in packages intact, practical freedom from duty, the Cape partly by the method of transit duty, and partly by refund of duty collected; Natal wholly by transit duty. The result is really the same in each case, the duty retained by the maritime states being merely sufficient to cover the costs of port administration. Transport of course affords an opportunity of deriving a sufficient profit from the traffic involved. Consequently the variance in tariffs affects only the dwellers within the boundaries of the two Colonies themselves, and need not therefore present an insuperable obstacle to ultimate fusion. But the main difficulty lies in the attitude of mind engendered amongst two peoples, one of whom is accustomed to a high tariff and what is called 'protection' for articles of home production, and the other to a tariff based solely on the need for revenue, and reduced whenever that revenue exceeds requirements. Resulting from this difference of attitude, whilst the inland boundaries of the Cape Colony are watched by Customs officers, and Customs duties are levied on all articles subject thereto imported from the neighbouring states, the inland borders of Natal are free to the produce of the Cape Colony and the Republics alike. Originally, probably this was due solely to the consideration that the cost of collection would exceed the amount collected, but to-day assuredly it is due to a spirit of

liberality. Indeed, a recent proposal of a private member in the Natal House of Assembly to apply the Customs tariff to all articles crossing the Cape-Natal border was withdrawn, without being pressed to a division.

On the part of Natal, therefore, there is already no obstacle to the immediate adoption of the principles of Federation, so far as they relate to fiscal matters; but it is perhaps the case that this very liberality in itself contributes much towards the postponement of such an union. At any rate, the fact that the farmers of the rich district of East Griqualand find their chief market in Natal, without having to contribute to the Natal revenues, removes what would otherwise have been a clamour for reciprocity to be at least applied in that particular district.

At one time the trade relations of the Orange Free State with Natal were very considerable, but the arrangement, whereby in consideration of the Cape Colony building the Free State main line of railway on terms that if it paid the profits were divided, and if it lost the Free State did not suffer, a Customs union was entered upon by which the Free State adopted the Cape Tariff, the duty being collected at the ports of entry, and handed over by the Cape to the Free State Government, less a small percentage to cover the cost of the establishment—the Free State, in return, enforcing the same tariff against goods coming from any other direction. The effect of this has of course been to largely strangle the trade with Natal, because even the much greater facility of transport for the North-eastern part of the Free State with Natal was insufficient to neutralise the cost of duty payable first in Natal on its tariff, and again on the Free State border on the Cape tariff. The extensive import trade of the Free State *via* Natal has since been very partially regained by the adoption by Natal of transit duties on certain articles of import. Nevertheless, the political relationship of the two States is of the friendliest character, and there are evidences of a desire not to perpetuate the Customs arrangement, which has at least been found extremely irksome by an important section of the Free State burghers.

With the Transvaal Republic, the feeling of resentment which at one time undoubtedly existed against Natal, in consequence of her territory having formed the base of operations in the War of Independence, has long since died out. There can be little doubt, however, that one of the results of that position was the endeavour of President Kruger to establish a connection of the Republic with the sea, and the connection of the Netherlands railway with the



Portuguese railway from Delagoa Bay. This connection, useful as it is to the Transvaal, has, however, wholly failed to fulfil the hopes entertained of it, and has proved quite unable to cope with the immense trade. This inability is due to three causes, viz., the ineptitude of the Portuguese authorities, and their utter indifference to trade requirements; the disorganisation of the shore end of the railway, due in part to the same cause, and in part to disputed ownership; and finally, to the fever, which maintains a grisly hold, not only on Delagoa Bay itself, but over the first hundred miles of the district through which the railway runs.

These disabilities may be ultimately removable, though two of them at least afford no hopefulness of solution in the near future; hence it became of paramount importance to provide a second alternative to the Cape route. Two years ago this line of policy began to manifest itself in Transvaal politics, and in February 1894, the Railway Convention with Natal was signed. Every day that has passed since has accentuated the importance of this connection, and sharpened the desire of President Kruger and his advisers to form close relationships with Natal. The reason for this is not far to seek. Natal has not expanded her borders, nor does there loom in the distance any expansion likely to cause disquiet to the Government at Pretoria. The Cape, on the other hand, has been expanding from month to month; a few years ago her boundary touched that of the Transvaal only at a point, to-day it has shot forward until it almost encircles it, and this is the tenderest spot of the Boer sentiment. There is nothing in the world he so hates and dreads as to be circumscribed, and on this ground alone his fears and his jealousies have been deeply aroused by the Cape, but beyond that, whenever any humiliations have had to be endured, it has always been at the instance of the Cape that the Imperial Government has interfered. So it was in the cession of Swaziland, so it was in the question of the Drifts, and all the more that the interference could not be resented or resisted has animosity to the source of it been aroused. Continuing the old policy, therefore, of playing off one British Colony against the other, President Kruger has recently lavished his most friendly attentions on Natal, and the relationship of these two States is of the most cordial description. Natal, while properly ready to avail herself of this turn in affairs, and to profit by the occasion, will do well to remember that the affection is not a wholly disinterested one, and that a time may come when the opposite policy will be in the ascendant. That this is needful is shown by a reluctance on

the part of the Transvaal to put in force one provision of the Natal Railway Convention, which undoubtedly provides, and was intended so to provide, for the free entry of Natal produce into the Transvaal. Doubtless this clause is of farther-reaching importance than was apprehended when it was inserted, but that is far from nullifying it, and the hesitation to apply it should serve as an admonition to the Natal statesman to make all his arrangements with the Transvaal on such lines that they may prove prudent, should that State withdraw from its present attitude of very marked friendliness.

The march of events, however, is proving more and more the interdependence of the various States and Colonies one upon the other, and the stern logic of facts will, it cannot be doubted, draw all steadily and surely into closer and yet closer bonds. Each possesses or produces something that the other requires, and the trade connection based on this fact is ever more and more solidifying the unity of interest which is the one all-powerful factor towards unifying States. Federation is already more or less directly the aim and object of all the most patriotic men in the Republics, as well as in the two Colonies, as it certainly is the desire of many of the leading statesmen in England. It is a plant that will not be forced—it must grow free and untrammelled, but it has without doubt taken root in South Africa; and though by no means without enemies, by no means free from risks of destruction, or uprootal even, there are grounds for cherishing much hope of it. It may well be that in our day the full union—political and financial—will not be seen; but the fact that there have been already held two Conferences to arrange for a united policy for railway management, at which all the various States have been represented, proves that the unity of interest has already been perceived. It is true that both these Conferences proved abortive, so far as the achievement of practical result is concerned, and yet they are far from abortive if we consider that they have recognised and established the principle of mutual interest and unity of action. Without doubt in the near future this principle, already admitted as controlling the Railway policy alike of the Republics, the Portuguese possessions, and the British Colonies, will be extended to the fiscal policy also, the present bar to such an arrangement—the Burgers' treaty between Portugal and the Transvaal—being no obstacle immediately all parties are united in a desire to overcome it; and I venture to predict such a general desire will sooner, rather than later be created. Excluding the Portuguese possessions full political union is probably much

more distant, yet with such community of interest who shall say how long even such an end shall be unattained ?

#### FUTURE PROSPECTS.

Natal, by her natural position, her healthy and invigorating climate, her eminent adaptability for agricultural and commercial pursuits, and by the enterprise and singleness of aim of her settlers, must form a very important factor in the settlement of the future of South Africa. That she offers a most promising field for the employment of British capital, and the energies of any young Englishmen who possess strength and brains, and some money to give them a start in the new life, has I hope been evidenced in this address, or it will indeed have been read in vain ; but it is a fact well attested by the story of many a prosperous farmer or merchant in Natal to-day ; and if I can read the signs of the times aright there is now a brighter prospect for all who are in Natal or who are connected with Natal, than there has been ever in the past, bright as that past has been. In reading this paper I have been most careful to exclude statistics of every kind ; it is difficult to digest the story they convey in the mere hearing a paper read ; and, moreover, should any inquirer be fired to examine into the facts about, and prospects of, Natal they are easy to obtain either from our own courteous and enthusiastic Agent-General, or through the medium of the Royal Colonial Institute.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS.

This paper was prepared before the recent events which have occurred at and near Johannesburg had made so deep a mark upon current history ; it was in fact prepared on shipboard, and when our ship left Capetown there would have been found scarcely a man credulous enough to believe that the events which have been could be ; yet in the light of after events I do not think that anything I have written needs to be rewritten ; rather, I think, they accentuate certain views which I have ventured to express. I shall not make further reference to these incidents than to say that I do not now believe they will be permitted to have a permanently deterrent effect on the general progress of South Africa, and I venture to hope that the irritation engendered will be much less lasting in effect than one had almost dared to hope.

## DISCUSSION.

Mr. WALTER PEACE, C.M.G. (Agent-General for Natal) : I think I am expressing the feelings of all present, when I say we have listened with great interest to Mr. Maydon's paper, and that we are much indebted to him for having given us this fresh view of the position of the Colony of Natal. I am reminded that on the last occasion I attended a meeting of the Institute, some references were made to Natal of a character as dissimilar to the present as one could well imagine. I do not propose to go over ground traversed by Mr. Maydon, for I could only say "ditto" to what he has said, and from one point of view this is to be regretted, because a little criticism always gives zest to a discussion. I must, however, allude to one or two topics that the lecturer has omitted, and on an occasion when one of our former Governors is in the chair I would refer first to something that occurred in Sir Henry Bulwer's governorship of Natal in 1877. I have often heard Colonists who live in Crown Colonies complain that they never get anything in the shape of constructive statesmanship from the Government. Generally, governors are much disposed to keep on safe lines which do not involve any expenditure of money, but Sir Henry Bulwer had the courage and the patriotism to apply himself with great labour to laying the foundations of a system of education for the Colony of Natal, on which has been erected a grand superstructure. The work to which he applied himself with great ability was not carried to completion at the time, because another pilot soon after came and took the helm; but he laid the foundations of a system of education of which the whole Colony is proud. There is one incident, I am sure, in which he will share our gratification, and that is, that little Natal was able to send a scholar to Cambridge who took the senior wranglership of that University. There are many observations in Mr. Maydon's paper which those who are thinking of seeking a new home will do well to ponder over. One of the great merits of the paper is that he has avoided entirely the language of exaggeration. He has painted nothing in the conditions of the Colony more highly than the facts warrant. In fact, he has omitted to mention some rather important industries. There is not a word about the sheep and cattle farming which is carried on to such a large extent, or about horse-breeding, yet he knows—no one better—how large the item of wool bulks in the exports. With regard to agricultural products, there is another point which I think is of interest. As he has told us, we have some

half million natives in the Colony, and these are fed entirely by the produce of the Colony. It is not every young Colony that can support half a million people from its own resources and soil. The central factory system is doing a great deal to open the sugar industry to men of small capital—men who cultivate only and take the produce to a central mill. In connection with that industry I would mention the tea plantations. Unfortunately, none of the company promoters and financial men who have started so many successful tea companies in India and Ceylon have ever turned their attention to Natal, where there is a wide field for their operations. I make them a present of the suggestion. Mr. Maydon would, I had expected, have told you of one of the most remarkable instances of the way in which the up-country districts are being re-afforested. There is a private syndicate which planted some 2,500 acres with the tree which produces wattle bark, and I understand they will send to England this year 1,000 tons of bark from that one plantation. That is a great stride. It is an industry which has grown up entirely since the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, when we found out the value of wattle. Mr. Maydon says living in Natal is very much cheaper than in Cape Colony, the difference between a 5 per cent. and a 12 per cent. tariff by no means measuring the full difference in cost of all articles imported. I venture to say that before long the people of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal will become very much interested in this matter, because as they must find the means of recruiting their health, the people in the inland States will be encouraged to have recourse, in constantly increasing numbers, to a town which possesses the beauties as well as the advantages of Durban. In conclusion, I would only add that I am sure the sentiments of all of us are exactly expressed in the message which Her Majesty caused to be sent to the President of the Transvaal concerning the great disaster which has lately occurred there, and we must all feel admiration at the noble generosity which has been displayed by the people of Johannesburg in coming to the assistance of the sufferers.

Mr. HENRY KIMBER, M.P.: It may be of interest if, without going over ground already traversed by Mr. Maydon's excellent paper, I add a few words by way of personal experience. It happened some years ago, in the early stages of my professional career, I saw I should have to face the problem which exercises so many of us, as to what I should do with my boys, and fortunately having the opportunity, I travelled about the world in many directions for the purpose of seeing the great untrodden lands of the Empire, and forming

an opinion as to what sort of places they were, for I was convinced that in a well-settled country like ours, no adequate notion could be formed of these unsettled countries. As the result, I fixed on Natal for my boys when they should come to maturity, but gave them the opportunity of seeing the place for themselves before inducing them to settle there. I have now the advantage of having three sons settled in Natal—settled happily, and with the prospect of future prosperity. The reasons which induced me to prefer Natal to any other of the great Colonies you may like to know. It is, to begin with, only half the distance of the Australian Colonies. It is more beautiful than most of our Colonies, with the exception probably of Ceylon, which I do not consider one of the untrodden countries of the world. It holds the palm in South Africa. It is certainly the garden of South Africa in respect of scenery and the possibilities of the pleasure of life and residence. It has two hundred miles of sea-board, and is not tropical, but sub-tropical, sloping upwards from the sea in gentle and beautiful undulations to a height of 6,000 feet for some 800 miles to its inland borders. It is necessarily a well watered country, but with a fall from 6,000 feet to the sea-board in 800 miles, the rivers are not navigable and not quite perennial. Here is scope for the hand of man to come in, and by artificial means treasure the waters so abundant in the wet seasons for use in the dry seasons. That is part of the work to which I set the eldest of my sons. Altitude is a good substitute for latitude, and if a change of temperature becomes necessary, that is easily obtained by a change of altitude. For example, the farm which I purchased for one of my sons is about half-way between Durban—which *en passant* is one of the prettiest towns in the whole world—and Drakensburg. It has an altitude of 4,500 feet, and streams run through it. There is a great deal, of course, for man to do. There is not much to feed the mouth or clothe the body in a well watered grassy soil until something is done with it. There are fresh mornings and fresh evenings, and I have myself ridden in a snow-storm till my hands were numb—so that they get the refreshment of the English winter with the beautiful summer of the sub-tropics. There is abundant grass, which grows ten months out of the twelve, and consequently abundant food for all four-footed animals, without the necessity of always providing wintering for the animals, although there is a necessity in some places, and it is always desirable to make a provision if you want to make your flocks and herds very productive. I have never seen any reason to regret the choice, and although agri-

cultural or pastoral occupations in any portion of the world in present circumstances do not afford the chance of making a large fortune, yet they do afford the means of leading happy and healthy lives, with the chance, when you buy land at 10s. an acre, of, at all events at the end of your career finding your wealth increased in the very safe form of a land savings bank. It has the advantage—an advantage to some persons—of not falling upon you in the form of money or gold, which may be frittered away, and I persuaded my boys to think, when they can get a good income and live happily, they may look to the gradual increase of landed property and of their flocks and herds, which with attention will bring you a sufficient compensation for an industrious life. Natal is of course farther off than Canada, which is a very fine Colony, but the climate is less rigorous and is very beneficial for many complaints, especially of the lungs. In Canada you have to feed your sheep probably for seven months out of the twelve by artificial means, while in Natal you find food for them all the year round. I believe there is a great future for that little Colony. As the lecturer says, the visitor to Natal cannot help saying how English it is. It is too small, perhaps, ever to make a great country, but when I cross to Zululand I see there a possible addition that may make the Colony a good-sized one. They have, fortunately, been blessed in Natal with very good governors. There have been incidents during the last twenty years. I have been president of a large land company that has been accused of many crimes but which has committed none. I believe our principal crime was that we lived through all the crises in the Colony. With these little exceptions, I am bound to say the Colony is well ruled and managed, and I believe the present Legislature will advance on very good old-fashioned English lines.

Sir FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G. : Following the example of my friend Mr. Kimber, who has related some of his personal experiences, I may be allowed to add a few remarks of the same nature. I visited Natal in 1889, and travelling from Johannesburg, in somewhat rough fashion, to Ladysmith, a journey which occupied me three days and two nights, I was astonished at the contrast between the Transvaal country—without saying one word against that wonderful land—and the garden Colony of Natal. I passed some weeks in the latter Colony, and my impressions were of the most favourable possible character with regard both to the present position and the prospects of the Colony. I do not know that I have anything to add by way of criticism of the paper, which, as Mr. Peace observes, always adds zest to a discussion, but I would

inform you that, owing to limitations of time, Mr. Maydon has been obliged to omit a good deal that was of an extremely interesting and graphic character. This you will find in the paper itself. It is well worth reading, because the past history of the Colony is of a very romantic character. The various changes of government are duly traced, until we come to the transference of the governing power from the Colonial Office to the colonists themselves. We know already of the advantages of giving to English-speaking communities self-government, especially when they are blessed with such "men of light and leading" to direct them as my esteemed friend Sir John Robinson (the present Premier), Mr. Escombe, Mr. George Sutton, and others of the same stamp, to be followed, no doubt, in due time, by our distinguished lecturer, who, I predict, is coming to the fore, and will some day succeed those who were the makers of Natal. Anyone who knows these gentlemen and the work they have done in past years in Natal must be convinced that in them the Colony possesses a body of politicians of a distinguished and far-seeing class. Mr. Maydon alludes to the fact that the Dutch in Natal are strongly loyal to the British Government in the Colony. That is a very pleasing fact indeed to hear by those of us who are anxious to bring about cordial co-operation between two races who must live together, and one can only hope that means will be found by which this spirit of co-operation for the development of this great Colony will be increased. In the interests of the wonderful country of South Africa, where there are two dominant races who must live together and who yet are in many respects different, this is of the last importance. I was very much pleased to hear Mr. Kimber say that having travelled over a great part of the globe he had at last settled in his own mind that Natal was of all others the place most suitable for the younger members of his family. I had the pleasure of meeting two of them at Kimberley, and they gave me the impression that they were likely to be most excellent colonists, which is what their father desired should happen, and which, I believe, has been fully realised.

Mr. JOHN W. FEARNSIDES: I had no intention of speaking, but as I received, as it were, a challenge from the lecturer, who spoke of "those chance visitors," I may, perhaps, as one of them, just allude to some of my impressions. Sir Frederick Young, as I gathered, entered Natal from the Transvaal, but I entered—this was in 1892—by a coasting steamer, and the difference between the sterility of Pondoland and the vegetation and beauty of Natal was very striking as viewed from the ship's deck. I had the advantage of



being under the *ægis* of the then and present Superintending Inspector of Schools, Mr. Robert Russell; and, though I was in Natal only some two or three months—afterwards going on to the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and the Cape Colony—I had, thanks to his good offices, an opportunity of seeing more than an ordinary person in such circumstances would see. I may mention that I went out purely for reasons of health, having suffered severely from insomnia; and, looking at the delightful climate, together with the voyage, I would strongly urge those who are thinking of going to the Riviera for health or pleasure to consider the claims of Natal in these respects. I saw a good deal of Durban, and still more of Maritzburg and the up-country districts; and I would observe that I am rather surprised the lecturer did not lay more stress on what struck me, viz., the energy and resourcefulness of the up-country farmer. By one of these—a man of sturdy Scotch stock—I was entertained on his farm of 20,000 to 25,000 acres, which he had obtained on easy terms in the infancy of the Colony, and which he and his sons and sons-in-law managed on almost patriarchal principles. He and his family had done almost everything themselves, including the building of their houses. The farm was thirty miles from the nearest town, Estcourt; and I may mention that one of his sons, whose guest I afterwards was, one day rode seventy miles to fetch a doctor for his wife, and thought nothing of the feat. The victory which the Natal fifteen recently gained over Lord Hawke's eleven at Maritzburg also shows that in spite of the hot and occasionally enervating climate, the energy and pluck of the Englishman is still brought out there in our English games. In regard to the sugar industry, I went over the Mount Edgecumbe estate, near Durban, and, knowing something of the Liverpool refineries, I was surprised at the excellent machinery and management. The wattle bark industry was being developed while I was in the Colony, and I am given to understand that it has made great progress since then. In fact, from what I saw in my short visit, my opinion is that the Colony has done wonderful things in the past, and that now it has got responsible Government, with such men as we see at the head, we shall hear a great deal more in the future of the garden Colony of South Africa.

The CHAIRMAN (Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G.): I rise to perform what is always a very agreeable duty, and that is to ask you to join with me in giving a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Maydon for his able and very interesting paper. It has not only been interesting in itself, but it has been the cause of a very interesting discussion by a

number of speakers, to whom our thanks are also due. My friend Mr. Peace, the Agent-General, rather complained of the want of opportunity for criticism. There are, however, in the historical portions of the paper, just one or two points which I should like to notice. I think Mr. Maydon has rather under-estimated the extent of the population of Natal before the wars of Chaka when he put the number at 400,000. I am disposed to think the population was a very much larger one. I know that a computation, made many years ago by very competent authorities, was to the effect that the population could not have been much short of a million—an estimate, I believe, which is much nearer the mark than the lesser figure named; and I make a present of that fact to my friend the Agent-General, for he told us just now that the Colony, among other things, is producing food enough for its native population of half a million; and he will see that in the times to which I am referring the country was producing food enough for double that number of people, whom all accounts represent as living in peace and plenty. With regard to the population which remained after the wars of Chaka, it has, I know, been a common belief that the people of what has been called the Umnini's tribe were practically the only people that remained in the country after it was devastated and depopulated by Chaka's wars. This belief, which is, I think, a mistaken one, has, I fancy, been due to the fact that when the first English settlers under Lieutenant Farewell went to Port Natal, in the year 1824, they were brought necessarily into contact with Umnini's people, who lived in the immediate vicinity of the port. But although the country was ruined, devastated, and depopulated, there still always remained a certain residuum of the population. Thousands of the people, remnants of tribes, found a hiding-place among the mountains and in the kloofs and bush country, and although their numbers were greatly reduced by starvation and other causes, yet I believe some thousands of them remained through all these years up to and after the time when Mr. Farewell went to Port Natal. Besides these, there were the tribes living in the valley of the Tugela on the Natal side of the river as well as on the other. When Chaka first invaded the country, most of these tribes gave in their submission to him, and were left where they were as his tributaries. There they remained during all his reign and the greater part of Dingaan's reign, and though the latter withdrew them to the left bank of the river for a time, yet after his death they naturally returned to their old homes. I do not think one could call these people refugees. During Dingaan's lifetime num-

bers of people, by ones and by twos, came south, some taking refuge with the white settlers at Port Natal, some going in search of the remnants of their own people. After his death still greater numbers of people originally belonging to the Natal country returned there, so that when Mr. Cloete went to Natal, in 1848, he estimated the native population at between 80,000 and 100,000. This was before the establishment of a British administration. After the establishment of British rule, numbers of refugees came into Natal from Zululand during the reigns of Panda and Cetewayo; and to a great extent, undoubtedly, the population of Natal is a refugee population; but it is not so, I think, to the extent which is generally supposed. This, however, is only ancient history. Coming to later times, we have heard to-night a great deal in praise of the Responsible Government which has been established in Natal, and I gladly endorse all that has been said in that respect. But I do not think we ought to forget altogether the past. In the historical portions of his paper, Mr. Maydon has necessarily passed over—necessarily, because it was quite beyond the limits of the time at our disposal to deal with it—the period of nearly fifty years which elapsed between the establishment of a British Colony and the establishment of Responsible Government. But we must remember that it was during that period that the growth of the Colony, as the Colony now is, took place. There is a seed time and there is a harvest time of things, and the satisfactory condition of the Colony of which Mr. Maydon has told us in the very excellent account he has given of it—of its sugar industry, its tea cultivation, its other industries and cultivations, on the coast lands and in the up-country, its railway system, which runs through the country from the sea to the Orange Free State and to the Transvaal—is, if I may say so, the harvest of the antecedent period of which I have spoken, and which was the seed time of these things. I allude to that period and to those early years of the Colony because they were, many of them, years of hard struggle and of many disappointments to the earlier settlers and colonists, as also they were years of much care and responsibility to the Government of the time. It is to the courage and perseverance of the early colonists—whether planters, or farmers, or merchants, or others—that the present satisfactory condition of the country is, to a great extent, due. The Colony of Natal was a plant of slow growth. It had to fight and to feel its own way for many years. Those were not the times when the object of Europe was to get as much of Africa as it could, but to keep out of it as much as possible. Those were not the times of imperial

subsidies or chartered companies with British capital at their command. The Colony had to work its own way all unaided, and on that account it was not for many years—it was not until 1875—that it was able to undertake that system of railways which, as you have heard, now touches hands with those of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. The Colony of Natal, belonging to the old order of things, grew up slowly. The colonists kept a brave heart, and the results we see to-day. In saying what I have done I have said it from a desire to pay the tribute which I think is due to that generation of old colonists which has passed, or is passing, away. What we have heard to-night of the prospects of Natal we have heard with very sincere satisfaction. They appear to be full of promise and hope, and I am sure we all join in wishing the fullest prosperity to the Colony and every success to the new Government which is established there. Questions and problems there are, of course, to be dealt with and to be worked out. That is the lot of all countries and governments. Every age and every generation has its own tasks. I am confident, however, that in Natal these questions and problems will be dealt with, by those who are called upon to take part in public affairs, with prudence and judgment, with courage, and a deep sense of responsibility. I will now conclude with moving that the cordial thanks of the meeting be given to Mr. Maydon for his admirable and interesting paper.

MR. J. G. MAYDON: It needs, I think, but small effort to justify my epithet of refugees as regards the natives who found a haven in this Colony, since it was only because of the existence of the white population in Natal that they were able to escape from the tyranny of the chief into whose hands they had fallen. Whether it was due to the British Government or not, it certainly was due to the fact that there were white people settled in Natal that many of them lived even. I did not seek in my paper to trace the exact sources and causes of prosperity. I certainly did not try to rob the times that were past of any credit that was their due, nor unduly to inflate the praise of the generation now living, and in whom the immediate future is more or less involved. To each, in their part, great credit is due, and from the efforts of each I hope good results will be attained. All reference to education I did omit, for the simple reason that the facts speak for themselves. There is one other point—the inducement which the low tariff will offer to the up-country visitor. We shall be always ready to welcome them, and I think those who visit us once will probably visit us again, and often. So far as Mr. Kimber's story goes—an experience which should be encouraging

to all who have the same problem to face—I may mention that, as an official of the Agricultural Society, I have had the pleasure of seeing prizes go to his son for the most excellent specimens of horse-breeding in Natal—specimens which would do no discredit to any turn-out in this country. Horses of all kinds are bred with very great success, and there is hardly a branch of agriculture that is not pursued with distinguished success in Natal. Our public men have been alluded to. I have the deepest confidence in our public men, for the simple reason that they are animated by patriotism; they serve no selfish ends. I ask you to join with me in giving a cordial vote of thanks to the Chairman.

This was done, and, the Chairman having responded, the meeting terminated.

## FIFTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Fifth Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, March 10, 1896, when Sir George Baden-Powell, K.C.M.G., M.P., read a paper on "The Development of Tropical Africa."

Sir Robert G. W. Herbert, G.C.B., a Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the Special General Meeting of February 25 were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 19 Fellows had been elected, viz., 9 Resident and 10 Non-Resident.

## Resident Fellows :—

*Edward Larpent Agar, Edward Ames, Captain R. L. Appleyard, James Buckland, Allan Gordon Cameron, John R. Manning, General Sir Henry A. Smyth, K.C.M.G., Samuel Warburton, Thomas Wilkins, C.E.*

## Non-Resident Fellows :—

*Charles C. Adcock (Matabeleland), F. H. Dillon Bell (New Zealand), Charles Chewings, Ph.D., F.G.S. (Western Australia), Goring E. Dalton (British Guiana), Richard Goldmann (Transvaal), Hon. Mr. Justice H. G. Kelly (Niger Territories), William H. C. Lovely, M.A.I.M.E. (Western Australia), Francis J. Quinton (Transvaal) Irvine K. Reid (British Guiana), Joseph B. Simmons, J.P. (Western Australia).*

It was also announced that donations to the Library of Books, Maps, &c., had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN : I have now the pleasure of inviting your attention to the most interesting paper with which we are about to be favoured by a gentleman who has very special qualifications to give us information on the subject which he has selected—"The Development of Tropical Africa." The name of Sir George Baden-Powell is, of course, very well known to members of the Colonial Institute, and indeed to other friends of ours present this evening. He has—as most of you must be aware—very large experience of all parts of Her Majesty's dominions beyond the seas. It is many years since he first went to Australia, and wrote a very well-considered work on "New Homes for the Old Country." He has done

great service to public interests in North America, in connection with the Behring Sea Fisheries. He was with Sir Charles Warren in Bechuanaland when certain raids had been made in former days across the Transvaal frontier, and he has very lately made a very careful examination of the condition of trade in West Africa, which he visited in his yacht last year. I do not think we could possibly have a better instructor as to the present and as to the probable future of the vast and interesting portions of Her Majesty's dominions which are comprised in "Tropical Africa."

Sir GEORGE BADEN-POWELL, K.C.M.G., M.P.: I feel almost abashed at finding myself here this evening, for I notice on the platform and in the audience a large number of distinguished persons who are so much better qualified to deal with this great subject than I am. But I have this comfort—that whether from the presence of that great lady traveller, Miss Kingsley, for example, or of our most successful warrior chief, Sir Francis Scott, I cannot go far wrong, for from one good authority or another I shall receive prompt and deserved correction.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF TROPICAL AFRICA.

### INTRODUCTORY.

IN all ages and to all people Africa has been a mysterious and yet an inviting continent. It is reserved for the end of the nineteenth century to lift the veil under which all has been enshrouded, and to bring the light of real knowledge on to this hitherto unknown area of the world's surface. It is true that very positive indications have not been wanting as to the wealth of Africa in many a coveted product; and yet for all these centuries it is but the coast fringe that has been held or penetrated by alien races. I do not deal to-night with the mysteries, the romance, or the adventure of past ages. My aim is to be not historical but practical; to take a comprehensive view of the tropical Africa of to-day in its many aspects, in order that we may educe for ourselves a wise course or policy to follow in the immediate future. The public mind must be sufficiently informed to stimulate or criticise as well as to support Government action, and at the same time to countenance and encourage private enterprise.

The development of tropical Africa, so far as we as a nation are concerned, is of those parts which have now come definitely under British influence. But this great question cannot be handled in

completeness unless we also carry in mind what our good neighbours in Africa are doing and intend to do. The question is essentially international as well as national.

In regard to the international aspect of the question, uppermost in men's minds all the world over at the present moment are the phenomenal outbursts of hostility to the British Empire which fell as thunderbolts from the blue on the world this last winter. Not less startling to foreigners than these successive outbursts was the immediate effect on the whole British nation. From every corner of the world-wide Empire, without qualification or exception, came the same immediate, ready, spontaneous response of calm determined unity. No matter whence the attack, no matter who decided to strike—come one come all—the British people, wherever domiciled, were ready and willing to strain every nerve and make every sacrifice to hold their own as a united nation.

Other nations at once saw that with all this calm businesslike determination to face all or any foes, the British financial and industrial position was never for one moment upset. The funds, the barometer of the atmosphere of the higher politics, remained high and steady. Yet one more lesson was given to the world of the enormous economic forces on which the British Empire rests.

Yet even so foreigners, no less the home-keeping Britishers, only accept with hesitation the inevitable conclusion that the greatness of Great Britain was built up and depends upon the widest general prosperity. All that we ask is that, over as wide an area of the world's surface as possible, prosperity should prevail. Our shippers, our traders, our manufacturers, our emigrants, and our investors, do not pay so much heed to the flag that waves over any particular area as to the fact whether or no the flag implies the prosperity of the inhabitants. Recorded results entirely justify our belief that the Union Jack is the flag that most surely brings civil, religious, and commercial liberty to all who inherit the countries over which it flies. We do not always see that the same results of increased prosperity for all classes follow the hoisting of other flags. But as a nation we are very willing, publicly and privately, to co-operate rather than compete with other nations, if only they will extend the area of civilised prosperity.

The growth and expansion of the British Empire is nothing but an extension of this area. It is a great fact which the nation has come to accept without fuss, and, in a sense, as Professor Seeley has well said, "in sheer absence of mind."

Of our immediate subject, tropical Africa, we bear in mind that



so lately as 1865 a select committee of the House of Commons dealing with the West Coast passed the resolution :—

“All further extension of territory, or assumption of Government, or new treaties offering any protection to native tribes would be inexpedient ; and that the object of our policy should be to encourage in the natives the exercise of those qualities which may render it possible for us more and more to transfer to them the administration of all the Governments with a view to an ultimate withdrawal from all except, probably, Sierra Leone.”

I will only remark that the trade of these Settlements was not £3,000,000 then, and is now nearly £9,000,000.

Since then many of us have written and spoken persistently of our belief in our great Imperial mission. Repetition and reiteration, in season and out of season, of facts and figures and arguments—carrying out the great purpose of this Royal Colonial Institute—have had their due effect, and the whole nation is at last firmly convinced of the paramount necessity of maintaining the Empire in all its integrity and beneficence. Some of us, myself among the number, have for years past used the analogy of the estate that needed development by means of good management, good roads, and the investment of capital. This analogy has become suddenly popularised because of its assertion by the new Secretary for the Colonies, whose businesslike vigour on behalf of a proper and adequate development of Colonial resources we all greet with such confidence.

To-night we concern ourselves with that portion of our great Empire which lies in tropical Africa. The times are ripe for notice and for action. In tropical Africa we have four centres of effort. In its southern portion, affairs are in the hands of a great chartered company, and there the one overpowering need is for a period of quiet development. In what is known as British Central Africa, on the lakes dominated from the Shiré highlands, we have, under the capable lead of Sir H. Johnston, a small but efficient band of men achieving noble and significant victories over the slave raiders. In British East Africa a chartered company has had to surrender its task into the hands of the Imperial Government. Here again there is actual warfare proceeding, chiefly because over the period of this necessary transference of the administration, adequate steps were not taken by the Imperial Government to make it certain that the native chiefs and races were not misled into believing that the disappearance of the company meant the retirement of the British power.

On the West Coast many recent warlike operations, culminating in the bloodless but none the less triumphant occupation of Kumasi, have attracted public attention. In this last case we have to deplore the loss of many valuable lives, owing to sickness, although the brilliant rapidity of the advance and completeness of the preparations surprised the Ashantis out of all opportunity for fighting.

Perhaps I may interpose to say that the subject matter is no new one with me. Twelve years ago I had written to the Foreign Office, after much local inquiry as to the extension of British influence from the East into tropical Africa, that the question of our position should be taken in hand at once before international jealousies became founded on national interests instead of, as then, on mere national aspirations, and I detailed a proper basis for international agreement as to methods to be pursued.

In 1885, while speaking and writing as to the pushing northwards from South Africa, I was enabled, in a series of articles published by the *Times*, to urge the permanent occupation and opening up of southern and northern Bechuanaland as a country of great promise, and to insist on occupying and opening up the country to the Zambesi as "a trade gate to tropical Africa." In October 1885 I was privileged to address a special gathering of the London Chamber of Commerce to explain my meaning in the sketch map here shown as to the legitimate extension of British influence into tropical Africa from the south. We know what has happened since. But until we went up in 1885 no official had ever penetrated into the country of Khama or Lobengula.

Last winter I was enabled to learn for myself as to the extension of British influence into tropical Africa from the west, by seeing for myself what English, French, Germans, Portuguese and Spaniards were accomplishing or intending along the west coast.

It may be well to think of tropical Africa under its four business aspects: as an area for the supply of raw materials, a market for British produce, a field for investment, and a field for emigration. And the mind is assisted to a clearer view by carrying in remembrance the three C's of endeavour in Africa, namely: Christianity, Civilisation, and Commerce—three most powerful levers of action which can and should be made to work hand in hand for the common benefit and success of each.

My plan is, after a sufficient review of the present condition of affairs in respect of these leading ideas, to sum up by referring

to what can and should be done by Government and by private enterprise.

#### AFRICA IN GENERAL.

As with all the great empires of ancient and mediæval history, Babylonian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Frank, Saracen, so with the efforts of the powers of the more modern western civilisation, until within a very few years ago, nothing whatever has been achieved towards the conquest of Africa by outsiders. Nothing has been achieved beyond mere forts and factories, mere political or commercial outposts along the coasts.

All other continents—Asia, Europe, North America, South America, and Australia—have been overrun more than once by conquering races, the aborigines and their successors being successively overwhelmed in the flood of newcomers. But in Africa some mysterious power has hitherto defeated all such attempts.

It is not that attack has not been made on the great continent. Even in comparatively recent times the Portuguese had their greatest early successes in Angola and in Mozambique, and all along the east coast. Nor was incentive wanting, for the Kingdom of Monomatapa is said to have furnished them with an annual tribute of two millions sterling in gold. More recently Magdala is stormed by a British force, and many nations make armed incursions, yet no permanent hold or even footing in the great interior ever seemed possible.

Almost within the last decade a complete change has come over all these teachings of history. The flags of European nations are found floating over most of the native capitals of tropical Africa. Two main causes have led up to this. White men of brains have penetrated all over Africa, and Europe has felt the pressing need of some new outlet.

On the other hand, intrepid explorers following up river valleys—the Nile, the Niger, the Congo, and the Zambesi, or with irresistible determination making their way across Africa from ocean to ocean—have brought back full, honest, and first-hand accounts of an interior of vast proportions, fertile to a degree, carrying great populations and interspersed with tablelands and highlands with an altitude sufficient to insure climatic conditions favourable to European constitutions. Again, religion, historically speaking, perhaps the most powerful agent in stimulating movements of population, has impelled missionaries, with noble self-sacrifice in their great cause, to penetrate and to live in districts remote and in the

far interior. Their reports have entirely confirmed the discoveries of the explorers.

At the same epoch the steady increase in Europe, culminating during the last thirty years, of population, of industrial output, and of capital seeking investment beyond all needs, or even possibilities, of local satisfaction, has compelled Europe to look for oversea outlets for her redundant energies. At the same time applied science has in steam, telegraphy, and other ways, added enormously increased facilities for exploration in, for the development of, and for communication with such lands.

Then, again, the more these influences have felt their way into Africa, the more have they discovered, even on first contact, what great and promising possibilities open up. Populous areas are discovered one after another, although the inhabitants in many cases have not attained to that state of civilisation where commerce or industry are at their best.

It has been said that in Africa two-thirds of the natives are unclothed, and one-third half clothed, and that it is England's mission to clothe the half-clothed and half-clothe the unclothed. Even a rough statistical estimate of the number of yards of grey shirtings, and other mysterious cloths of commerce needed for such a purpose, would far and away outrun the capacities of all the mills of Lancashire and India combined. It has also been asserted that if these many millions, or even any large proportion of them, could be prevailed upon to wear flannel next the skin, Australian squatters no less than Bradford manufacturers would have unprecedented cause for rejoicing. Nor is this mere amusing theory. As a matter of fact, wherever we penetrate, more clothing, the outward and visible sign of our civilisation, is sure to follow.

Moreover, all experience teaches that, wherever you can set up security, it is marvellous how speedily natives fall into our ways. They no longer exist at the absolute mercy of all strong men armed, who come along their way. With the consequent possibility of the enjoyment and usufruct of property comes the desire for its possession. Security means not only that the people, man, woman, and child, will not be robbed of homes, clothes, and goods and chattels, but that if they sow they will reap their harvest, and if they crop rubber or oil kernels they will be paid for the same. This is the one homely but actual basis of prosperity which we can establish in tropical Africa.

The solid business advantages which we can so readily bring home to the native races has never yet been tried except in detail;

and yet we have plenty of evidence of the speedy manner in which African natives avail themselves of the benefits of the Queen's peace.

Let me give two quite recent instances. Close to Bathurst Fodi Silah terrorised in true native fashion, and merchants handled little or no produce from the districts dominated by him. The inevitable little war followed, with deplorable loss to our naval contingent. The tyrant was crushed, and within a twelve-month £100,000 had been paid to the inhabitants of those districts for rubber therein collected.

After the Jebu expedition two years ago, within a twelvemonth the inhabitants of the district tyrannised over by that potentate, and hitherto enslaved, harassed, degraded and destitute, earned from our merchants more than a quarter of a million sterling for native produce.

The natives of tropical Africa, varying greatly in race and in capacity, have many undeniably good characteristics.

In the *Daily Chronicle* last January, in one of the admirable accounts of the operations in Ashanti from one of their correspondents, it was interesting to read :—

“The more one sees of our coloured brethren in these parts, the more one is influenced in their favour. One could hardly meet a more amiable race to work with. Once satisfied that their pay was assured and that the white officers were disposed to treat them with honesty and justice, all difficulties immediately disappear.”

These natives have lived for centuries and centuries in a condition of perpetual war and raid ; slavery has been a universal institution ; human sacrifices are the culmination of a debased and widespread fetish worship. But that they even now remain inherently capable of better things there is ample evidence. Our Hausa troops and armed police prove that some of them are in military instinct and capacity the equals of our redoubtable and reliable friends the Goorkhas. The evidences I have myself seen of the earnestness of the religious convictions of many negro individuals proves that they are susceptible of this the best and highest of all influences.

Again, as labourers for pay, the East Coast Seedi boys or West Coast Kroomen are well and most favourably known. Without doubt the natives of tropical Africa number among them tribes and nations which can be turned to most profitable uses. I may here add that tropical Africa also offers a great arena for the work of many of our Indian fellow-subjects, traders, artisans, soldiers, and planters.

Our rule in India tends to a great redundancy of population, and in Africa this surplus will find a useful and profitable field.

It is also to be added that the negroes of the West Indies and even of the United States may, so far as they will, beneficially engage in what is known as their repatriation. I may mention the well-known and successful efforts of the Bishop of Sierra Leone in inducing West Indian Africans to come over to the West Coast as pastors, school teachers, and mechanics—a movement which might become very popular.

#### AFRICA IN DETAIL.

I will now turn to sundry details of the present position in Africa, which, while summarising what has been done up to the present, will indicate the course we must adopt for the immediate future.

Generally speaking, and regarding the big map, we see that at this moment Africa has been parcelled off under the flags of different nations of western Europe. At first sight the general public is surprised to see such a patchwork quilt of political ambition thrown so suddenly over this great continent. I myself have followed the matter pretty closely. So recently as 1886 I wrote from South Africa a full letter stating the necessity for prompt inquiry on the East Coast, because continental Powers were moving forward to annex. The official reply was that they had no information to lead them to suppose that any exceptional action was necessary. In a few years the "game of grab" in Africa had become the dominant feature. Different nations pursued different tactics. Officials were asserting forgotten claims to wide territories; consuls, travellers, and missionaries were hoisting flags; armed parties were enlisting natives, fighting fights and scattering uniforms and medals among native chiefs. The Home Governments were alternately inciting and restraining these more or less responsible pioneers. The one thing conspicuous by its absence was system; the one crying need, forethought and arrangement.

I do not know that the results are wholly evil, but they of a certainty involve endless complications and clashing of interests. This is the state of things we have to face in regard to political boundaries and claims.

As to trade. As I have said, Africa presents on the one hand an invaluable area for the supply of raw materials, and on the other a wide market for the sale of European products.

I may premise by stating that there are no statistical records available from which any accurate estimate can be formed. We

have to depend upon estimates which are as reliable as is possible from the data available. And, after all, this great continent has been so little touched by trade or industry that the results I give, although meagre, are more than sufficient for the purpose in hand.

The total value of the trade of tropical Africa is within 15 millions. The exports stand as follows :—

British Possessions . . . . .	£4,600,000
French . . . . .	1,000,000
Portuguese . . . . .	665,000
Other . . . . .	1,300,000

A detailed analysis brings out the invariable fact that all you need give is security to the natives, and products of all kinds rapidly come out of districts which before that produced nothing tangible. Over and over again has this occurred on the West Coast; and the figures are rapidly accumulating, which make no doubt of this guiding fact.

The importance of these figures is seen when we remember the following figures of export of British produce to the following Colonies and dependencies :—

	1863	1893
Exports to India . . . . .	£20,800,000	£30,000,000
„ Straits Settlements . . . . .	1,500,000	1,900,000
„ British West Indies . . . . .	4,215,000	3,636,000
„ British West Coast Settlements . . . . .	430,000	2,140,000

The West African consumption of British produce has increased more than fivefold.

The curiosities of commerce are proverbial; and it would be a very profitable use of many hours to work out those of African trade. Thus in the exports from the Gold Coast we find the following suggestive figures :—

*Values exported.*

	1883	1893
Palm kernels . . . . .	£50,000	£103,000
Rubber . . . . .	nil	167,000
Monkey skins (for furs) . . . . .	4,000	35,000

The enormous growth of the use of electricity in telegraphs, telephones, lighting, and the transmission of power, indicates an increased demand for indiarubber, which transcends all estimates. And the demand is enhanced by the call for rubber for tires to ordinary carriages, cycles, and automotors. The value imported into the United Kingdom of this one product "Rubber" has grown in thirty years from £500,000 to £3,500,000.

A great development is also taking place in the new product of African mahogany; and there are other hard woods of which we shall soon hear more. As to other vegetable products, suffice it for me to say that I know by personal observation that in lowlands and highlands in tropical Africa rice, fibres, coffee, oil kernels, and nuts of all kinds simply luxuriate. There is positively no limit to the vegetable growths that can be secured in Africa.

As to minerals. When I was in South Africa in 1884 the idea was generally ridiculed that gold existed in paying quantities. The discoveries of gold in the Eastern Transvaal were discounted and discredited. The mines worked at Tati, I was told when making the first treaty with Khama, need not be regarded, as they were worked at a loss by a few visionary Englishmen. It was commonly reputed that learned geologists had given it as their deliberate opinion that the geological formations of the Rand district did not and could not hold gold.

It struck me as remarkable in journeying into all this country—from which I knew the early Portuguese invaders at Sofala had extracted so much gold—that the natives had little or no gold in common use. None the less, we all know how many millions sterling of gold have been sent home from South Africa in a short ten years.

I have seen many of those who were on this recent Ashanti expedition. One and all speak of the universal prevalence of gold, and much gold, in all the goods and chattels of the chiefs. They also say that no native unless compelled would dig for gold, because all he acquired was at once appropriated by the nearest chief, with death penalty for not giving up any gold found. This expedition has again proved the wide prevalence among the natives of natural nuggets—incontestably proving the existence of extensive alluvial deposits of gold, and bearing out the tradition of the first adventurers as to “Afric’s fountains rolling down their golden sands.”

I myself met with indications of many other minerals. One trader showed me a valuable product he was collecting, the ultimate result of which was rows of odds and ends of bottles filled somewhere in the interior by natives with quicksilver.

All we can say with certainty is, that there are endless districts in tropical Africa very rich in minerals, and especially in gold.

#### NEW MARKETS.

I would pass now to the possibility of opening out new markets for the sale of the products of the British Isles.



Various estimates have been made as to the population of tropical Africa. We are in no need for the purpose in hand of any actual accuracy. We are assured, by all evidence, that certainly upwards of eighty millions exist at the present moment.

We are also certain that the curse of slave raiding is still an active force over the greater portion of these areas—over which sanitary and medical knowledge has obtained as yet little or no control.

We also know that in many centres human sacrifice is rampant. The death of a chief necessitates lining his grave with the corpses of slaves to serve him in the next world. The death of a king means five hundred slaves to be killed. Even the harvest thanksgiving in the Yam customs involves the sacrifice of many human victims.

The country is therefore dominated by terribly prolific causes of death, and causes which the Union Jack can speedily remove. So that, whatever the actually existent number of millions of natives, it is certain that these numbers can be prodigiously increased if once we can bring them under the influences of our civilisation.

It is a matter of exact knowledge that these natives with avidity avail themselves of "European" goods whensoever they enjoy opportunities of quiet possession. I had the privilege the other day of a most instructive talk with Sir Francis Scott, whom the country so heartily congratulates on the entire success of his expedition to Kumasi.

He told me that up north of Abetifi, in the districts in the bend of the Volta, the excellent native cloths so largely made and used there are rapidly becoming replaced by English cloths. All explorers have noticed how unexpectedly far British goods have penetrated. I wished at Kolobeng to see the copper and iron works, where the natives in Livingstone's time still carried on their ancient wiremaking. But I found in place of manufactories stores thriving on the sale of English-made wire. Up in Khama's country I asked to see the native method of joinery by sewing, as it were, with leathern thongs. I found this had been superseded by Nettlefold's screws—a product of the Birmingham school.

Take another view. At the village of Brandon, in Suffolk, the time-honoured industry of chipping flints for muskets has taken to itself a strong revival because of the increased demand for flint muskets for Africa, since the Berlin Act forbade the sale of arms of precision to the natives.

Instances can readily be multiplied of the rapid spread of

European goods. I see many shippers and merchants present who will, I know, bear me out in saying that, provided the political powers do their duty, the resources of tropical Africa are illimitable, both as an area of supply for products needed by our industries, and as a market for the sale of the products of our home industries.

Let me, however, before I deal with the concluding problem as to what political action is necessary, briefly mention the two other points of present interest—namely, investments of our capital and employment for our emigrants.

As to the investment of capital, of which we have such a redundancy in this Mother Country. As I said in 1885, we have here a great estate to develop; and if and when it is developed it can only be by means of capital. Personally I am a firm believer in individualism. I do not care to see capital invested in Africa under the direct care and control of the State, because I think that in such cases it is likely to be heedlessly and disastrously invested.

But there are endless channels now being opened out by banks, trading firms, shipping firms, and others, by which individual enterprise is ready, as of old and in other places, to pioneer the opening up of Africa. There is no doubt but that in the making of communications by steamer, railway, road, and bridge, private capital and private enterprise can be largely and beneficially utilised.

Then, again, many industries—gold mining, timber drawing, plantations of many kinds of tropical produce, as well as the organised collection of wild native products—all require capital for their adequate working. Many of those in the trade have already explained to me how very profitable their investments have proved already. All they ask is that Government, restricting its efforts to its proper spheres, shall extend the Queen's peace as rapidly as possible over larger areas, that these may be brought under the fertilising influence of private capital.

As to immigration. At the recent Geographical Congress this subject was much discussed; and the public generally is eager for information. The question is, What classes or individuals of our surplus population are likely to find employment in tropical Africa, and in what numbers?

Two "geodetic" facts have to be borne in mind. Africa consists of lowlands and highlands. In the lowlands, which, we know, are the ports and the coast settlements, and up the big rivers, the life is essentially tropical. In other words, in these lowlands there can never

come into existence a white labouring class. Our nation in that part of Africa can only provide the brains and spirit. Management, superintendence, initiative, control—these are the essentials of prosperity and progress there, which can only come with the presence of the white man. It is true the climate in the lowlands is such that the white man, as an individual, can only work there for a given period. Frequent rests in his native bracing cold are absolutely necessary if his vigour is to continue. But this merely means that as, generally speaking, a white man can only work half-time in such localities, twice as many white men must be employed. It is an appalling and interesting fact to see that the apparently insignificant rise of the annual temperature by only 15 degrees of Fahrenheit reduces by one-half the capacity of the vigorous white man to conquer and control natives. However, so it is. But the more we occupy and open up Africa, the more openings will there be for individuals with brains and courage to work in these lowlands. The men who are now making their livelihood by such work in Africa may be counted by hundreds. But, if we really set ourselves to control actually the areas nominally under our flag, such employes will be numbered by the thousand, a prospect not without its interests to the very numerous parents of the middle classes, whose urgent problem is "What to do with our boys."

The highlands of Africa are in a different category. Black labour there is not so much a matter of climate as of fact. These areas happen to contain a large black indigenous population eager to work for wages. But white labour is in large degree possible, nor does the white man in such climates lose his energy or powers. In these districts there are openings for mechanics and artisans, even though their ultimate destiny be to become the foremen and gangers of black labour.

The value to emigration of such districts depends greatly on the extent of the area from time to time opened up, and the industries found to pay in such areas. The tablelands immediately south of the Zambesi for 5,000 to 7,000 feet above the sea, which I know by personal experience to be extraordinarily healthy and invigorating in climate, are attracting thousands of men of all ranks, and if the gold indications bear out in any degree their early promise, flourishing white communities will soon astonish the world in these highlands of Southern tropical Africa.

The highlands of British East Africa and British West Africa are somewhat nearer the equator, and of course as yet but partially explored. But there is no reason to doubt but that wherever high-

lands are found in Africa, there large white communities will come to exist so soon as they can there find any adequate returns for industrial occupation. In my belief, so soon as we penetrate into the interior we shall discover many such plateaus; and not only our traders and capitalists but our emigrating classes will there find very profitable fields for their energies.

#### STATE ACTION.

I now pass to the concluding portion of what I have to say to-day. I have endeavoured to present as it were a bird's-eye view of the present position in tropical Africa. I wish now to deduce the practical conclusions as to what needs to be done there if we are to add to our own prosperity by making Africa prosperous.

As with magnetic energy, so with that of nations. There are, as it were, two poles inseparable and yet the very opposite one to the other. On the one side we have the corporate, on the other the individual action; on the one side public, on the other private; on the one side the Government, on the other the business influence and initiative. The two energies often clash, and often there is much hurtful friction between the two. Yet both have their proper spheres of action.

Taking the private energies first, we remember that in all the history of Africa the private trader or planter has made little tangible impression. In all other tropical countries—in the West Indies, Central America, the East Indies, and the islands of the Far East—planters have permanently and for centuries established themselves, and with the traders they have taken hold of the whole areas and populations of those countries. But, although the very first conquests of the modern civilisation of Western Europe were made on the shores of tropical Africa—east as well as west—although the Portuguese before the end of the fifteenth century had established their supremacy over the trade outlets of all the coasts of tropical Africa; although the English, Dutch, Spaniards, and French established factories and ports in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and although the Portuguese endeavoured, by means of the introduction of transported criminals and condemned Jews, to establish territorial dominion as in Brazil, yet so lately as twenty years ago no European nation had any claim to an actual effective dominion over any territories in tropical Africa. The private trader or planter, of whatever nationality, obtained comparatively no footing whatever in any part of the interior of Africa.

The only method, indeed, by which the trader could hold his own

was by association in the form of administrative companies, and these early became the organised means by which traders of all nationalities began and maintained trade on the coast.

The known silver mines behind Angola; the known gold mines inland from Elmina and Sofala—the produce of which came down country in material quantities towards the end of the fifteenth century—were never opened up or adequately worked.

There was one great overpowering reason for this contrast between Africa and the rest of the tropical world—one great native blight which European civilisation cultivated and fostered. The native products of gold, ivory, and spices first rewarded the European adventurer. But then there descended an epoch based on the Portuguese discovery, as stated by the writer, Pyrard de Laval, “the greatest wealth is that of slaves.” Forced labour was the rule of the age, and in tropical Africa the institution of slavery was found in universal use among the native tribes. But in the newly conquered Brazils and West Indies, on the plantations and in the mines, labour was needed, and the great idea arrested all attention that, among the teeming populations of tropical Africa, this supply of labour was to be found. The terrible slave trade sprang into existence and flourished until the year 1837, and for all that time closed Africa to other forms of trade and industry.

The slave trade which flourished for so long and with such vigour involved slave raiding. Tropical Africa, from Indian Ocean to Atlantic, was handed over to this destructive blight for all these years: and it is no matter for wonder that industry and commerce never obtained any foothold.

Private enterprise, at the first devoted to securing gold, ivory, and spices, speedily concentrated all its energies on this disastrous slave trade. There was no room, no need for State action, for the baser sort among the natives were only too desirous to assist and abet the white man in his nefarious new trade, which extended its ramifications far into the interior.

No change of any magnitude came over tropical Africa until the slave trade, thanks to the generous and enlightened action of the British, and for many years of the British alone, was finally suppressed.

Immediately there followed a new era of trade. In one word, the oil age succeeded to the slave age as that had succeeded to the gold age. Rubber and other native products were gradually added to the list, and a new and legitimate commerce came into being. But it was all in uncultivated indigenous products.

Here again, however, a great evil came to be developed. In exchange for these native products, clothing and a variety of implements formed the first staples. Very speedily, however, the natives acquired a taste for the white man's fire water, and spirits took a fatal hold on the native mind. The wiser among the merchants earnestly deprecated this "trade" from the very commencement, but no reasoning could stay the flood of spirits poured into tropical Africa in payment for native products.

We are thus brought up to the date of our own times. Meanwhile the institution of slavery continued rampant over all the interior, and slave wars and slave raids continued to depopulate large areas and to crystallize a universal sense of insecurity and oppression, which entirely prevented any industrial growth or development.

Private enterprise had proved itself quite incapable of dealing with these forces of slavery and drink which were so entirely opposed to prosperity and industry.

The governments of the bigger Powers, whose subjects were trading with Africa, by degrees found their attention concentrated on Africa. France and Germany, finding no foothold for colonial dominion in any other part of the world, not unnaturally looked to unoccupied Africa. Portugal and Great Britain, already with nominal rights over large extents of coast, naturally sought to hold their own. The Berlin and Brussels Conferences became a necessity.

I need not here recapitulate the results of those Conferences or the articles of the well-known Brussels Act. So far as they go they are admirable. But they leave a very great deal to be desired; a very great deal yet to be accomplished.

At many points there is urgent necessity for renewed international activity and agreement.

As I have already pointed out, the partitioning of Africa, made as a first attempt, is the very reverse of satisfactory. The boundaries assigned are not complete or reasonable. In great measure they lack the essential element of permanence, in following neither tribal nor natural lines of demarcation. Again, they overlap and interlace in a most perplexing manner. Grave difficulties have already arisen, emphasised in many instances by actual bloodshed, in agreeing to or asserting these boundaries and frontiers.

Even the official delimitations now proceeding, while for the moment satisfying local or temporary necessities, cannot in all cases be regarded as permanent or even satisfactory settlements of the problem. Too often they are the mere official confirma-

tion of quasi-treaties made in haphazard fashion with native potentates.

The question of these boundaries is of far higher order than this. Each area under any European flag is in the charge of that European Power. The responsibility thus taken up is no mean responsibility. The forces of civilisation are to be introduced with the view of bettering the position and promoting the welfare, moral and material, of the native races. With this fundamental object in view, European nations would do well so to round off their areas that, for all purposes of administration, for the institution of justice, the raising of necessary revenue, the promotion of security, and the maintenance of peace, there should be no overlapping or contention of rival authorities.

In my own recent visit to West Africa, where I found the French authorities most hospitable, it was a hard task to explain that the English were not jealous of the extension of French rule provided it secured a better prosperity for the natives. In the "scramble for Africa" the first idea of each foreign nation seems to have been to paint as much as possible of the map of Africa with its own colour. Of many districts little or nothing was known, and these were pounced upon haphazard with the result as depicted on the map.

Another point undetermined was the precise position of such proprietary and prescriptive rights of citizens of other civilised countries as were found in active existence in these areas. In this respect also much friction has been caused, and much bad blood created.

Yet one more point not as yet satisfactorily settled is the position of missionaries and schools. Without doubt the missions of various churches, and more especially those of our own British churches, have done the major portion of such work as has been done to reconcile the native mind to ideas of respect and love for our own civilisation. As was only to be expected, earnest religious effort has been the first and the most powerful lever to set up and promote an initial goodwill among men in Africa. But international jealousies of a political character have on occasion ridden rather roughshod over these purely pacific and most useful agencies. In some cases the sudden forbidding of the use of a particular language, in others of a particular ritual, has brought undeserved ruin upon flourishing and useful missions.

In other cases the raising of revenue has proved a material drag on what should be the friendly co-operation of all Powers for the development of Africa.

The main source of revenue at present is that of Customs duties laid on imports. But the rates and tariff differ very greatly along different portions of the coast line, and the opportunity is given for one settlement to endeavour to filch the trade of some other settlement. Moreover, any policy which can be controlled by means of Customs entrances, as with arms, ammunition and spirits, comes to be quite at the mercy of any neighbouring but independent coast authority.

Uniformity in Customs tariffs at all events for the largest possible coastlines is of the utmost value to proper administrative control and successful raising of revenue.

Again, along the land frontiers of the various states the opportunity is afforded for machinations in the levying of duties, which will oftentimes check and even destroy a particular commerce by driving it from its accustomed routes. Evil in this way has already resulted in many places. Up the two hundred and fifty miles of waterway of the Gambia river, many of the creeks that provide watercarriage as feeders to the ocean trade run down from what has been made French territory, because of the marking of an unnatural and altogether unreasonable boundary line, at ten miles distance from the bank of the river.

Again, the recent bloodshed and lamentable loss of life at Akassa seems to be originally due to the incredible action of the British authorities in drawing a rigid line of Custom-houses right across the waterways up and down which the native canoes have traded for centuries. This obtuse Chinese wall of rival Customs tariffs actually divided one British province from another.

I must give one more instance of the want of some general plan, even within the British sphere. The Colony of Lagos and the Oil Rivers or Niger Coast Protectorate agreed to increase the import duty on spirits, and make it uniform all along their coasts, at the rate of 2s. per gallon. But in their midst is the small strip of coast, with the Akassa mouth of the Niger, that forms the outlet of the Niger Company's territories. Here no change has been made in the power of collecting the duty. It is also to be remarked that in the German Cameroons on the east and the French Dahomey on the west, the duty remains at 1s. per gallon.

Such haphazard and partial changes in the tariff only secure the one most undesirable result of a gratuitous and useless dislocation of trade.

Passing to the more active work of governments, we notice, first



of all, the duty of seeing that facilities of communication are very greatly increased.

In the first place, as to the access of ocean steamers. On the coast between Cape Verd and Sherbro there are quite a number of rivers and estuaries into which these steamers can enter. The Gambia affords a magnificent waterway for more than two hundred miles inland. At Sierra Leone there is as fine a harbour as there is in the whole world. But to the southward and eastward there are no available harbours, unless we exempt the somewhat difficult bars at Lagos and at the mouth of the Niger.

In both these latter cases it has been stated that sufficient improvement in depth could probably be achieved by means of training walls at no great cost. At these various ports private enterprise has provided excellent coaling facilities. But the local Governments have yet much to accomplish in supplying a sufficient supply of good water.

On the East Coast, Mombasa is an ideal harbour, while the Zambesi, with better knowledge of its channels, should certainly suffice to carry ocean steamers well up to within reach of our Provinces to the north and south of that river. The present need for expenditures on harbour works concentrates itself on works of protection against the perennial surf at some point, such as Accra, on the Gold Coast, so that any route to the interior to be served by a railway may enjoy adequate facilities for connection with the ocean steamers.

On many of the rivers on the West Coast much useful commercial work will be done by suitable river steamers; but much has to be learned yet as to the seasonable changes in the depth of the rivers and the character of obstructions to navigation. It is on the East and in Central Africa that steamers will play the most useful part on the splendid lake system, in regard to inland communications.

But we have to learn much yet from the making of railways into the interior. Among those who know, there is, and can be, no doubt of the immense advantage they will be in the promotion of peace and development of industry.

When I returned from the West Coast last spring, this question of railways was warmly agitated, and it was my privilege to introduce a deputation to Lord Ripon. In the interval between the making of the appointment and the reception of the deputation, the Government of which he was a member had been defeated, and Lord Ripon could not make any official promise—but he made the most welcome announcement that he and the Colonial Office had

come to the decision that these railways must be made. A fresh deputation, as soon as the new Government was installed, I had the pleasure of introducing to Mr. Chamberlain, by way of clinching the important movement. It is needless to add that Mr. Chamberlain's reply was a most cordial adherence to the scheme—a fresh instance of that continuity in Colonial policy of the right kind, which we all hope will survive all the chances and changes of party politics.

Steps have already been taken to commence these three comparatively short railways on the West Coast, as also the longer and yet more important line that is to connect Mombasa with the Central Lakes System.

Perhaps I may here briefly interpolate my own actual experience of a railway 150 miles long in tropical Africa. This was made by the French several years ago from the excellent harbour at Dakar to the old capital of St. Louis on the Senegal River.

As to the promotion of peace, I well remember studying the large scale staff map in the Government House at St. Louis, and seeing marked on it the very numerous and hard-fought engagements which the French had had with the natives immediately inland from Dakar, and all the way up to St. Louis. By their dates you noticed that all ceased just at the time the railway came through.

As to resulting industry, not only is there a large and gratifying amount of wild native products brought down to the railway, but all along the line for miles and miles the natives have begun of themselves, what was never known in that part before, to cultivate a variety of native products. This is indeed a valuable object lesson as to the beneficial effects of peace and facilities of communication, which we are confident will be repeated in Uganda and in our own West Coast Settlements.

The question has been mooted how far these railways are to be constructed and worked by Government, and out of public funds, and how far they form the legitimate object of private enterprise. There are certainly many examples of railways that in management and financial results have suffered greatly by being in the hands of the Government. Both in regard to their construction and their working, these railways in tropical Africa will have to be very closely watched in all respects. The initial difficulty in construction is the labour question. For the present the whole country, even close around our capitals at Sierra Leone and Accra, is overrun with the slave system; and, although it is impossible at one blow to upset such a system, the construction of these railways can be

made a grand opportunity for teaching the native the idea of labour for payment.

With reference to private enterprise in all such matters, it would be a fatal error to ignore its utility. Contracts for such works bring an invaluable element of brain power into a Colony, and one work leads to some other, to the great advantage of the locality.

The action of Government in granting concessions generally is closely connected with the construction of necessary public works. But it must not be forgotten that in all comparatively unknown countries the development of any industry is accompanied by very great risks, and that unless the problematical profits are large, the sound class of enterprise will not enter the field. The principle of demanding a very high price for a concession, say, of timber or mineral rights, on the understanding that the money so paid will be devoted to opening up communications, is one that must be applied with the greatest caution, seeing that it may largely act merely as a check on legitimate enterprise. It is far wiser for the statesman to leave as much of profit as is possible to the individual enterprise, and by this means to foster the greatest prosperity of the State, than to endeavour to mortgage for the purposes of the State any inordinate share in the profits of pioneer enterprises.

Lastly, we come to a class of Government action even more important than the building of railways.

We have chosen to hoist the British Flag over large areas of Africa. We have already demolished several native organisations and governments, and are determined to carry on this policy wherever we encounter native systems which are at variance with the primary dictates of humanity. This action of ours imposes on us the moral responsibility of setting up in substitute some other and better organisation and government. We have no right, we have no business to dethrone a native potentate, unless we inaugurate something better in his place. We expended over one million sterling in putting an end to the rule of King Kofi in Ashanti. But we set up nothing in his place, and we became disgraced by seeing another twenty years of inhuman and barbarous tyranny settle down upon Ashanti. We had no right and no business thus to neglect our moral duty. Nemesis comes in that we have again to interpose and spend parts of another million in destroying this new tyranny of King Prempeh.

Two years ago Fodi Silah was tyrannising in barbarous fashion the country within seven miles of Bathurst, the capital of a Colony founded by us two hundred years ago. Slavery still flourishes

within a few miles of that Freetown in Sierra Leone which was founded to commemorate the end of slavery at the beginning of this century. Until within the last few years, to our shame and stupidity be it said, we made no efforts whatever to extend the strong arm of Liberty and Law to any distance whatever outside the towns of which we were in occupation. If a new era is to dawn on our possessions in tropical Africa, it will come under the motto, "Administer, administer, administer." Means must be taken to bring peace and security, law and order, to the home of every native.

We know what we have accomplished in India. Gradually British administration has been extended, till now it covers practically the whole of that enormous area: and it is not to be forgotten that one result has been, that even within the last fifty years trade with the Mother Country has risen from 80 to 200 millions in annual value.

The precise means of extending British administration must vary according to place and circumstance. Residents in native centres are the first steps, and the subdivision of each Colony and territory into districts for purposes of magisterial and fiscal work is no hard task. Men to work in such a service come forward only in too great numbers, and the task of administering our four great provinces in tropical Africa affords, indeed, a noble and most useful career. British West Africa, British East Africa, and British Central Africa can readily be brought, over all their areas, under proper administration. The one thing wanting is that the nation will assume its responsibilities, and see that the nation's duties are carried out.

In the past the health of Administrators has suffered severely, but this is largely due to the fact, that the only localities for residence have been right down on the coast—often actually in mangrove swamps. Better sanitary arrangements even on the coast, facilities for reaching highlands in the interior, and greater experience of the ways and means of preserving health in such climates, will conduce materially to the better health of those employed in this great work.

In the area immediately north and south of the Zambesi, and in the country around the Niger, for the present, administration is in the hands of the Chartered Companies. Their charters have been carefully drawn, and no divergence from the lines laid down is permissible. In such cases there must, however, arise friction when these great and powerful corporations clash with private interests. In such case the charters endeavour, by guarding against the form:

ation of any monopoly to protect the right of the minority. It is a primary duty of the Imperial Government to carefully watch the working of these charters, and above all and betimes to act upon full knowledge of what is proceeding both for the advantage of the company and of the general public.

#### SUMMARY.

I would briefly sum up. Wise men are all agreed that tropical Africa, practically untouched as yet, contains great stores of wealth for the human race, great supplies of those mineral, vegetable, and animal products of which industrial nations stand in such need.

Tropical Africa is populated by at least eighty millions of natives, fifty millions of whom are under the Union Jack, who have for ages been dominated and degraded by vicious systems of government and superstition. To save these natives from themselves is no mean or ignoble task.

Our nation has taken over great areas of Africa where the noblest instincts of our race, the highest work with which our people are concerned, and the best business interests of our Empire, are certain to find fit opportunities for profitable and successful exercise. I have purposely avoided too much detail—the occasion is one for a general review—but I hope I have said enough to carry conviction to the public mind that in tropical Africa we possess ample opportunities for all our best national energies, and that provided only we compel any Government in office to take a large and properly statesmanlike view of our duties and responsibilities, we may rest confident that in tropical Africa we shall be able to reap a welcome and new harvest of results conducing alike to the prosperity of our own nation and of the natives, and leading to the setting up of civilisation and the extension of the blessings of Christianity over all that hitherto neglected area of the world.

#### DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN (Sir ROBERT G. W. HERBERT, G.C.B.): The interest of the subject and the well-known ability of the lecturer have attracted to our meeting a larger number, perhaps, than usual of capable and distinguished representatives from various parts of our Colonial Empire. I regret, however, we have experienced two disappointments, for we had hoped that the Hon. Dr. Montague, Minister of Agriculture in Canada, and the Hon. Mr. Reeves, the new Agent-General for New Zealand, would have been present this

evening. Dr. Montague, who has lately come to this country, has written to say that he is suffering from an attack of neuralgia, and Mr. Reeves has only just arrived—too late, in fact, for him to be with us this evening. We have, however, here a good representation of gentlemen who have served the Queen in tropical Africa, or who are high authorities in connection with its products and commerce. The first whom I will ask to address you is Sir Francis Scott, whose name is well known throughout the Empire as that of a gallant and distinguished soldier. He has served, as most of you must remember, through the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, and he has the remarkable distinction of having twice marched successfully through Ashanti—once in 1874 with Lord Wolseley, when the Black Watch was so well to the fore, and again in command of the recent expedition, the whole success of which depended on forethought and organisation, and which he conducted with such remarkable ability.

Col. Sir FRANCIS SCOTT, K.C.M.G., C.B. : I have not been so long in the Colonies as some of my friends who are present to-night. There is, for instance, Mr. Hodgson, who has been on the Gold Coast longer than I have, and has administered the Government on several occasions ; and there is Mr. Alfred Jones, who knows more of the commercial business than I do. In fact, so far as commercial business goes, I know nothing. I quite agree with what Sir George Baden-Powell has said. There is one thing I am rather strong on, and that is the means of getting away from the coast and going into the interior. Our seats of government on the coasts of Africa, east or west, are all unhealthy. Dr. Parke, who was with Mr. Stanley, in his book about the health of Africa speaks of the coast-line as being always unhealthy. All the forest low-lying lands are unhealthy. I am speaking now of my own experience on the Gold Coast. I have been there four years off and on, and have seen a good deal of the interior. I have lived beyond the forest-line for seven months at a time with eight or ten officers and two doctors, and we enjoyed excellent health. I am speaking now of about 200 miles beyond the forest. The forest on the Gold Coast is not more than 200 miles broad, and if we could only do away with the old system of congregating on the unhealthy parts of the Coast, I know for certain that everybody would be much better in health. Every mile you go into the interior the healthier it is. My own officers, when I have sent them on any business into the interior, always came back looking much healthier and ruddier. I know that Governments are disinclined to remove the capital once it is fixed.

Accra is decidedly the healthiest spot on the coast, and I know people who like it, but I would remind you we have improved it greatly. We have race-meetings, lawn-tennis, cricket, and last, but not least, golf. All the same, if we could only get the seat of government removed into the interior, during part of the year, as in India, we should all be the healthier. I believe that the flag would attract trade, and the more likely we should be to get our railways and harbour made. It would be the better not only for the Africans, but for ourselves; for I know myself that the natives prefer Manchester goods to any other. I repeat, therefore, that if we could only get further into the interior, the better it would be for all concerned.

The CHAIRMAN: We have with us another distinguished soldier who, like Sir Francis Scott, has shown great capacity in civil administration and negotiations, and who has a knowledge of South Africa, Eastern Africa, Swaziland, and other parts such as few possess.

Major-General Sir FRANCIS DE WINTON, G.C.M.G., C.B.: I think we are all very much indebted to Sir G. Baden-Powell for his very excellent address, which, however, dealt so generally with subjects connected with Central Africa that one has a difficulty in finding any particular subject on which one can give you information. There is one point which has already been alluded to, namely, that the three forces we wish to introduce in Africa are Christianity, Commerce, and Civilisation. I would like to add one more C—and that is, Carriage, or Transport. It is not of the slightest use attempting to develop Africa until we are able to get into the interior more easily than by the present mode of progression. I have tried that over and over again, and have come to that conclusion. I remember remarking to the King of the Belgians: "Your Majesty, there is one thing to do, build a railway between the Upper and Lower Congo." That railway has been begun and completed half-way; it will open up the whole navigation of the Upper Congo, which means a navigation of nearly 6,000 miles. You can fancy with water carriage, which is very cheap, what an enormous amount of products you can bring down, provided you have a railway, to bring them within measurable distance of the markets of the world. When I was on the Congo I had to pay 85*l.* a ton to bring any goods up and down between the highest point of the Lower Congo and Leopoldville, which was absolutely prohibitive except perhaps as regards ivory. On the east coast of Mombasa I tried to develop trade but I found none of the grain

grown on the coast land could be brought down to the coast to be shipped from a distance of more than fifteen miles. Until we have transport, therefore, we have done nothing but touch the fringe of the coast line, and we cannot develop Africa. Therefore I have been and always shall be a very ardent advocate of railways, for these three reasons, namely, that by them you can destroy the slave trade, regulate the liquor traffic, and plant your white communities in different parts of Africa, where, supplied with proper necessities of life, they can live and teach the natives how to work and utilise the vast products which exist there. When I was on the West Coast I found there was a steady inroad of what you may call Muhammadanism from the north. There the native is perhaps much more easily led to Muhammadanism than Christianity. Christianity is sometimes presented to him, wisely or not I won't attempt to say, in forms he cannot understand, whereas Muhammadanism simply teaches him of a God, makes him in his own opinion a gentleman, and does not interfere with his ordinary daily life or manners and customs; therefore Muhammadanism increases rapidly while Christianity, you know, has to fight a hard battle. Railways and means of communication to the centre will stop this tide of Muhammadanism, which is the curse of the country, because, while it makes a man a gentleman, it teaches him nothing else except to sit still or deal in slaves. I have much pleasure in thanking Sir George Baden-Powell for his paper, and I trust all present will do their utmost to advocate the making of railways into this vast continent, which will do so much for us and for our population at home in providing fresh markets.

Mr. ALFRED L. JONES : This has been one of the most remarkable nights I am sure we have ever had in connection with West Africa. When Sir G. Baden-Powell read out the resolution of the House of Commons in 1865 on the subject of West Africa, I felt deep regret that the House and the country had not had the benefit of a few such papers as we have heard this evening, for then the House would never have arrived at that resolution. One thing is certain. It was a tremendous mistake for England. It has required great effort, and a great deal of pegging away, to persuade our people to take more interest in that valuable part of the world, but we are gradually getting on, and especially since Mr. Chamberlain came into office. It is lamentable to think that England should have allowed things to go as they have gone there. But, as I have said, the outlook is brighter. I should be sorry to say anything in depreciation of the men who have laboured there before. They



had their disadvantages—the disadvantage of the House of Commons resolution, for example. But under the present *régime* we are getting a class of governors who will be ready to open up the country, and I am glad to mention that the opening up of the Hinterland of Lagos has been that we have now a trade of a quarter of a million sterling in one year in rubber alone. I am pleased to hear of the Hinterland of the Gold Coast, and that we have opened up that country without bloodshed. It is a fearful mistake to kill the natives of Africa, for they are the men we have to live on, and my opinion is that they are one of the best native populations we have ever had to deal with. It was, I quite agree, a stupid thing on the part of the authorities to fix their headquarters on the coast, which is the worst place for the fever, and if they could only pass by railway or some other ready means to the terrace-lands I am sure they would be the healthier for it. There ought to be a pure water supply for the colonists. It seems an absurd thing to spend a large sum of money in building churches and not to have pure water—certainly the pure water is the first necessity. We have in the audience this evening a wonderful character in my opinion. I refer to that most worthy lady—Miss Kingsley. She has faced the climate and the great dangers of Africa, and she has come back, and told us a great deal of truth. I feel sure that our missionary efforts are not as productive as they might be from our not teaching the natives some industry, and I think we should urge on our missionary societies the desirability of their teaching some work of a useful kind, such as that of the blacksmith, the tailor, and the shoemaker. As to the vexed question of the Berlin Conference and the spirit trade, I would remind you that we in England benefit very little by the trade in spirits, which are “made in Germany.” I think the representatives at the Conference were very much to blame for not insisting upon some uniform duties at all the possessions along the coast. To-day we stand in this position—that England has become suddenly virtuous, and wants to stop the trade, charging double duty, while France and Germany go on as they were. That, I think, is a mistake. In conclusion, I would say that we have to thank Sir G. Baden-Powell for an instructive and useful paper.

Mr. F. M. HODGSON, C.M.G. (Colonial Secretary of the Gold Coast): The admirable paper we have heard to-night is one of peculiar interest to myself, because I have been for upwards of seven years engaged in assisting the work of developing one of our possessions in tropical Africa, and I am on the eve of returning to continue that

work. I think the Gold Coast a very fair sample of our possessions in tropical Africa, and it will not be out of place to make a few remarks based on my knowledge of that country. It is only in recent years that the trade value—and I refer more especially to the prospective trade value—of our West African possessions, has come prominently under notice. The present prosperity of these possessions is, in my opinion, almost entirely due to the abandonment of the mistaken policy of concentrating and confining our influence to the tribes on the coast line. In recent years we have pushed back into the Hinterland, and have absorbed, or brought into touch with the central authority, tribes formerly entirely independent. It is generally known, I think, that at the present time there is a commission sitting in Paris for the purpose of arranging boundaries between the French and English possessions in the far Hinterland of the Gold and Ivory Coasts. It has been brought about by treaties signed with the tribes in that part of the country. I am glad to be able to think that many of those treaties were signed during my administration of the Government, because I regard them as likely to have a very important bearing upon the future trade of the country. The majority of those treaties have been signed with Muhammadan tribes, who are entirely distinct from the tribes on the coast-line; they are tribes who have some idea of civilisation, they are workers in metal, keen traders, industrious, and people who, having wants, are likely to welcome British traders in their midst. I would like also, in passing, to refer to the policy which we have now brought to an end of non-interference in the affairs of the Ashanti country; the annexation of that country will always be associated with the name of my distinguished friend, Colonel Sir Francis Scott. The country of Ashanti is rich like all other parts of Africa in natural products. No doubt, in the first instance, the exports from Ashanti will be confined to gold dust and rubber; but the time is not far distant when, by bringing good government to bear on the country, and by capitalists and merchants exploiting the country, we shall increase the revenue, and pay back to ourselves the cost of the expedition. Sir George Baden-Powell has, I noticed, put down the cost of the recent expedition at £1,000,000, but that is far beyond what is likely to be the cost; I think the figure will be nearer a quarter of a million. You have heard of the advantages of developing tropical Africa, and I should like to give you a few figures showing how quickly an industry springs up there. In 1888, the export of rubber from the gold coast amounted to twenty-six tons, of the value of £2,800, while in

1894, not a very good year for the industry, the export was 1,852 tons, of the value of £200,000. Of African mahogany the export in 1890 amounted to £500, and in 1894 to £70,000. With regard to coffee and cocoa, these products are increasing in quantity very rapidly. I attribute the increase in the cultivation of these articles of commerce to the policy of the late Governor, Sir Brandford Griffith, who established a botanical station on the Gold Coast, for the purpose of encouraging other industries than the staple industries of the country. I look upon botanical stations as likely to be important factors in the development of countries in tropical Africa, and no Government can be said to be complete until such a station has been established. As to coffee, there is no reason why the West African Colonies should not compete very favourably with the other coffee-producing countries in the world, and I think the time is not far distant when the Gold Coast, at any rate, will be a very important competitor. There are several products I should like to bring before your notice, but I will just mention one, and that is the export of the kola-nut. I think that has a great future; it is well known to the Muhammadans in the interior. This product has peculiar sustaining qualities, and is largely used by Muhammadan traders when making long journeys. It has been exported from the Gold Coast now for the last four or five years, and is, I believe, largely used in the manufacture of chocolate. Incidentally, I may say that I understand that the kola-nut forms a reserve ration for the German soldier when on service. I would like also to refer to the gold industry, but that is a very wide subject, on which I have not time to dwell; I will only say this, that in the Gold Coast there are many districts which produce gold in paying quantities, and but for the unfortunate climate, there is no doubt that long ago the Gold Coast would have been ranked with other gold-producing districts. In the development of tropical Africa there are three essentials—capital, labour, and good government. By the last I mean enlightened government—a Government that will expend its surplus revenues in constructing roads, bridges, light railways, and other works which make for advancement and civilisation. A great deal has been done on the Gold Coast in the matter of roads—a great deal more than the Government has had credit for—and the construction of roads is now being pushed forward. Again, we have had a survey for a railway, and we know what the cost of a railway is likely to be on the Gold Coast—about £5,000 a mile; that is not very much, and I think, indeed I feel certain, that in the near future we shall see a railway in the Gold Coast Colony. There is

one difficulty, and that is, we have a seaboard of about 850 miles, which is, unfortunately, nothing more than a surf-bound coast; it is absolutely necessary, if we are going to develop the country, and land heavy material, that we should have some place where steamers may come in safety and land these heavy materials. This matter has not been overlooked by the Colonial or Imperial Government, and only recently experts have been sent out to see whether it is not possible to have a harbour at Accra, which is the seat of government, or, failing Accra, at some other place where it would be useful to the Government. In order to carry out works of this magnitude, it will be necessary to come to the British public for loans, and I think we shall all hail with pleasure the day when they are applied for, because it will show that the policy which the present Secretary of State has inaugurated, namely, that of regarding the Colonies as a portion of a large estate, is on the eve of commencement. I, at any rate, in fact all interested in the future of tropical Africa, will hail that day with the greatest possible pleasure. There is one other matter, and that is the labour question. I do not think West Africa can be regarded altogether as a field for the emigration of Europeans; there will never be wanting Europeans in search of employment who will come out and risk their health to engage in work there; they will be there to supervise the work of the natives. Now West Africa teems with a native population, which is both hardy and able-bodied, and there ought to be no reason why, for work such as railway works, and the development of the country generally, we should not always have a very good supply of native labour. But there is one drawback to their giving continuous work, and that is that the native cannot emancipate himself from the native customs which he has to follow. I mean that there are customs observed in his native village which his tribe consider it necessary he should attend if he is within reasonable distance. I should not like to see the introduction of an alien race into the country, as, for example, the East Indian or the Chinese, which has been advocated by many able people, and is regarded as a great necessity by them; I would sooner advocate Inter-Colonial Emigration. What has taken place on the Congo? There a railway is being constructed, and the greater part of that work has been constructed by men from the Gold Coast and, I believe, Lagos. They have, I believe, worked satisfactorily, for the reason that they have been able to emancipate themselves from those native customs they would have had to follow had they remained in their own country. Similarly, if we

have works of magnitude to carry out on the Gold Coast, there is no reason why we should not, if necessary, import labourers from other parts of Africa. With regard to tropical Africa, I will say in conclusion that in my opinion the Empire has in its possessions which have a potentiality of wealth surpassing the utmost dreams of avarice.

Sir W. H. QUAYLE JONES (late Chief Justice of Sierra Leone): I think we are all very much indebted to Sir George Baden-Powell for his paper. It has been very general in character, but there are one or two points which strike me. First, with reference to labour. The parts of Africa I know are the Gold Coast, Lagos, and Sierra Leone: in the first two I spent some five or six years, and in the other over seven. With reference to the first I know practically only the seaboard, with the exception of some twenty or thirty miles inland on the Gold Coast; but as to Sierra Leone I went some 150 or 200 miles up into the country. My experience is that West Africa is undoubtedly rich, and it has improved very much since I went there in 1882; trade has increased enormously. I speak in the presence of Mr. Alfred Jones, and he will tell me if I am wrong when I say that where there was one steamer in 1882, there are now two if not three. He nods assent—that is a very encouraging fact. On the other hand, there is the fact that a great many things in which they are rich in West Africa have been driven off the market by the cheap labour of India and elsewhere; notably, as far as Sierra Leone is concerned, I take as an example the ground-nut industry. These used to come in large quantities from Sierra Leone and elsewhere; now there are hardly any exported from Sierra Leone. The reason, I have been told, is that with the cheap Indian labour they can produce the ground-nuts, send them shelled in bags, and land them at Marseilles at the same price as the West African sends them for in the shell. That, I believe, is one of the great difficulties in the way of our utilising the wealth of West Africa. It is not altogether a thing we should be unhappy about—this labour question. It means that the native, where he is living under our government, is so well off that he does not care to work for a pittance. Labour has gone up in Sierra Leone; casual labour went up from 9*d.* to 1*s.* a day in my own time. Compare that with the rate paid to the Indian, and remember that the Indian would go on from day to day, whereas the West African is like our lords and masters here, who will take his Monday and Tuesday off. Still, that is a matter that will right itself. I am speaking especially of Sierra Leone and the country behind it. There they have been

decimated by slave raids. As slave raiding is checked the population will increase, for the people are as fertile as the soil, and they will no doubt grow so rapidly that they will find it no longer possible, as at present (I speak in a parable), to scratch the ground, plant a banana, wait till it gets ripe, and just work for the tobacco and clothes they want. For the immediate present we must not expect any rapid development. With reference to white labour, although undoubtedly the high lands are very much more healthy than the coast line, yet I do not believe West Africa is a country in which you can have what is called a labouring European population—at any rate as far as our Sierra Leone territory is concerned, as this goes only some 200 miles inland, where we are stopped by the French. But if we have a small body of workmen to help in making the railway, or anything of that kind, they will do an immense amount of good; for, no matter what some may say, there is no doubt but that the native of West Africa looks up to the European, and, owing to the fact that in the past the bulk of Europeans who have been there have been of the clerical class—by which I mean not ministers of religion only, but also doctors, lawyers, schoolmasters, and commercial and other clerks—the ambition of everybody in West Africa, when he gets a bit of education, is to leave the land and all manual labour, and become a clerk—a Government clerk by choice, and if not that then a clerk at a store. This is, I believe, very largely due to the fact that the native seldom sees a European who works with his hands, and he therefore thinks that, if he wants to be like them, he ought not to work with his hands either. So, if we could get some people of European race working with their hands, it would in a short time do a great deal of good, and help to remove this native belief that manual labour is derogatory. I have done what I could to get that impression removed, and I am glad to say that at Sierra Leone a technical school, or, more properly, an industrial school, has been started by the Bishop with the assistance of the Government; and, although there was a certain amount of opposition, I am pleased to remember that one of my last acts before leaving the Colony was to support the vote in the Legislative Council for a grant of £500 towards the establishment of this school, which, I believe, has now been built; for I hope this will be of much benefit to the people of the Colony. Harbours, of course, are wanted; another thing wanted is transport—that is coming. I hope that people will not be disappointed, and that the railway will pay its way. I should much like to have seen it done by private enterprise, but I am afraid that is impossible.

The Government will have to make it, and I hope the result will be seen in industries springing up along the line ; for, unfortunately, in Sierra Leone we are so shut in by the French that we can only look to developing ourselves. This brings me to the last point time will admit of my noticing, viz. as to past Governors. I have served under many Governors, and every one of them was as anxious as any present Governor to try and do his best by the country, promote its interests, and enlarge its boundaries, but they were one and all stopped by that House of Commons Resolution of 1865. They could not get behind it. As the result, the country round Sierra Leone, which was begging us to take it, is now French. To mention one other matter—the question of customs duty. We have in Sierra Leone the best harbour on the West Coast—I mean Freetown—and there are trade routes whose natural outlet it was. How have the French stopped these ? As far as I have been able to understand they say, “ We do not stop anything coming from our territory into the British, all we do is to put an export duty of so much a bushel on rice, per head of cattle, &c., that duty must be paid.” It would be a trifling thing if it were only that, and there were customs houses on the old routes at which the duty could be collected and the things come through ; but they say we cannot collect your duty on the frontier, but you must come down to Binty or some other place not on the direct road to Freetown, but near the seacoast, and we will collect the duties there, and if you like to take your goods to Freetown or anywhere else you are welcome to do so ; with the result that goods which would have come to Freetown are shipped from the French ports instead. Steps are, I believe, being taken to get this matter amended. It is a most important matter for Sierra Leone, for almost the only thing we can do to keep our trade with inland places across the French frontier is to try and make some arrangement with the French by which the trade routes shall not be diverted, and by which, if they do levy customs duties, they shall be payable at places on the ordinary roads by which the goods come into our Colony.

Dr. D. MORRIS, C.M.G. (Assistant-Director, Kew) : At this late hour I do not propose to keep you long, especially after the very interesting remarks from gentlemen more closely connected with West Africa. Mr. Hodgson referred in appreciative terms to the botanic station that had been established at Aburi by Sir W. Brandford Griffith. There are at the present time four botanic stations in West Africa. The first was started by Sir Alfred Moloney at Lagos in 1888. Next came the Aburi station, and then

the station at the Gambia. Last year a station at Sierra Leone was started by Colonel Cardew. The function of these stations is a very simple one. They raise native and introduced plants from seeds and cuttings, and while some are cultivated experimentally others are distributed to the natives for starting new industries. They also train a certain number of native youths in horticultural methods. The more promising of these youths are afterwards selected for further training in the West Indies and at Kew. The stations are wholly devoted to industrial work, and are calculated to be of the greatest service to West Africa. The curators in charge are Europeans, trained at the Royal Gardens. When I mention that the present prosperity of Jamaica is entirely due to similar agencies, you will understand how important it is that all tropical Colonies should possess institutions similar to these stations. There is another point. If we wish to increase the welfare of the Mother Country we cannot do better than increase the trade and prosperity of our Colonies. I will cite a case in point from the West Indies. In 1892 the imports into Jamaica were £1,700,000; in 1894 they had increased to £2,200,000. The percentage of the imports taken from the Mother Country in 1892 was forty-nine per cent.; but in 1894, with the increased prosperity of the Colony, the imports from the United Kingdom had increased to fifty-five per cent., representing nearly a million and a quarter sterling. It would appear, therefore, that as the Colonies become more prosperous they increase their commerce with the Mother Country, and in this way they supply money to pay a larger number of the working classes in our large towns. I would suggest this as one solution of the problem of the unemployed. To return to West Africa. All the rubber, the mahogany, palm-oil, copal, and fibres shipped from that part of the world are derived from wild plants. They are, in fact, purely forest products. The development of the rubber trade of the Gold Coast is entirely due to Sir Alfred Moloney. He also suggested a similar industry in Lagos, but Sir Gilbert Carter has had the proud privilege of developing a trade in rubber which is the most remarkable of any now existing. It is only about fifteen months old, and yet the shipments in 1895 were of the total value of £270,000. The Lagos rubber plant is a forest tree. It can be tapped without destroying it. In this respect it differs from the plants that have hitherto yielded rubber both on the East and West Coasts. These plants were climbers and were cut down before they were tapped. None were planted to take their place. Hence, as the industry came to an end near the coast the rubber gatherers



had to go further inland year by year. The Lagos industry will, it is hoped, be of a more permanent character. Given suitable means of reaching the interior, there is practically no limit to the development of the forest products of tropical Africa. A reference has been made to the mahogany trade. A few years ago only about 200,000 feet of this timber came from West Africa. In 1898 the total receipts at Liverpool alone were over 8,200,000 feet. The only drawback, from a Colonial point of view, to this great African trade is the injury it has done to the old mahogany trade of British Honduras. The latter has, however, other resources, which should be developed by a good inland railway. African mahogany is so highly valued that it is shipped also in quantities to the United States. I was amused, when lately in New York, to find that it there passed under another name to conceal its origin. In the regular cultivation of coffee, cacao, cotton, kola and fruit, West Africa has a great future before it. In this direction the botanic stations will prove of signal service. I agree with those who have spoken before me that the chief want now is the opening of the interior lands. That is an essential condition of further development in West Africa.

Mr. JOHN FERGUSON (Ceylon): My only justification in appearing before you lies in one passage from the interesting lecture to which we have listened. It is where Sir George Baden-Powell says: "Tropical Africa offers a great arena for the work of many of our Indian fellow-subjects, traders, artisans, soldiers, and planters." Now I have to mention what has already been done to connect Ceylon, the leading plantation Colony, with British Central Africa, which, as the Shire Highlands and Nyassaland, is fast developing into an important coffee-growing country. The pioneer of coffee there is Mr. John Buchanan, C.M.G., formerly connected with the Mission staff; but there followed more than one experienced planter from Ceylon, and Sir Henry Johnston got his first working botanist and horticulturist (Mr. Whyte) and some of his surveyors from us. Some two years ago I was applied to by a Ceylon proprietary planter, who said he had £5,000 of spare capital to invest, and wished to know if he should take it to Java or Central Africa, to grow Arabian coffee—a product that has failed in Ceylon and Southern India. I advised a visit to Nyassaland first, and the result was the taking up of a large block of land; so pleased was the Ceylon proprietor with what he saw; and on his return to Colombo, he was asked by shrewd business and planting friends to form a limited company, which is the Nyassaland Coffee Cultivation Company, has been established not in London but in Ceylon, thus forming a bond of

the leading Asiatic Colony and British Central Africa. Practical men were sent over to develop a plantation, and the manager has just reported most favourably of prospects; an adjoining estate paying 20 per cent. in its fourth year, when coffee is in bearing; while the labour is good and abundant and wonderfully cheap in comparison with what Sir Quayle Jones and other speakers said of West Africa, since Mr. Crabbe reports that he pays in calico at the equivalent of 2s. per man, 1s. 6d. for a woman, and 1s. per child, *per month!* This is a veritable paradise for cheap labour when compared even with Southern India, where—as Sir Charles Bernard has put it—12 millions of people are content, and well off if they can earn the equivalent of 2s. 6d. per family of five per week. If the administration of Nyassaland continues to be wisely carried on after the fashion set by Sir Henry Johnston, and the example of our greatest Ceylon Governor—Sir Henry Ward—followed in making roads, bridges, and railways, a great future may be anticipated for this planting Colony; and remember that the chief staple, coffee, is one of which there is no fear of overproduction at present; for though its consumption falls off in the United Kingdom, it is in great demand in America and on the continent of Europe. During thirty-four years' residence in Ceylon I have followed the development and fortunes of tropical agriculture, and I think there is a great field in East and Central, as well as Western Africa.

Mr. W. GREY-WILSON, C.M.G. (Governor of St. Helena): My connection with West Africa was severed some ten years ago, and since that date I have been more or less buried in the quiet and almost unknown little island of St. Helena, but I think it would be a mistake to limit ourselves, as so many speakers have done, at all to West Africa. Africa should be viewed, and the entire question raised by Sir George's paper should be viewed, as a whole. I was sent from Sierra Leone in 1884 to take over the strip of territory which we had annexed between Sierra Leone and the Republic of Liberia, a length of 180 miles, and a breadth probably in the widest of not more than a mile and a half. We contented ourselves with this, and that was my mission; but I had subsidiary instructions to endeavour to make peace between some seventeen different tribes of natives in a minutely small area, who had been fighting for the last fifteen years. On the one side, there were about seven tribes, and on the other eight. That is a picture which might be repeated almost throughout the whole of Africa, and it is that which is probably the outcome of the need for slaves that has rendered the such an acute one in nearly all portions of Africa.

One heard the other day that many of the gold mines were going to be closed, but I do not think there was or should be the slightest occasion for anything of the sort if we properly develop Africa, and the only way to develop it is by railroads. There will then be no fear of our labour supply running short. If we push on the civilising influences we shall not only have an abundant supply of labour, but, what is an absolute corollary to that, an enormous demand for our English products. When we talk in the way we do about Africa with such smug satisfaction, we must remember that Africa is very much in the same sort of condition that Scotland and the border countries were not very long ago. Every man's hand is against everyone else, and naturally industry and farming and all cultivation of the soil are absolutely neglected so long as you can acquire what you want by raiding your neighbour's homestead. When that is done away with the whole question will be solved. With regard to the removing the West Coast capitals to more healthy situations, I question if it be found possible to move capitals in an arbitrary way, on the score merely of health; where other considerations have come in no doubt they have been removed, but on the sole ground of health I doubt whether we could remove these capitals from the coast to the interior, which might or might not be healthier. To a sea power such as England capitals will be located in such situations as the commercial needs of each Colony dictate.

The CHAIRMAN: The hour is\* much too late for me to think of addressing you at any length. You will agree that two things have been brought prominently forward in this discussion—first, that for considerations of health, as well as of profitable trade, improved means of communication both in the way of harbours and railways are desirable in tropical Africa, and next, that throughout the British tropical regions there are great fields in which the cultivation of articles largely in demand may be developed and multiplied. The impression, left on my mind is that it is desirable as far as possible to seek for new staples rather than to crowd the home markets with ordinary produce like tea and coffee, which seem in danger of being over-produced. I beg to convey to Sir George Baden-Powell our hearty thanks for his suggestive and interesting paper.

Sir GEORGE BADEN-POWELL: I beg to thank you for your kind reception, but I think you will agree that our thanks are very much due to those gentlemen—soldiers, administrators, and merchants—whose remarks have given us so much food for reflection, and the

result, I hope, will be to attract public attention to the great field of promise we have won for ourselves in tropical Africa. But our very special thanks are due to that most experienced Colonial statesman who has presided this evening with such marked ability.

The CHAIRMAN acknowledged the compliment, and the meeting separated.

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An afternoon meeting was held in the Library of the Institute on Tuesday, March 17, 1896, Sir FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G., a Vice-President, in the Chair, when Dr. CHARLES CHEWINGS, F.G.S., read a paper on

## GEOLOGICAL NOTES ON THE COOLGARDIE GOLDFIELDS.

BEFORE I enter upon my subject you will permit me to say that this paper is the outcome of some fifteen months spent in travelling over the Coolgardie Goldfields. During that time most of the principal gold-bearing areas were visited, and many of them on several different occasions. My mission was twofold. The first and principal object was to study the geological features, the origin of and the conditions under which the reefs and gold generally occur there. The second was to execute commissions for capitalists—*e.g.* furnishing reports on the different gold-bearing areas or on mining properties. When I saw a good mine I recommended it; but I preferred to hold no interests in mines myself in order that I might act disinterestedly and do justice to my commissioners. The work I did involved constant travel, and was not only laborious but full of discomforts, and the reason I came to Europe was to recruit my health by taking a long sea voyage. I also wished to have respite from business and escape the summer heat and dust. It may be superfluous to add that I refused all overtures to bring mining properties to Europe for sale.

My proposal is to approach the subject from a geological standpoint (avoiding technical terms where possible), and to give you sound arguments for my conclusions. For obvious reasons the names of mines will seldom be mentioned. Each important district that I have seen will be described in a few words, and will receive what I consider its due.

### TOPOGRAPHICAL FEATURES.

The site of the Coolgardie Goldfields is along the higher part of a dome-shaped area of land, the longer axis of which runs roughly N.N.W. and S.S.E. A straight line drawn through Western Australia from Esperance Bay to the Ashburton River would follow approximately along this line. If you were to travel over the ground from south to north you would find that the country was, in the main, one vast plain, with a few low hills scattered here and there. You would also see, when on the elevations, that the hills

as a rule follow the same direction: they may be described as low ridges. These ridges are separated from one another by shallow valleys that vary in width from a mile or so to five, ten, and even greater. There is little regularity in either the elevations or depressions: they occur irregularly through the country. The general level of the land from Dundas—the most southerly of the group of gold-bearing areas—to Lake Darlôt on the north would average, perhaps, 1,400 feet above the sea. For fifty miles on either side of this axis line there is but slight variation in the altitude, and the general character of the country over this area is similar. The land falls away from the most elevated part of the dome eastward, until the younger and horizontally bedded rocks of the Great Victoria Desert are reached; and to the west and south to the Indian and Southern Oceans respectively. The decline gradient in each case is so gradual that it is scarcely perceptible to the traveller, and gives one the impression of an endless plain with gentle undulations here and there.

#### RAINFALL AND CLIMATE.

The rainfall over the area under consideration is very small, probably not exceeding from five to seven inches per annum. Accepting this as the precipitation, and the evaporation by the sun and winds at eight feet, we have conditions under which no permanent surface water can naturally exist. It is not to be wondered at that there are no running streams or permanent surface waters there; the wonder would be if there were any.

In summer the heat is great, occasionally ranging over 114° F. in the shade, but it is the exception to have close, disagreeable nights. More often the summer nights are perfection, and, as an Irishman would say, "are the best part of the days." The cold in winter is intense, but dry and healthy. Snow is unknown. The winter months are pleasant. Rain falls at irregular intervals in either summer or winter. Provided pure water and good food are partaken of, and proper sanitary precautions and rigid cleanliness and abstemiousness practised, the field will be found to be healthy. But it is enervating to stay too long there without a change.

Between the long intervals of rain the ground becomes dry and parched, and the stock and traffic wear the soil into fine powder. The summer through, winds blow with tremendous force almost every day: these raise and carry the dust for miles. There are few places on the face of this earth more disagreeable than Coolgardie,

Hannans, or Menzies townships on a hot, windy summer's day. Whilst driving along the roads one is enveloped in a cloud of dust so dense as frequently to be quite suffocating. To see a buck-board party arrive from one of those "numerous excursions" is a sight never to be forgotten.

#### FORESTS AND VEGETATION.

The southern half of the goldfields, say to forty-five miles north of Coolgardie town, is timbered by an open forest of eucalyptus trees that vary in height from twenty to eighty feet, and from three inches to three feet in diameter. Those species known locally as "gimlet wood" and "salmon gum" predominate. These shed their bark annually, and the new bark presents delicate tints of red, pink, salmon, and green. The colours pass from the one into the other by the most gradual gradations. From the bark one might suppose the wood to be soft and sappy, but it is hard, and when the gimlet wood is dry it is almost impossible to drive a nail into it. The trees have umbrella-shaped tops, and the leaves on the salmon gum shine as though they had been varnished. The foliage affords but scanty shade. The quandong and kurrajong are conspicuous exceptions to this rule, but these grow only in isolated spots. One often has to travel for miles through these forests to find any grass or bush that a camel can eat. In other localities grass and edible bushes are plentiful enough.

Forty-five miles north of Coolgardie the eucalyptus forests give place to mulga, and this continues to beyond Lake Darlôt.

The mulga is a smaller tree than the eucalyptus: it will serve for fuel and many other useful purposes, such as props and stays in mines, but in this northern half of the goldfield heavy timber will have to be carted for considerable distances in many places.

The eucalyptus trees prove invaluable for building and mining, and also for fuel. Straight lengths may usually be found for poppetlegs; the larger timber can be sawn to convenient sizes.

The view within these forests extends for a few hundred yards only and the greatest sameness prevails; in fact, in all directions it is absolutely alike. Profound stillness usually reigns. Animal and bird life is very scarce. The monotony of travel in such a country is wearisome beyond description. The number of poor fellows who have lost themselves in these terrible forests and died of thirst will never be known, but they are many. You go on and on fondly hoping you will meet with some change of scenery,

but the changes are few and far between, and when they do occur it is usually for the worse.

#### DIFFICULTIES THAT HAVE BEEN OVERCOME.

The worst road on the fields was from beyond Southern Cross to Coolgardie. All traffic, provisions, machinery, horsefeed, &c. had to pass over that long, dusty, sandy, wretched road; it was a perfect terror; but now that this piece of road is bridged by a railway line the mines will develop faster, more machinery will be sent on to the fields, and the good mines will soon forge their way to the front. I have been asked over and over again, "Why don't the mines produce gold and give some return?" I have explained to them as I do to you—and I speak as one who knows from much experience in the drier parts of Australia what the difficulties are—that the mines are being developed as fast as circumstances will permit. It is well to remember that salt water has had to be condensed for drinking purposes and for stock. You have to go there to see what a tremendous undertaking this has been. By this means people were enabled to live in the country; they could never have stayed there and mastered it without. They have turned condensing into a science, and it is now possible, by erecting condensers along any route, to render the driest of all dry parts of Australia accessible. Of course water has to be sold by the gallon to pay for such time and expense in its production. The usual price has ranged from 3*d.* to 6*d.* per gallon, but sometimes as high as 1*s.* Then, again, chaff, oats, and bran were 3*d.* to 5*d.* per lb. At such prices it cost a small fortune to keep a horse. Other things were in proportion. The difficulties in the way of developing mines on Coolgardie were very great, but notwithstanding the uphill game hundreds of plucky prospectors had to contend with, they stuck to their work and developed their claims, for they knew what they were worth. In my opinion this speaks volumes for the richness of the mines. The worst part of the work is now over, and it will not be long before a good many mines are on the dividend-paying list.

#### GEOLOGICAL STRUCTURE.

*The Foundation Rocks* over the area under notice are schists and slates. Chemically these range from the most acid to the most basic; petrologically from amphibole to quartz schist. The geological age of these "oldest" series of rocks is still undetermined, for no fossils have yet been found in them. They are probably not



younger than Cambrian. Their strike is, in general, N.N.W. and S.S.E., and they dip either to the east or west, usually at very steep angles, or perpendicular. Interbedded with these, but of somewhat rare occurrence, are limestones. I have not seen good examples myself, but I have reason to suppose this is the case. Then there are vast beds of conglomerates interbedded with the schists and slates. One bed may be seen some eight miles west of Hannans, and another at the White Feather. At the latter place gold-bearing quartz reefs occur in the conglomerate. The composing pebbles, which are well rounded at both places, are cemented together by siliceous matter, and have undergone great compression. They are composed of limestone, of porphyry, of quartzite, of granite, and even of almost pure magnetite. By compression the limestone pebbles are seen to have been drawn out into lenticular-shaped bodies. As I shall again refer to these foundation rocks when particularising the different areas, I will merely add that they, together with the other rocks I am about to refer to, deserve far more time and closer study than I have been able to devote to them. They should be mapped by competent geological surveyors, and be accurately determined both for scientific and commercial reasons. It is in this series, more often than not, where the gold-bearing lodes and reefs are seen to lie. We will now pass on to note another very important series.

*The Eruptive Rocks* on the Coolgardie Goldfield are full of interest, both scientifically and commercially, not only on account of the gold-bearing reefs that occur in them and also in their near proximity, but because it is they, so far as I am able to judge, that were the gold-bringers. In my opinion the Coolgardie Goldfield is the site of a mountain chain, or chains, that for long, long ages has been worn down, and planed off so to say, to its very roots. What we see now are but the upturned edges of rocks that during the crumpling of the earth's crust, and process of mountain building there, formed quite elevated tracts of land. I will ask you to imagine a large mountain chain, say like the Andes, stretching from Esperance Bay, and possibly far south of it, northward to beyond the Ashburton River. I ask you to admit that this range was a line of weakness in the earth's crust, up through which vast masses of highly heated rock found their way. Large quantities of molten rock may have been poured out on the surface, but this would be as nothing in comparison with what remained deeply buried in the heart of the mountain chain, and cooled and crystallised there, in cracks and immense fissures, under the enor-

mous pressure of overlying rock. In fact it appears to me probable that vast areas of land were pushed upwards to make room for the molten masses. They are of palæozoic or azoic ages.

#### THE ORIGIN OF THE GOLD.

Now, during the cooling of such enormous and highly heated masses in the heart of that mountain chain, you can well imagine how greatly the rocks in contact with and adjoining them would be affected. Those of you who have studied these contact effects will know that the character of rocks can be entirely altered in this way, and certain minerals be changed to others. Not only is this the case, but it is also highly probable that during this "cooling time" a process of extraction from the surrounding rocks goes on. Silica (quartz) may be extracted from those minerals called "silicates," and the same be deposited within the cracks and fissures that are formed either by contraction or earth movements. We usually speak of this as the fumarole or hydrothermal period. Whether the gaseous exhalations from the "hotpot" below brings the gold, or whether the enormously highly heated waters and steam that have access to the surrounding rocks dissolve the gold and also other elements out of rocks that already contain it, is not, to my satisfaction, determined yet. It is possible that a commingling of the two may be correct. I refer to the real origin of the gold. While gold-bearing veins at Coolgardie occur in such sour rocks as granite and porphyry, it may be possible that the same was dissolved out of basic rocks. On this point I will not commit myself. Now that those large masses of rock that were once deeply buried in that mountain chain have by erosion become exposed, we can study them; they are called "abyssal rocks." The point I wish here to emphasise is this—viz. the gold-bearing veins and lodes at Coolgardie are never far from those abyssal rocks. It matters not to which part of the field you go, you are sure to find them. I cannot point to any one kind of rock that may be said to be *the* gold-bringer, for gold-bearing reefs and lodes occur near, and in granite, diorite, and porphyry alike. I may tell you that these varieties occur in the greatest profusion all over the goldfield. Some are seen to have been crushed; and it is evident that times of eruptions and cooling were followed by times of compression and considerable earth movements. During contractions the most solid rock was squeezed into lenticular-shaped masses, or compressed and made fissile like the leaves of a book. All of these phenomena appear to have been repeated, perhaps many times over, for vast areas of the first-noted

foundation rocks are crushed abyssal rocks. It is also evident that erosion was going on at that time, because those conglomerate beds I have referred to were in existence. Of crushed eruptive rocks that have come under my notice, diorite and porphyry (? porphyritic granite) are the more common; but of both there are numberless examples where they appear to have suffered little or no compression, but the diorites have in most cases undergone some dislocation.

These troubled times, so far as I am at the present able to judge, ended with those enormous eruptions of granite, which said rock forms so much of Western Australia. It has been thought by some that granite forms the foundation of that part of the Australian continent, but I hold a different opinion, and consider the schists of far greater age, and the granite as intrusive.

#### THE PERMANENCE OF THE REEFS.

The question of the permanence or otherwise of the reefs and lodes has received my closest attention. I have already stated that the gold-bearing reefs lie never far from eruptive rocks, and that their origin, in my opinion, is due to those eruptions. My object in speaking in detail just now was to show why I believe the field to be a permanent one. I do not wish to convey the idea that every reef is going to continue in depth, but wish you to think of the Coolgardie Goldfield as a permanent one, and to believe me when I say that the gold that has up to the present been won is an infinitesimal part only of what will be obtained by mining in the future. That the eruptive rocks will go down, you may be absolutely certain of, and there is no reason, scientific or otherwise, to make one conclude that the reefs will not follow them. There are the soundest geological reasons for concluding that the field will prove permanent.

Before I leave this subject I may add that good gold-bearing reefs occur on Coolgardie in any and almost every kind of rock, from the most acid to the most basic, in the massive and foliated alike. I have seen them in granite, in porphyry, in diorite, in slates, and in schists of great variety. In the acid rocks, reefs almost invariably occur, but in the basic, both reefs and lodes.

#### THE WATER SUPPLY.

With the exception of a few rock-holes and pools in sandy creeks and the drainage from some granite outcrop, conserved by soaking

into rotten granite, there is hardly a natural fresh water over the whole of the goldfield. When a heavy drain gets on such waters their supply is soon exhausted.

Scattered over the face of the country are saline swamps, the so-called "Lakes." They are not lakes, but flat depressions, lying as a rule not much below the level of the surrounding country. Many of them are of considerable area, as you will see by reference to the map. Their sides are sometimes precipitous, and hard rock forms both sides and bed in many of them. As a rule the bed-rock is close to the surface. The covering of this bed-rock is composed of sand, salt, or blue mud. The surface is perfectly level, and either covered with a saline efflorescence, or salt and gypsum, or drifting sand. What was their origin? The dissolving acids in rainwater, and in waters holding certain salts in solution, when resting on rocks, cause their mineralogical composition to give way, and they decompose into sand and mother earth rapidly. Flood waters find their way into depressions; the salts in the depressions, brought down by the flowing waters from the rocks, over and through which they pass, by evaporation become in excess. This prevents trees and bushes from growing there. The rocks are broken up by chemical action over the floor of the depression, and the wind removes all loose material and carries it far away beyond the bounds of the so-called lake. Flood waters that stand for a few days after rain are blown hither and thither over the surface of the depression until evaporated, or have percolated to lower levels, but remain long enough for the waves to smooth the surface. In this way alone can I account for these lakes.

Where you find salt lakes you find salt water by sinking, and usually plenty of it. South of Menzies the greater number of wells and shafts have struck salt water, but north of that place many fresh wells are being discovered. It is the nature of the rock through which the percolating rainwaters, as they sink lower and lower into the ground, have to pass that determines their quality. In the far north the rocks are more likely to yield fresh water, though many salt wells will be struck. The fresh wells at Coolgardie are in decomposed granite.

One hears much about the water question, and one is asked many questions about it. The following is my opinion, but I cannot stay to explain why I think so—it would detain you too long. Artesian water-bearing wells in the true sense, such as occur in the Lake Eyre Basin and in Queensland, will never be obtained at Coolgardie. I wish to be distinctly understood, however, when I

say that there will be large supplies of water struck in wells, shafts, and in bores, and in rare instances it will rise above where it is struck; but I think it will rarely be got to the surface without pumping.

As to the doubts we hear expressed, viz. that very little water will be obtained by sinking, I may say that I totally disagree, and believe that there will be plenty of water obtained by deep sinking. I will go further, and say that in many places the difficulty will be to keep the supply down sufficiently to be able to work the mines. Most of the shafts are not to water level, and very few have gone below that. There will be shafts where little or no water can be obtained when sunk in rock impervious to water—*e.g.* at Bailey's Mine—but it should be remembered that the shafts in the adjoining property, though not nearly so deep, have good supplies of water in them, and the same must be said of Tyndals' district close by.

#### ALLUVIAL GOLD AND CEMENT DEPOSITS.

In many places alluvial gold, as you are aware, has been discovered on Coolgardie. As the rocks and reefs eroded and the lighter material was transported to long distances by the wind, the gold and ironstone, being of high specific gravity, remained behind and formed what is locally known as "specking ground." There are no rivers and no large watercourses in the country; what water falls soaks into the ground, or is evaporated by wind and sun. Whether there were rivers or not, the beds of which are now filled with sand &c. is undetermined. If found, deep leads may at some future time be discovered in them.

At different places on the field are beds of sandstone, conglomerate, &c., that are sometimes highly auriferous—*e.g.* at White Feather and the Twenty-five Mile. These are quite young in comparison with the reefs and foundation rocks, and unconformable to them. They do not appear to me to be older than tertiary. The gold that occurs in some, if not all of these deposits was derived from the reefs in the near neighbourhood, and, so far as my observations have gone, the gold occurs irregularly in them. The sand grains and pebbles are well rounded, as if by water action.

There are remnants of perhaps a tertiary rock-formation at Coolgardie Town, and also at many other places over the field. This is composed of ironstone conglomerate, indurated clay, and sandstone, and it is possible it is of the same age as the so-called cement deposits.

## THE REEFING DISTRICTS.

There are more than thirty different districts on Coolgardie, each of which might lay claim for its own individuality. It will be obvious to you that I can only make a few remarks on some of the more important, for lack of time, but others are growing rapidly, and are deserving of a lengthened notice.

*Of Southern Cross*, which is in the Yilgarn Goldfield, I will simply say that a strong and permanent reef has been worked there for some years. Four mines are working on this reef. It has occurred to me that if those four companies were to amalgamate, the shareholders would receive much better profits from the mines than they do now. The reef strikes west of north and east of south, and underlies steep to the westward. Heavy dykes of diorite occur a short distance to the west of the line of reef, and a granite dyke intersects it in one place. The enclosing rocks are amphibole schists; slaty rocks and highly siliceous schists occur in the near neighbourhood.

*Dundas*, which lies north of Esperance Bay, is characterised by slaty rocks, crushed and uncrushed diorites, serpentine, and heavy eruptions of granite. The mines in this neighbourhood have been overshadowed by the richer finds some few miles to the north, the name of which district is *The Norseman*. A great variety of dark-coloured schists and slates and crushed diorite have here been intruded into by the heaviest diorite eruptions I have seen on the field. While the reefs follow a north-south strike, as a rule, and underlie in general to the east, this is by no means without exceptions. The country appears to have been much disturbed, and cracks were formed in all directions, and the reefs that now fill them also run in various directions. From what I saw I conclude the quartz reefs, almost without exception, carry gold; many of them are rich. Some are large and others small. Good specimens are occasionally obtained. The Adelaide speculators, who, by the way, have chances of obtaining good information, are up to their necks in Norseman stocks, and in many cases they will, I have little doubt, come out right. A railway to this field is badly needed.

*Wagimoola District* lies some sixty miles north of the Norseman. Its rocks are similar to those at the Norseman, but the schists show up more in evidence. Gold occurs in quartzite and in tourmalin here as well as in the ordinary reefs.

These are the chief fields south of Coolgardie Town. Many good mines have been discovered, but the country is by no means pro-

spected, and in years to come other good reefs will certainly be found. I think highly of this area. The reefs are usually enclosed in diorite, slate, or schists.

*Coolgardie proper* is a large field in itself. It starts some miles south of the Londonderry, and continues to the north, past Coolgardie Town to Mount Burgess, a distance of over twenty miles long by (say) two miles broad. In this field, which lies along a contact zone between granite on the west, and amphibole schists and diorite on the east, phenomenally rich discoveries have been made, such as Baileys and the Londonderry Mines. In the latter the gold was in white quartz. Pegmatite dykes are common in this neighbourhood, and the same occurs in the Londonderry Reef. You know how rich that ore was. I have seen as rich ore from Baileys as from any mine. The gold is there associated with gossany ironstone in the upper levels, which represents the decomposed copper, iron, and arsenical pyrites of the lower levels. Before I leave these two celebrated mines, let me say that what has been may be again in equal or greater richness. It is the character of those reefs to have the gold aggregated into patches of great richness. The reefs are there, and while they continue there is always the chance of meeting with chutes of gold. There are other parts of this neighbourhood that, because the gold does not show in big lumps, are not thought so highly of. Two miles to the south-east of Coolgardie Town is a group of mines that are forcing their attention on the public. Also to the south and north of the town the same may be said. All the foregoing reefs are in diorite and amphibole schist.

We now have to notice what is a somewhat singular feature, and it will show that one cannot be too wide-awake at Coolgardie in looking for gold. I refer to that group of *Mines around Tyndals* situated two and a half miles south of Coolgardie. Here we have granite-porphry dykes of real eruptive rock carrying gold. These dykes run north-south, and are sometimes fifty and probably over 100 feet wide. They are seen to have veins of quartz running through them, and also parallel with them on the western side. The ore in these dykes is not of high grade, but there is any quantity of it, and I believe the ore is payable.

*Seven miles northerly from Coolgardie* is a group of mines of which I think highly; the reefs are enclosed in granite.

*Two miles westerly from this group* is an auriferous lode similar to those I shall mention hereafter.

*The Twenty-five Mile District* is also on a contact zone between

granite on the west and amphibole schists, slates, and diorite on the east. There is a long line here of very solid character. Rich ore and richer specimens are occasionally come upon in these mines. The line has a permanent look about it.' The same run of country continues on in a N.W. direction past the Hands Across the Sea Mine to the Wealth of Nations, and beyond that to Siberia, and there are quite a number of good mines through there. The developments have, so far, been satisfactory. The so-called cement deposits occur in this district. Some of the reefs run through decomposed granite-porphry rock.

*The Black Flag, Broad Arrow, and Bardock Field* is, in my opinion, a very important one. Over this area, which is more than twenty miles long by from five to fifteen broad, are scattered many good mines. This is one of the largest as well as one of the richest and best districts I have seen on Coolgardie, and is certain to come well to the front. The little Hill End Mine at Broad Arrow, of six and a half acres, has yielded about fifteen ounces of gold per ton, average, for several months past.

*Kalgoorlie or Hannan's Field*, through the prosperous yields from the Lake View and Great Boulder Mines, has been much in evidence for some time past. Like Coolgardie, it was one of the principal spots where alluvial gold was found in the early days. A good many dryblowers still make a living there. The chief characteristic of Hannans lies in the fact that the gold is not only found in quartz reefs and veins but in lodes. In addition to the quartz veins, that run in any direction, the main reefs and lodes follow a N.N.W. and S.S.E. direction and are seen to lie in and between the parting planes, and they follow the strike and dip of the schists. These lodes are really altered bands of the schists. It is often a difficult matter to say without close inspection which is lode-matter and which is not. Both lode-matter and the schists near by carry gold. Numerous diorite dykes traverse the slates and schists near the lodes. Granite porphyry dykes also occur in the neighbourhood. There are several lodes there, but the principal developments have taken place along the first-worked, and main line, which is proven for perhaps four miles. Some of the mines along this line have a great future before them. There are many claims there that require more work doing before their prosperous future can be substantiated. There are also claims that have been pegged out on saltbush flats that may or may not have gold in them. It is certain that when the mines get to work they will turn out a lot of gold. It is, however, as necessary to exercise caution at Hannans as on



any of the other fields. I mention this fact because speculation has been at white heat, as you know, at Hannans for some time past, and investors will do well to look closely into what they are buying when off the main line. There is plenty of water to be had by sinking at Hannans, especially to the south and south-west of the Boulder, and at no great distance from it. I hold a high opinion of the Hannans Field.

*The I.O.U. Field*, situated a few miles east of Hannans, possesses auriferous lode-formations as well. Some of the claims there are rich, and it is likely to prove a good mining district. Heavy diorite dykes occur in the neighbourhood.

*Kurnalpi* is situated some ninety miles to the E.N.E. of Coolgardie. There are several good quartz reefs in this neighbourhood. The most important factor here is the site of the Alluvial Field. While the gold was, for some time, got in plenty at Coolgardie, Hannans, and other places, it is generally admitted that Kurnalpi was the richest of them all. The gold was got in great lumps, and plenty of them. Occasionally an odd lump is still picked up there. This gold was eroded out of soft mullocky lodes that traverse the country in a north-south direction. I have convinced myself that the gold has come straight from the lodes; it has not travelled. In a claim that takes in, what was once a rich patch of alluvial, some prospectors have opened out a lode, the future of which may surprise some of us, for in mining, equally heavy lumps are likely to be met with. In my opinion Kurnalpi has a brilliant future before it.

*White Feather* possesses some good mines, while to the north and north-east are mines the prospects of which are as bright as one could wish.

At the *Ninety Mile* heavy quartz reefs occur, but I have had no opportunity of examining them.

*Menzies* is a rich good line of reefs that runs for some miles: it is developing well, and some good mines are there. The formation is amphibole schists and diorite dykes.

*Niagara* is forty miles north-easterly from Menzies: it is a new field and a very large one, and is held in high esteem by many. It has the advantage of fresh-water wells, as have the districts to the northward and north-east. Some rich discoveries have been and are still being made hereabouts. Granite and slaty rocks, with diorite dykes, predominate.

*In the Mount Malcolm District* are some large and right good shows that will prove to be highly payable mines. From that

Mount, eastward to *Mount Margaret*, and south-east of that line to Yerilla and Redcastle, are many good claims only now being opened up. Then north-east of Mount Margaret is the *Hawk's Nest*, and beyond that is *Crawfords*. I have not time to more than mention the names of these districts; some of them are very large and are in their infancy; there are good shows in each, and in time they will demand attention.

*Lake Darlôt* and other districts are farther to the north, and thence on the road to Cue is *Lawlors*. I have not seen these, but they are thought highly of by people I have met who have seen them. There are many other places where gold-bearing reefs occur, but I do not wish to weary you.

#### SOME REQUIREMENTS OF THE FIELD.

In a country such as Coolgardie is, a vigorous water conservation policy is necessary. The Western Australian Administration are alive to this fact, and purpose doing what is really necessary.

Coolgardie, as you may know, is just about being connected with Perth and Albany by railway, and the line is to be extended forthwith to Hannans. Thence that line must at some future time be extended eastward to Kurnalpi, with side lines where needed.

A line to Menzies is prognosticated, and in a few months should be an accomplished fact. It will need to be further extended to Niagara, and on through the Mount Malcolm District to Lake Darlôt, and past Lawlors, connecting with Cue, with side lines where required. Then, it seems to me, another line will have to be constructed from Esperance Bay to the Norseman, and perhaps north, through Wagiemoola, to Coolgardie. This may seem rather a large order, but the sooner the lines are erected the better for the field in general, and for the shareholders in the mines in particular. Without railways the mines cannot pay as they should do. There are no great engineering difficulties to overcome in the construction of railway lines at Coolgardie. They can be constructed speedily and wonderfully cheap. The cost of erecting the permanent way from Southern Cross to Coolgardie was only £480 per mile, and since then a contract has been let on the Cue line for a lesser sum per mile than that even. The contractor is permitted to carry goods and passengers, and to make a reasonable charge; by this means he is enabled to do the work very cheaply. The country is so level that hardly any cuttings or culverts have to be made, and no bridges are required; the scrub and timber has just to be cleared away. With the splendid income that is being

derived from customs dues, miner's rights, and lease fees, the construction of railway lines may be carried out exclusive of borrowed capital, and if the leaseholders are wise they will see that this work is done.

#### THE FUTURE PROSPECTS OF THE FIELD.

Western Australia, the Colony in which the goldfield I have spoken to you about is situated, has, during the last three or four years, been transformed from a poverty-stricken to an affluent State. This has been brought about by the discovery of gold and gold-mines wholly and solely. The gold induced an influx of population; the new arrivals all brought some money which they spend in the country; this gives trade a fillip. The customs receipts swelled into considerable proportions. The revenue from lease fees increased by leaps and bounds. The railways became payable, and even prosperously so. The site of the goldfield was in a distant part of the country, a part so hopelessly barren that no living soul save an aboriginal would, on any account, live there. The emaciated physique of the few native inhabitants showed, as did the rarity of animal and bird life, what a God-forsaken country it was. But the discovery of gold soon altered the prevailing condition of things. The ingenuity of men was soon put to the test, and they discovered how this country, desolate as it was, could be brought into subjection. When I think of what the country was only a short time ago, and what it is now, my mind is filled with wonder and admiration for the brave fellows who have done the inventive, daring, pioneering work. Hand in hand with this great change of things must ever be linked the name of Sir John Forrest. His explorations in more youthful days had been exactly the training the General required to guide the helm. That excellent judgment which made him the best and most successful explorer Western Australia ever produced, has also been used with equal discretion in the conduct of his duties as Premier of the Colony. That he will see fit to shake off the shackles of old Conservative Western Australia and throw his great influence into the balance for "speedy development for the goldfields" I have little doubt, as he has already done.

The area we have had under review measures about two hundred miles wide by three hundred long. What number of mines will eventually be worked in this alone, I am afraid to say. The yield of gold per ton of ore, so far as one can judge, will exceed that of most goldfields. The numbers of reefs that are known to be auriferous have probably never had an equal on any goldfield.

New discoveries are being made all over the field almost daily. The developments so far, I consider, taking them as a whole, are encouraging and satisfactory.

If sufficient gold is in the ore it matters not where a mine is situated; it should and can be payably worked. It seems to me that the greatest enemy to genuine mining and successful flotation is fashion. I have known mines sold for several thousands of pounds, that had scarcely any prospect of ever turning out one single ounce of gold, simply because they were situated in a fashionable district. At the same time really valuable mines in a little known and less-thought-of district went a-begging for a purchaser at any price.

The subject of my paper is the Coolgardie Goldfield. This, I may tell you, is a comparatively small part of the gold-bearing country in Western Australia. At intervals gold-bearing areas extend far away to the north to near Cambridge Gulf. With such an extent of auriferous country no surprise need be felt at a constant supply of mines being brought to London. The Colonists have not the capital to develop so many, leave alone to put machinery on and work them.

Not only is it necessary to have good accurate accounts of the mines, but also of the accessibility to and possibilities of working them.

It now only remains for me to say that when the goldmines in Western Australia are fully developed and vigorously worked the yield of gold will, in my opinion, be very great. There is no speculation, to my way of thinking, about the future of what I have seen. Gold-mining will be an industry there; it has come to stay, and the field is a large, rich, and permanent one.

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A discussion followed in which the following took part:—Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. John Lowles, M.P., Mr. James McMurray, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Edmund Mitchell, Mr. H. Weld-Blundell, and the Chairman. Votes of thanks to the Reader of the Paper and the Chairman were passed.

## SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING.

A SPECIAL General Meeting was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, on Tuesday, March 31, 1896, when Mr. F. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., read a paper on "British Rule in Malaya."

Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, G.C.M.G., a Member of the Council of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 29 Fellows had been elected, viz., 17 Resident and 12 Non-Resident.

## Resident Fellows :—

*Anton Bertram, Frederick Wm. Bond, William Cleaver, Major Edward F. Coates, Richard Combe, Henry E. Hurst, L. O. Johnson, Edward J. Payne, Hon. William P. Reeves (Agent-General for New Zealand), Joseph Rippon, William Schlich, Ph.D., C.I.E., John K. Starley, Major-General Charles S. Sturt, M. H. Foquett Sutton, Martin J. Sutton, S. Hartley Watson, J. Henry Wills.*

## Non-Resident Fellows :—

*Frank Bissenberger (Western Australia), John Freeman (Natal), Douglas H. Johnston (New South Wales), Charles Leonard (Transvaal), David Lindsay, F.R.G.S. (Western Australia), Walter Lindup (Natal), Allister M. Miller (Matabeleland), William E. Mouldsdale (Straits Settlements), Hon. George W. Neville, M.L.C. (Lagos), Arthur Nichols (Egypt), Hector J. Smith (New Zealand), Thomas J. Stuart (New Zealand).*

It was also announced that donations to the Library of books, maps, &c., had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN: This is a special Meeting called to hear Mr. Swettenham give us an account of British rule in the Malay Peninsula, an opportunity which, I think, those who belong to the Institute and their friends would consider should not have been lost. He is in England for a short time, and this Meeting has been arranged specially to hear the paper he has prepared. We

are indebted to the Royal United Service Institution for the use of their rooms in place of our ordinary meeting place, the Whitehall Rooms, where, I may say, our meetings are usually preceded by a dinner, which in this instance we have had to forego. I have great pleasure in introducing my friend Mr. Swettenham, than whom there is no one who can speak with such authority on British rule in Malāya.

Mr. Swettenham then read his Paper on

## BRITISH RULE IN MALĀYA.

### I.

*The Malay States before the advent of foreign influence and the special difficulties in introducing a better form of government.*

THREE papers dealing with the Malay Peninsula have been read before this Institute, the first in 1874, by Mr. Leonard Wray, entitled "Settlements on the Straits of Malacca," the second by the late Sir F. A. Weld, in 1886, entitled "The Straits Settlements and British Malāya," and the other by Mr. W. E. Maxwell, in 1891, on "The Malay Peninsula; its Resources and Prospects." I don't think that in what I have to say I shall trespass on the ground covered by any of my distinguished predecessors.

I had meant to call my paper "The British Government of Native Races," but I felt that the subject was too wide and too open to controversy to be dealt with in the time allotted to a lecture of this kind; I therefore ask you to bear with me while I give to your consideration an account of "British Rule in Malāya," as illustrating a particular and somewhat peculiar instance of the British government of native races—a subject which is certainly not without interest, however I may fail to do justice to its attractions.

I say the case is special, because the Malay is imbued with peculiar characteristics which make him unusually difficult to deal with, and as I am now speaking of the beginning of our close intimacy with Malay affairs, and that took place in the year 1874, I had better use the past tense, though I do not mean by that to infer that everything that was then is altered now. It is almost inconceivable that up to January 1874 so little was known of the Malay or his home; but it is no exaggeration to say that at that time there were not in the Straits

Settlements half-a-dozen Europeans who could have correctly stated the names of the Malay States or the titles by which their rulers were known. The Straits Settlements, as you know, is an exceedingly ill-named Crown Colony, embracing the small island of Singapore at the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula; the smaller island of Penang, 360 miles further north, with two strips of the Peninsula called respectively Province Wellesley and the Dindings, and yet another strip of the mainland, called Malacca, lying between Singapore and Penang. The country from which Singapore is divided by a narrow but deep channel is Johor, and between Johor and Province Wellesley lie all the States over which we have established our influence since 1874. They are, going northwards from Johor: the Negri Sembilan or Nine States, at the back of Malacca, and Pahang to the east and north of them; then Selangor, and lastly Pérak, the northern district of which marches with Province Wellesley. It is convenient here to state that, on the east coast, there are two independent Malay States, Trengganu and Kelantan, north of Pahang; there are also a number of small States (formerly called Patáni) under Siamese influence to the north and west of Kelantan, and there is the State of Kedah (now also under, Siamese control) to the north of Province Wellesley. It was from the Raja of Kedah that the East India Company purchased the island of Penang and the strip of mainland called Province Wellesley in 1786, and one of the conditions of that purchase was that the Ruler of Kedah should be protected against his enemies. The Honourable Company, however, failed to observe that condition of the bargain, and the Siamese shortly afterwards attacked and conquered Kedah, driving the Sultan to an asylum in the Company's territory.

These are dull particulars, but they are necessary to convey some vague idea of the geographical position of the remote countries in whose later history I wish to interest you, and also to make it clear that if "the Straits Settlements"—which in truth suggests nothing at all—is but an empty sound to those who live 8,000 miles away, it is certainly curious that, while the Colony, in part, was actually on the Malay Peninsula, its inhabitants, with few exceptions, knew almost as little of the rest of the land as they might be expected to know of Patagonia.

As to the state of ignorance regarding the Malay Peninsula and its inhabitants in 1874, I can speak from personal knowledge, without fear of contradiction, and, so far as I have been able to ascertain, our predecessors were not much better informed than we

were, and no one who has left any written record of his experience knew any more of the interior than could be learnt by the briefest and most cursory visit to some place of comparatively easy access. I may, however, dismiss the subject with the statement that my friend, Mr. Clifford, the newly appointed Resident of Pahang, was, so far as we know, the first white man who ever got any distance into Trengganu and Kelantan. His journey was made last year, and he went, not alone, but as the leader of a considerable armed expedition.

So much for the country and our knowledge of it. As no one could guide us to the place it will be understood that we were hopelessly ignorant of the people. I am not going to draw the Malay for you, I have done that elsewhere, but I question whether there was, in 1874, an Eastern more difficult for an Englishman to approach, to conciliate, to understand, or to appreciate. The native of the Golden Chersonese has been well styled "the mysterious Malay." When we first attempted to help him, and teach him how to help himself, he was an unread book to us—a book written in a language we did not understand; a book of which we had scarcely seen the cover. Beyond this, the Malay did not want us; his jungles and his rivers were all-sufficing, his traditions told him nothing of the white man, except that a few had come to trade with him in the past centuries, but they had either left of their own accord or he had got rid of them by his own peculiar methods, and no real punishment had overtaken the murderers of an isolated garrison or the pirates of a lonely sailing ship. The up-country Malay used to be so little of a traveller that, in the days I speak of, few of those who lived fifty miles from the sea had ever seen it, and this, added to the fact that no stranger ever trusted himself into the fastnesses of the Peninsula, will explain the extraordinary ignorance of the people as to all matters beyond the narrow confines, not only of their own States, but of their own villages. When I first went into the Malay States the Malays of Pérak laughed at the idea of a British soldier or sailor ever making his way through their roadless forests, and there is no doubt they believed that if they could get rid of Mr. J. W. Birch and me, the only two white men they knew, no others would ever come to seek satisfaction of them.

In order to appreciate the people, to secure their trust and sympathy, it was necessary to get to them, to speak to them, to understand them, to conciliate them. It was an undertaking for which we were not then qualified, and I have insisted upon the premises



because I wish you to understand the real nature of the task we undertook in trying to make ourselves, our methods of government, our ways of life and of looking at things, acceptable to the mysterious, the dignified, the suspicious, the high-spirited Malay. Add to what I have already said that the foreigner, the interloper, the introducer of new and distasteful ideas was at least a professing Christian, while the Malay was something more than a professing Muhammadan, and you have the outlines of the terms on which we entered, with characteristic lightheartedness, into a position that has, I believe, no exact parallel in English administrative experiments.

With such antagonistic elements it is hardly surprising that the first development should have been the assassination of the officer who represented the uprooting of old Malay life and the passage of power from hereditary Muhammadan chiefs to the dictate of an unknown but infidel stranger. It is true the solitary white man had foreseen this contingency and had told the people to whom he was sent that behind him there was a power that, having once set its hand to the plough, never looked back; but it was natural that the Malays, circumstanced as I have described them, should smile at this statement and prefer to believe that the white man was seeking his own profit and aggrandisement and had nothing to support him beyond what they could see.

## II.

### *A brief account of British interference in Malaya.*

It will be asked how and why we were in the Peninsula at all, at least in that part of it beyond the confines of the Colony. If I try to answer this question with the brevity necessary to the time at my disposal, you will understand that a real explanation of the causes which led up to our interference in the Malay States in 1874, cannot be given in such narrow limits.

The highest British authority in the Straits of Malacca is the Governor of the Colony I have already named. The settlements contained in it formed an Indian Presidency, first under the old Company and then under the Indian Government, until, in 1867, they were converted into a Crown Colony by desire of the European inhabitants. Outside their proper jurisdiction the Indian and Colonial Governors of the Straits had always had to deal with what had been to them a serious bugbear, the independent Malay States, of which they knew practically nothing, except that they were the hotbeds of internal feud and external piracy and raid; that they

were the cause of constant trouble in themselves and complaint from British subjects; that no satisfaction whatever was to be got out of them under any circumstances; and that the distant authority, to which the Governor felt he must refer these extra-territorial questions, invariably declined to consent to any measures of coercion being taken to bring recalcitrant Malay rajas to reason, or to enforce any orders or advice which the Governor might think it necessary or expedient to offer. So much was this the case that British subjects in the Straits were warned that, if they chose to seek adventure or profit in the Malay States, they would do it at their own risk, and it was concluded that if they got into trouble they could get themselves out of it without any hope of assistance from the British Government. In the face of modern views of British expansion all this sounds very long ago and far away, but it was as I have stated until Lieut.-General Sir Andrew Clarke became Governor of the Straits in 1873. With his coming, there was a change of policy, and as, at that moment, the state of the Peninsula was at its very worst, Sir Andrew Clarke took advantage of the position and of his instructions to put an end to a condition of affairs that had become well nigh intolerable. I will not pretend to describe the circumstances; I have partially done so in another paper; but the most violent struggles were going on in Pêrak and Selangor, both Malays and Chinese being equally concerned, and both States were being rapidly depopulated. The small States round Malacca (now happily united into one) were each and all in a state of ferment if not of open fighting, and, worse than all, these quarrels on our borders were spreading to the Colony, our police stations were attacked, the Penang house of a rich Pêrak chief was actually blown up, in the hope of destroying its owner, and every day peaceful British subjects sailing through the Straits of Malacca were murdered and their vessels looted and burned. It is necessary to add that these proceedings continued for months, in spite of the fact that British war vessels were doing all in their power to protect the shipping and secure the pirates. Owing to the nature of the coast, a complete network of creeks, known only to the pirates and guarded by an immense mud bank, the efforts of our navy were without result, and matters culminated in an attack by the pirates on boats manned by British crews, when two naval officers were seriously wounded.

That seemed to be provocation enough, and the Government of the day must, I think, have determined that something ought to be done—what that something should be, Sir Andrew Clarke, with characteristic promptitude, very soon decided. A Pêrak raja had

written to the Governor, explaining that he, the rightful heir to the position of Sultan, had been supplanted. The raja asked for the Governor's assistance to secure his birthright, and also requested that a British officer might be sent to him to teach the art of administration, offering, at the same time, to provide him with a suitable residence and to defray the cost of his salary and all other expenses out of the revenues of the country. I believe that this was the first suggestion of the residential idea, and, if I am right, it is both curious and interesting that it should have originated, even in its crudest form, in the Malay States. An experienced officer was sent to Pêrak to make inquiries, and his report was to the effect that this raja's claims were good, but that, for various reasons, mainly traceable to his own neglect of established customs, he had been passed over in favour of a man who did not, on his father's side, belong to the ruling family of Pêrak. That was for the Malay question interesting enough in its way, but it was like others that had preceded it in other States without leading to any interference on our part. At this time there were many thousands of Chinese mining in Pêrak, and the war of Chinese factions, already answerable for such incidents as the slaughter of 3,000 people in one day, a naval engagement which would make a story of its own, the violent antagonism of Chinese secret societies in the neighbouring Colony, and the daily acts of piracy in the Straits of Malacca, were, however, new factors in Malay politics, and they seriously threatened, if they had not already disturbed, the peace of the British Settlements. Governor Sir Andrew Clarke's instructions were to inquire into and report upon Malay affairs, specially the advisability of appointing a British officer to reside in Malâya, but he saw that this was an emergency where half-measures were useless, and, having first secured the acceptance by the Chinese of his arbitration in their quarrel, he summoned the Pêrak chiefs to a meeting and made with them the Treaty of January 20, 1874, by which Raja Abdullah was acknowledged to be Sultan of Pêrak, and provision was made for the appointment of a British officer, to be styled British Resident, whose advice was to be asked and acted upon in all matters other than those affecting the Muhammadan religion or Malay custom. This officer was also, by the treaty, entrusted with the collection and expenditure of all the revenues of the State.

I leave you to imagine the difficulties and dangers of that officer's position. The first man who undertook it, or rather the first who actually held the substantive appointment and attempted to dis-

charge its duties, was Mr. J. W. W. Birch, the Colonial Secretary of the Straits Settlements. His abilities were great, his energy extraordinary, but he did not speak Malay or understand the people with whom he had to deal. He was murdered in November 1875—murdered to satisfy the hatred of foreign interference, the intolerance of the white man's control—and it is extremely likely that at that time a better knowledge of things Malayan would not have saved the British representative. His death was very amply avenged; none of his actual murderers escaped, and many of those who had openly or surreptitiously consented to the crime also paid the penalty of their participation in it. More than this, the country was occupied by British troops for months, and the Malays, to their intense surprise, saw both the British soldier and blue-jacket in inland strongholds where no white face had ever before been seen, save perhaps that of the man whose death they had come to avenge.

This expedition, and the cause of it, were not incidents of Sir Andrew Clarke's government; he had already left the Straits, and it was only at the moment of his departure that the small cloud of possible trouble first appeared on the horizon. The Pêrak difficulty seemed to be solved, and Sir Andrew had at once taken up the cases of Selangor and Sungei Ujong, placing British residents in both of them, and in the latter having to deal with the armed resistance of a dissatisfied chief, who after defeat fled the State and eventually took up his residence in Singapore.

Sungei Ujong and the Negri Sembilan subsequently were the scenes of considerable fighting, and both of them experienced the benefits of occupation by a British military expedition. I say benefits advisedly, I do not mean that a military expedition is all benefit to those against whom it is sent, far from it; but I mean that in the Malâya of those days, no amount of good advice, no sacrifice of individual lives, no missionary effort even, could have done so much for the Malays, or, to speak candidly, for us, as this show of force. The actual amount of damage done in killing, wounding, or looting was very small indeed; everyone was treated as a friend who did not conclusively prove himself to be an enemy, and the people had very little feeling in the matter; but the chiefs, who alone had anything to lose by our advent, realised at last that the British power really existed, and could make itself felt in a way that was as novel to them as it was disagreeable.

You are now in possession of the facts which led to the acceptance of a Malay invitation to send a British officer to teach British

methods of administration; you understand how that idea was extended to all the States from Penang to Malacca, and you will realize that, having set the western side of the Malay house in order, it followed, as surely as day follows night, that we should be compelled to deal similarly with the east coast, and Pahang, the southernmost of those eastern States, has already passed under our protection, and, if it has given trouble, we may fairly hope that its future will be no less prosperous than that of its western neighbours.

### III.

*Our treatment of Malays and natives generally as compared with the methods employed by some other nations.*

I now come to that part of my subject which is perhaps of the greatest interest. It is this: Having been given what, if you like, we will call an opportunity—not perhaps a very attractive one—how did we deal with it? How did we treat the people who invited us to send them a teacher, and then, having obtained the real end they sought, murdered their guest?

You may fairly say that my words convey a suggestion which is incorrect. It was not the Malay people who asked for the British official, it was a disappointed Malay raja who, desiring British recognition of a coveted position, offered the invitation as a means to that end. He obtained the end he sought, and he was properly held responsible for what happened to the guest entrusted to his care.

In all the States there were three classes of natives to be dealt with: first, Malay chiefs, the hitherto rulers of the country; second, the Malay people; third, the Chinese. The lines on which we have treated all classes are the same; we have endeavoured to administer the same justice, to show the same impartiality to all. Indeed, we have revolutionised the social life of the people, and if I can convey to you the vaguest idea of the actual conditions of Malay society when first a solitary British officer took up his residence in each of these States, you will be able to appreciate the value of what has been done.

First, remember, that I am speaking of the East, and of a corner of it so remote that the rest of the East was hardly aware of its existence. As to what went on therein, no outsider knew or cared. In each State the ruler, whether he were sultan, raja, or chief of lower rank, was supreme and absolute. His word was law, and oppression and cruelty were the result. Under the ruler were a number of chiefs, usually hereditary, who took their cue from

their master and often out-Heroded Herod in the gratification of their vengeance or the pursuit of their peculiar amusements. The people counted for nothing, except as the means of supplying their chiefs with the material for indulging their vicious tendencies. They occupied land, but they did not own it they worked by command and without payment; they were liable to be deprived of anything they possessed that was worth the taking, or to be taxed to meet the necessities of the ruler or the local chieftain; their wives and daughters were often requisitioned by members of the ruling class, and when they ceased to any longer attract their abductors, these women, often accompanied by other members of their families, went to swell the ranks of the wretched "debt-slaves," a position from which they probably never escaped, but, while they filled it, were required to perform all menial duties and were passed from hand to hand in exchange for the amount of the so-called debt, exactly like any other marketable commodity. The murder of a *raiya*t was a matter of easy settlement, if it ever caused inquiry, and for the man who felt himself oppressed beyond endurance, there was left that supreme cry of the hopeless injured, which seems, with the Malay, to take the place of suicide—I mean the blind desire to kill and be killed, which is known as *meng-ámok*. That was how the Malays were treated in their own country, and you will readily understand that the Chinaman was regarded as fair game, even by the Malay *raiya*t, who, if he met a Chinaman on a lonely road (and nothing but jungle tracks existed) would stab him for a few dollars, and rest assured that no one would ever trouble to ask how it happened.

I have not exhausted the catalogue of horrors, I have only generally indicated some of them, they still exist upon our borders in the States of Trengganu and Kelantan, where as yet Malay methods of government prevail; but I have told you enough, and it is surely something to be able to say that, in every State where there is a British Resident, slavery of all kinds has been absolutely abolished; forced labour is only a memory; Courts of Law, presided over by trustworthy magistrates, mete out what we understand as justice to all classes and nationalities without respect of persons, and the lives and property of people in the protected Malay States are now as safe as in any part of Her Majesty's dominions.

It is a detail that the first Residents had no Residencies. Mr. Birch never had one in Pérak, he lived in a boat, and it was years before anything like a comfortable house was built in any of the States to which British Residents were accredited. The climate is

trying, and I mention this fact because a good house means all the difference between comparative comfort and certain misery. Once arrived at his post the Resident had to evolve the rest out of his inner consciousness. No one knew what he was to do, there was no precedent for anything, no scheme and nothing to guide Residents in those early days beyond a general instruction that they went to the Peninsula, not as rulers but as advisers ; that they were not to interfere in the minor details of government more than was absolutely necessary, and that if they ignored these instructions and trouble sprang out of their neglect of them, they would assuredly be held responsible. At the same time there was the Pérak Treaty, by which the British Resident was to collect and expend all the revenues of the State, and his advice was to be asked and acted upon. The caution to refrain from control or interference in details was, moreover, rendered absolutely meaningless by the orders constantly issued in Singapore which concerned every detail of administration. I must not, however, omit to mention that in enjoining upon Residents the purely advisory nature of their duties, the Secretary of State said he recognised the very delicate nature of their position. You will not forget that, at first, the Resident carried about in his own person the only means he possessed of enforcing his advice.

From the first the Resident found that the Malay lower classes were on his side, though they were not always able to openly show it ; while the Chinese and all other foreigners were of course delighted with the advent of one whom they looked upon as a protector. The great difficulty was to establish really friendly relations with the ruler and to either conciliate or overawe the chiefs, many of whom were powerful enough to at least covertly disregard the orders of the ruler. The task was a sufficiently difficult one, as those who were then Residents know ; but it was accomplished by treating generously the chiefs who had undoubted claims to a share in the revenues ; by constantly seeking the society of the malcontents and talking to them in their own language, patiently explaining the objects of every proposed innovation ; by putting the men of most consideration on State councils ; and, in a few cases, by assuming a determined attitude, and, where necessary, out-swaggering the greatest swaggerer of them all.

With the ruler, when once freed from the influence of his old advisers, the most successful course was to seek his friendship, to join with him in all his amusements, to go on expeditions with him, to make his acquaintance and, if possible, earn the confidence

of the members of his family, and to persuade him that the interests of his country were your chief care, and that no step of any importance would be taken without first consulting him.

A thorough experience of Malays will not qualify an official to deal with Chinese—a separate education is necessary for that, but it is a lesson more easy to learn. It is almost hopeless to expect to make friends with a Chinaman, and it is, for a Government officer, an object that is not very desirable to attain. The Chinese, at least that class of them met with in Malāya, do not understand being treated as equals; they only realise two positions—the giving and the receiving of orders; they are the easiest people to govern in the East for a man of determination, but they must know their master as he must know them. The Chinese admire and respect determination of character in their rulers, and hold that it is a characteristic as necessary as the sense of justice. The man who possesses the judicial mind, but is too weak to enforce his own judgment, will never be successful in dealing with Chinese.

It is by the employment of such means as I have described that we have obtained our influence in the Malay States, and, as British methods in the treatment of native races have been unfavourably compared with those employed by other nationalities, or self-governing Colonies, I think both the means used and the results obtained by British officers in the Malay Peninsula (and again I must ask you not to forget the difficulties of this case) will favourably compare with, let us say, American methods towards the Red Indians, Australian policy towards the aborigines, the methods of Germany in Africa or of Spain in South America and Cuba, even with the policy adopted by our experienced neighbours, the Dutch in Netherlands India. You will not want me to describe to you how our uncontrolled countrymen, or these foreign nations, have dealt with the question of their subject races; but, in America and Australia, the original inhabitants are being improved out of existence, while charges, many of which we need not believe, though some could probably be established, are brought against the treatment of their native subjects by German, Spanish, and Dutch officials. They are no doubt quite able to defend themselves and prove to their own satisfaction that their methods are the best, but when comparisons are sought it may at least be stated generally that English Governments, in assuming to advise or control native races, aim at securing, on the one hand, freedom of religion and of trade for all nationalities, and, on the other, the expenditure in the country of the whole of the revenues raised there. It is unlikely



that anyone has suggested that France has obtained any contribution from her Colonies ; on the contrary, they have, at least in modern times, been a heavy expense to the Mother Country, but both Spain and Holland have taxed their Colonies for contributions to the parent exchequers.

There are of course many other sources of interesting comparison between British methods of governing native races and those employed by our neighbours, or even by our own countrymen when no longer subject to English control ; and specially there is the practice of compelling natives to cultivate certain products and to sell the whole of the crop to the Government at fixed rates. The question is, however, too wide for more than the briefest reference here, and I am confident that the lines on which we have not only "advised," but controlled the later destinies of the Malay, will bear comparison with the methods employed by any of our neighbours.

#### IV.

*The results of our policy in Malāya, and the present condition of the people. Some statistics of the material progress of the States under our protection, and their future prospects.*

When British officers first entered the Malay States as advisers they found that a very small revenue was raised in each by the taxation of every single article that entered or left the country. As a rule the tax was proportionately higher on the necessities of life than on luxuries. In a few years our influence abolished the duty on every article of import, except opium and spirits, while the export duty on tin, the principal product, was much reduced, and on many of the less important exports it was altogether removed. This policy, with the appointment of British officials to all important Government posts, the organisation of police forces, and above all the putting of everyone who applied for land in possession of what was meant to be an indefeasible title, gave so much confidence that immigrants from the unprotected Malay States, from the Dutch possessions, from China, and from India, poured into the peninsula, and the revenues increased by such marvellous strides that I will venture to give you a few figures to illustrate the actual results of our policy in Malāya.

The first year of which it is possible to give any statistics is 1875 ; and the revenues of the various States then, and at intervals of five years since, are as follow :

*Revenue.*

—	1875	1880	1885	1890	1894
Pèrak . .	\$ 226,233	\$ 582,496	\$ 1,522,085	\$ 2,504,116	\$ 3,542,114
Selangor . .	115,651	215,614	566,411	1,888,928	3,334,468
Sungei Ujong .	67,405	83,800	120,214	277,910	397,130
Negri Sembilan	—	—	—	107,083	187,876
Pahang . .	—	—	—	62,077	100,230
Total . .	409,289	881,910	2,208,710	4,840,064	7,511,808

I give the expenditure during the same period, because it shows that all the revenues were spent in the States; and when, as was the case everywhere at first, and is still true of Pahang, the revenues were not sufficient to meet the expenditure, the difference was covered by loans from the Colony or the wealthier States.

*Expenditure.*

—	1875	1880	1885	1890	1894
Pèrak . .	\$ 256,881	\$ 521,995	\$ 1,816,625	\$ 2,447,929	\$ 3,587,224
Selangor . .	111,305	202,806	826,526	1,996,544	2,817,292
Sungei Ujong .	68,736	70,143	118,804	261,647	364,082
Negri Sembilan	—	—	—	115,589	144,678
Pahang . .	—	—	—	297,702	249,120
Total . .	436,872	794,944	2,261,955	5,119,411	7,162,396

The combined revenues of the five States were estimated to amount last year to about \$8,000,000; which means that in the time British residents have controlled the finances of the protected States they have succeeded in increasing the revenues at least twentyfold. I should like to go into details of that revenue, for you may wonder how it is raised, after what I have said about the abolition of imports and exports. Well, in all the States there are three main sources of revenue. First, an export duty on tin. It is a very high duty, about 12 per cent. of the value of the metal; but we are justified in imposing it, because it is the country's capital, and the Chinese can work at such low rates that while the Malay Peninsula produces five-sixths of the world's tin it is able to command the market in this sense, that it can undersell every other tin-producing country; and when the price of metal falls so low that our miners have to curtail their operations, it will mean that in other countries the mines have already been shut down, and the

consequence will be a smaller production and a rise in price. The tin duty is, then, our principal source of revenue, and I have consistently held the opinion, hitherto justified by results, that the rise and fall of prices in European markets need cause us no great anxiety, and if, by reason of a further fall, our production should be reduced, I do not think that fact should be regarded as an unmixed evil.

Our next principal source of revenue is the heavy duty we impose on all opium imported. In some States the right of collecting this duty is sold for a term of years at a fixed monthly rental. That plan has objections, and I prefer the collection of the actual duty by Government officers. The opium question has so recently been the subject of exhaustive inquiry that I will refrain from further allusion to it, except to say that Eastern people are not altogether lacking in intelligence, and they unfortunately know that if the great mass of Europeans are free from the opium habit, they indulge in intoxicants, and European Governments profit by the indulgence. To the Eastern it appears preposterous and illogical that people at the other end of the world, alien to him in religion and sympathy, should busy themselves over his moral obliquities when their own are so open to criticism. The third principal source of revenue is a monopoly of the import duty on spirits, and the exclusive right to manufacture them for native consumption. This monopoly is usually "farmed," as it is termed, to Chinese; and there is often included with it a similar monopoly of the right to license public gambling-places and pawnbroking shops. It was perhaps natural that those in this country who understand nothing of the conditions of society in the Malay Peninsula, who judge Chinese and natives of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago by their own standards of morality and their own somewhat narrow—I had almost said ignorant—conception of the daily life of human beings in parts of the world beyond the reach of their study, should desire to see licensed gambling abolished in countries where British officers influence the administration; but while I must deny myself the opportunity of giving you the multitude of reasons advanced by those who, with full knowledge and experience of the subject, hold contrary views, I will only say that where the gamblers are Chinese, and the conditions of life such as prevail in the Malay States, you may stop *licensed* gambling, but you cannot put a stop to the far more pernicious practice of *unlicensed* gambling. In the wake of unlicensed gambling follows a train of evils that make the attempt at cure

(and that a fruitless attempt) far more objectionable than the disease. This is exactly one of those points where it is assuredly wise to remember that our position in the Malay States is that of advisers.

I have told you the main sources of revenue in all the States, sources which existed long before the days of British Residents, but I must now mention two new items for which we are responsible. One is a land revenue. We put the people in absolute possession of the land they required, and in return for that we charge them with the payment of a quit rent which varies in accordance with the class of land occupied. The revenue raised from this source in 1894 was—

In Pérak . . . . .	\$235,666
Selangor . . . . .	138,216
Sungei Ujong . . . . .	35,537
Negri Sembilan . . . . .	32,797
Pahang . . . . .	28,867
Total . . . . .	<hr/> 470,583 <hr/>

This item of revenue is capable of great expansion, especially when we undertake, as we have already in Pérak begun to do, large schemes of irrigation to enable us to produce a rice crop at least sufficient for the consumption of our own people, and possibly surplus enough to feed the native population of the neighbouring British Colony.

The other source of revenue is derived from railway receipts, and it is considerable. In Pérak the railways are expected to produce this year \$622,750, and in Selangor \$720,000, sums which give a very high rate of interest on the capital invested. In Sungei Ujong there is also a railway, but it belongs to a private company; it carries a Government guarantee, and so far has been a source of expense to the Government of the State, though of course it has been a great public convenience. I trust these railways will, as funds permit, be considerably extended; and though it cannot be expected that such proportionately high returns will be secured, still, the total receipts may be largely increased. The revenues derived from land and railways, the result of British advice and direction, are more satisfactory contributions to public funds than the monopolies which, as far as the railways are concerned, have supplied the means to construct them.

Under British advice and control a regiment of highly trained and disciplined Indian troops has been raised, and these men have

on several occasions been called out on active service, and have undoubtedly saved the employment of British troops. We have organised police forces, constructed admirable model prisons, hospitals in every centre of population, and public buildings to meet all requirements. We have built lighthouses and water-works; but our principal, and I think our best, efforts have been directed towards the construction of roads and railways and the erection of telegraphs. British advice has prevailed for twenty years in the peninsula; but for a long time we had no funds for the construction of costly works, and yet we can point to nearly 200 miles of railways, 2,000 miles of roads, and over 1,000 miles of telegraph lines, built in a country that not only contained none of these things, but which was covered almost entirely by thick jungle. It is worthy of mention that our railways have been called "works of art," and yet they give higher returns on the capital expended than, I believe, any railways in the world, and our roads are admittedly excellent. We have organised a civil service to whom the main credit belongs for working out the existing results of British influence. The members of this service have shown a zeal and devotion beyond all praise, and I almost regret to say, that we have carried on the administration with such economy that it has cost one-third or one-fourth the amount paid in British India for similar services under perhaps less trying conditions. Finally the trade of the protected States is worth nearly sixty millions of dollars annually, and the figures represent real consumption and production. We have not altogether neglected scientific matters, and in Pêrak, where there is an admirable Museum, the Government has spent a quarter of a million dollars on making a trigonometrical survey of the State. Of the other institutions that most nearly concern the public, your Chairman can, I think, bear out the statement that the hospitals are very ably managed institutions, under the personal supervision of English surgeons; that the prisons are built and conducted on the most approved principles; and though we have not done all for education that was possible, still we have done a good deal—and the question of education in the East is one that I feel possesses great difficulties. Nothing but good can, I think, come of teaching *in the native languages* what we call the three R's; and of greater value still are the habits of orderliness and punctuality, and the duties inculcated by teachers in the hope of making good citizens of their pupils. We have schools for girls as well as boys; and that, I think, is cause for congratulation in a Muhammadan country, where it will be understood that the only religious instruction is

that of the Korān, at special hours, and usually by a special Korān teacher. I do not think we should aim at giving Malays the sort of higher education that is offered by the Government of India to its native subjects, but I would prefer to see the establishment of classes where useful trades would be taught. It is unfortunate that, when an Eastern has been taught to read and write English very indifferently, he seems to think that from that moment the Government is responsible for his future employment, and in consequence the market for this kind of labour is overstocked, while many honourable and profitable trades find difficulty in obtaining workmen, because of the prejudice against anything like manual labour.

A native of the East is curiously prone to imitate the Western, but his imitation is nearly always only partial—hardly ever goes to the root of things, and fails by the omission of some important particular. He clothes himself in items of the European dress, he learns scraps of the language, essays British sports, without sufficient energy or determination to thoroughly succeed, and he will even, with what seems praiseworthy enterprise, take up the planting of some new product in imitation of an European neighbour, often, I regret to say, wasting thereby a capital that would have been better employed in some other form of planting or business which he really understood. Just as I think the Eastern is never so well or becomingly dressed as in his national costume, so I think it should be our object to maintain or revive his interest in the best of his traditions, rather than encourage him to assume habits of life that are not really suited to his character, constitution, climate, or the circumstances in which he lives—which are, in fact, unnatural to him, and will lead him to trouble and disappointment, if not to absolute disaster.

The greatest achievement of British influence in Malāya is the enormous improvement in the condition of the Malays themselves. They are freer, healthier, wealthier, more independent, more enlightened—happier by far than when we went to them. I think this is a fact on which every officer in the services of the various Malay Governments may be sincerely congratulated; and many of those officers are themselves Malays, and under our guidance have contributed to this result. I fear it cannot be expected that the British Government, still less the British people, should take much interest in such a distant and unknown corner of the world as the Malay Peninsula, but you, who have been good enough to come here to-night, will be glad to hear this confident statement of

mine. I am trying to avoid the mention of individual names—it is so difficult to prevent injustice by omission—but I cannot forbear to say that the present happy condition of the Malays in that State where they probably outnumber all the rest of their countrymen under our influence is due mainly to one whose name will never be forgotten in Pêrak, and that is my friend Sir Hugh Low.

I may tell you two facts that have a special interest as showing what Malays in high places think of British rule. The present Sultan of Pêrak visited England in 1884. When he returned a feast was given to welcome him back, and the banquet was attended by all the principal Malay chiefs in the country. I was present, acting for the Resident, absent on leave, and it was rather surprising to hear Raja Dris (for he was not then the Sultan), in a fluent and admirably expressed after-dinner speech in his own language, state that for ten years they had watched British methods with misgiving and apprehension, but now, on behalf of the Regent, of himself, and of the Pêrak chiefs, he wished to say that there was no longer any hesitation in their minds, for they recognised the value of what had been done for them, and they would not accept a return to Malay rule.

The other incident occurred in Pahang a few weeks ago. You know we had trouble in Pahang, and at one period of it the Governor of the Straits Settlements thought it well that the Sultan of Pahang should visit Singapore. Our connection with Pahang is comparatively recent, and it appears that the Sultan felt then such little confidence in our good faith that he vowed that if he ever returned to Pahang he would give his weight in silver to the poor. The other night His Highness fulfilled the promise, and after a great feast he duly took his seat on one scale, while silver dollars to the number of 2,862 were piled on the other, and, the balance being thus exactly adjusted, the money was at once handed over for distribution to the poor.

I have tried to give you some idea of the sort of place Malāya was in 1874; I have mentioned some of the work done under British influence since, and I have imperfectly sketched the present position, both as regards the country and the people. I am no prophet, but I see no reason why the prospects of the future should not be measured by the experience of the past. The keynote of that success is liberality, especially in the treatment of Malays, the owners of the land; in encouragement to all those willing to risk their capital and health in a new country, and in the construction

of useful public works, which so far have always returned, directly or indirectly, the money spent on them.

Our main aim now should be the encouragement of planting, because I take it that the permanent occupation and cultivation of the soil is a more worthy object than the desolation of the face of the country by surface mining. Planting in Malaya has had much to contend against; but the Englishman who goes to the East to plant is usually the *fine fleur* of his kind, and the men who have made Ceylon what it is, who recovered there from the most crushing blow, and from the ashes of Arabian coffee have raised a yet more successful product, are not to be denied, and they have proved to demonstration the value of the Malay Peninsula for the growth of Liberian coffee—proved not only that it will grow, but that it will pay, and will last. There may be a fortune in other tropical products, but I will not go into the attractive but doubtful region of possibilities. The facts are that in the Malay States there are millions of acres of unexplored and uninhabited jungle, magnificently timbered and watered, and capable of producing any species of tropical agriculture that flourishes under the equator. This land has facilities of access that, if not unrivalled, are certainly great, and improving every year. The labour question was a difficulty, but a high authority on planting once said to the members of this Institute, "As to labour supply, experienced planters of the right sort, if supported by a liberal Government, may be trusted to overcome any difficulty in this direction." I will undertake to say that the planters in the Malay Peninsula are of the right sort, and that if they get that liberal support which I believe it is to the interest of Government to give them, Mr. John Ferguson, who knew the temper of the men he was speaking of, will be found to have gauged them accurately. At present, you understand that we rely almost for existence upon the export of tin. It may last for ages, but it is certain that we have already seen some fields of the mineral worked out. It goes, and as there is nothing behind it, we must find something to replace it. We exact a high duty, and that money we invest in railways that give us a good return and open communications that make our waste lands available for agriculture. That seems a good enough reason why we should encourage the *bond fide* planter; but, in my opinion, it is a far better one that we should try to secure a settled population to till the soil and convert some of our millions of acres of jungle into cultivated fields that will supply their owners with subsistence. Our first duty, I take it, is to attract immigrants, and the best way to keep them is to settle them on the



land. When once they are there, not only will they personally contribute to the revenue by paying land rent, and other direct and indirect taxes, but the Government can always impose a moderate duty on any produce exported.

The gold-mining industry in Pahang and Pêrak is now of such importance that, without being over-sanguine, one may regard it as giving promise of a good, perhaps of a great, future. Good indications have also been found in the Negri Sembilan, and, considering the nature of the country and the immense difficulties of prospecting, it would be reasonable to suppose that the little we know of gold, in what I hardly need remind you is the Golden Chersonese of the ancients, is surely less than remains to be discovered. The Chinese must ever receive the credit for taking full advantage of the facilities we offered them to make tin mining the most important industry in the protected States; but it is a satisfaction to think that what has been done for gold is the work of our own countrymen; for I imagine that the Australians who, with men of this country, have done such excellent service in Pahang and Pêrak will not object to my counting them as Englishmen.

## V.

### *General conclusions as to the secret of success, and the best policy in dealing with native races.*

From what I have already said you may have gathered the principles on which we based our treatment of the Malays. If so, I wish to emphasise those principles, and to state in detail the methods which secured us the confidence of the Malays—methods which will serve equally well with any other native race that comes under British influence.

The first requirement is to learn the language of the people to be ruled. I mean to learn to speak it and write it well. And the first use to make of this knowledge is to learn as much as possible about the people—their customs, traditions, character, and idiosyncrasies. An officer who has his heart in his work will certainly gain the sympathies of those over whom he spends this trouble. In the Malay States we have always insisted upon officers passing an examination in Malay, and the standard is a high one.

The main care of those responsible for the administration should be to keep faith in any matters of agreement, and to do everything possible to secure justice for every class and every nationality without fear or favour. To punish crime and redress wrong is

probably the greatest novelty you can offer to an Eastern, and, though he has been accustomed to all forms of bribery, he very soon understands and appreciates the change of *régime*, when to offer a bribe is not only an insult, but will almost certainly get the would-be briber into serious trouble.

I take it the leading motive of government in an English Dependency is to spend for its advantage all the revenues raised in it, never seeking to make money out of a distant possession, or exact any contribution towards Imperial funds. The Malay States are not, of course, British Dependencies and the rule I speak of has been very carefully observed with them. This policy is one which appeals specially to intelligent natives of the East, and as long as these principles are maintained the spread of English rule can only be for good, and no native race, Eastern or otherwise, will regret the advent of English advice, as in Malāya, or English control, as in India.

That is as to what we should do. It is almost as important to bear in mind what we should not do. We should not interfere overmuch with native customs and prejudices, and we should be specially careful to avoid any attempt to force English views, even when English opinion is practically unanimous on a subject, upon a people living under utterly different conditions, and who, if their voice is hard to hear, may still bitterly resent what they think an intolerable interference.

## VI.

*The new departure consequent on the Malay Treaty of Federation concluded last year, and the Anglo-French Treaty of January 15 last concerning Siam.*

For twenty years British Residents filled that curious position in the Malay States which I have described to you ; but the difficulties became daily greater as the States increased in importance, and I am glad to say that last July, with the sanction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, a treaty was concluded between the Governor of the Straits Settlements (Sir Charles Mitchell), acting for and on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, and the rulers of all the States under our protection, by which all previous arrangements concerning the appointment of Residents were confirmed, and the following new provisions were mutually agreed to :—

(a) The federation for administrative purposes of the protected Malay States, with an undertaking to mutually assist each other with men or money.

(b) The appointment of a Resident-General, as the agent and representative of the British Government under the Governor of the Straits Settlements.

(c) The raising of a force of Indian soldiers for service in any part of the peninsula, or, if required, in the Colony.

This new departure needs no comment; it has the Secretary of State's approval. As no step has yet been taken to get the scheme into working order, it is early to anticipate the results of the change. I would remind you, however, that this is the first time any scheme of administration has ever been framed, for hitherto the Residents in each State have worked without reference to their neighbours' action. I trust that in future, at any rate, a nearer approach to uniformity will be secured. The other advantages of union and a sympathetic control of Malay affairs will easily occur to you. The rulers of the four States (for Sungei Ujong and Negri Sembilan are now one) understand very well the objects of this new Treaty, its provisions, and the effect likely to be produced in the peninsula; but certainly one of the principal reasons why they so readily subscribed to it is, that while they undertake to give each other financial and other assistance, under the advice of the Resident-General, they will now at least be consulted in the matter.

This federation has united the interests of all the Malay States, from the confines of Siamese influence in the north to Johor in the south. Less than two months ago Her Majesty's Government concluded an important Treaty with France concerning their respective interests on the borders or in the neighbourhood of Siamese territories. I wish only to allude to one provision of this Treaty, and that is, that the French and English undertake to recognise and practically guarantee the independence of what may be called Central Siam. That is a very useful provision, for it prevents any possibility of conterminous boundaries between France and England. To the north of Pahang and east of Pêrak there are two independent Malay States, Trengganu and Kelantan, where flourish all those abuses and cruelties that have been swept away from the States under our control. I suppose it is absolutely certain that these States will in time come under British influence. Under present conditions they are bad neighbours: they harbour murderers and bad characters of all sorts, and they have already caused the other States a great deal of trouble and expense. To go further than this would be to indulge in speculations that the Siamese might consider hardly friendly. Everyone can best draw his own conclusions after a careful study of the map of the peninsula; but the conditions of life

in some of the small States to the north of Kelantan are such that one may well hesitate to say that Siam claims to exert any influence within them.

One thing, however, is certain—that no connection can at present be made between Malayan and Burmese systems of railway and telegraph without going through territory over which Siam claims suzerain rights, though the land is actually part of Maláya. We are already within measurable distance of a through railway from Province Wellesley to Port Dickson, and, if Englishmen in the Straits of Malacca had showed anything like the energy exhibited in Africa or Australia, a port of such commanding importance as Singapore would have years ago become the terminus of a Malay Peninsula railway that would at least have traversed the whole of the western States. As the eastern States develop under British control an east coast railway will possibly be the great civilising influence on that side, and the systems of west and east coast united would naturally, by a short northern extension, join the railway scheme of Burma, where the gauge is the same as ours. By means of a railway service across the peninsula and a line of fast steamers from the east coast through the Torres Straits, it is said that the journey from England to Australia can be materially shortened. What is true of railways is equally true of the telegraph, and it might in time of war be of great Imperial importance to have an unbroken land-line from India to Singapore.

## VII.

### *The British official and the public.*

So far I have described to you the results of a unique and most interesting experiment, and I have, I hope, proved to you that in the face of special difficulties we have secured the happiness, the prosperity and the confidence of all classes of natives in the Protected Malay States, because we have observed those principles which, I believe, must always bring with them an equally good result.

In conclusion, I wish to say one word about the European and the manner in which he should be treated by Government officers in order that he also may share in the advantages that can be gained by risking his life and fortune in a new country. I have heard Europeans, especially Frenchmen and Germans, say that they would rather live in a British Colony than in one governed by officials of their own nationality. They give many good reasons for the view they hold, and it is only necessary to mention here one of

them—it is the general statement that British officials are more get-at-able, more practical, more sympathetic, and more business-like than either French or German Colonial officers. In spite of that independent testimony—on the correctness of which I can hardly with propriety offer an opinion—I think that the English official has something to learn in his treatment of men of his own colour who approach him in his official capacity. In Malaya so much has been done by Orientals, that the achievements of the white man look very small indeed. Roughly speaking, the Chinaman has supplied the revenues, and the Government, under the direction of British officers, has laid the money out and made the country what it is. Of private European enterprise, except in planting and a few mines, there has been practically none. I think there would have been more if further encouragement had been offered, but some British officials appear to acquire, in the course of their service, a habit of looking with suspicion on all their own countrymen who have any official dealings with them. It seems remarkable that it should be so, but almost anyone can bear out my statement, and I think everyone who has influence should use it to discourage an attitude which, if assumed by a senior officer, will very soon be imitated by his juniors.

I have never been able to sympathise with this frame of mind myself, because I have, I am glad to say, in a somewhat long experience, never seen anything to justify it. Ten men may ask a Government official for something, undertaking on their part something in return. Nine may fulfil their promises and the tenth may fail. Because of that one failure, or even if the proportion were higher, it is not a sufficient reason for the official to regard all future comers as untrustworthy. I don't think anyone who knows my official life will accuse me of want of sympathy for the native. I have been trying to tell you how absolutely necessary I think it is for the successful government of natives; but those to whom the administration is entrusted must not ignore Europeans. Government officers are there as the temporary stewards of a property—the servants of the public. It should be their object to encourage every legitimate enterprise for the advancement of the country and the profit and prosperity of those who dwell therein. I trust I shall not be understood as advocating extravagance or carelessness for the interests entrusted to us; but between due caution and restrictions which make profitable enterprise almost impossible, there appears to me to lie the whole art of successful government. It would perhaps seem absurd to remind Government

officers that they have not inherited their positions, nor do they hold them for their own benefit or for the indulgence of any personal caprice. Beyond the preservation of peace and the protection of life and property, to which I do not refer, the official is there to open the country by great works : roads, railways, telegraphs, wharves ; he is there to encourage capital, and to do everything in his power to make the lives of the people of all classes and nationalities safe, pleasant, and profitable. The climate of the Malay Peninsula, especially to those who must go out of their houses and work in it, is not by any means a good one for Europeans. It is hot, damp, and enervating ; full of malaria, and those who live there are constantly exposed to all the diseases common to the tropics. With proper care, of course, most of the risk may be avoided, but careful precaution is a necessity.

Now, with these attractions on the one hand and Africa on the other, is it likely that any rich, able, energetic Englishman will hurry to the Malay Peninsula to invest his capital and devote his energies to a life in that distant and unknown region ? If, however, he does go there, if he is willing to take all the risks, what do you suppose it is for ? Not, I imagine, in order that he may lose his health and his money in some fruitless attempt to achieve the impossible, nor yet that he may, by toiling for the rest of his life, secure a return of five or six per cent. on his money. He goes to what is called "make his fortune," and I greatly regret that though every Colony in Australia, though South Africa, America, and numbers of other countries have produced thousands of wealthy men to be the best form of advertisement of the advantages offered, the Malay Peninsula has, hitherto, done little more for European investors than absorb their money. It is a curious fact that, so far as I know, Crown Colonies hardly ever produce really rich Colonists, while the constitutionally governed Colonies can tell them by hundreds and thousands. I believe the reason is that in Crown Colonies there is a narrowness and want of liberality in the treatment of *bond fide* commercial undertakings, that makes it impossible to obtain much success, and in consequence the capital, the energy, and the brains go elsewhere.

I have laid stress on this point, because I think that it is one of the most important. There is probably no one so keenly interested in Malaya as I am. My connection with the Protected States has never ceased since I went to Pérak in January 1874. I have watched the conversion of the various States from jungle places into a country that some of us are almost proud of, and I do not wish now to

see advancement checked. I hardly think this is a time to be less liberal, for I do not believe that any country can develop into greatness when it has to rely for prosperity on one industry, especially when that industry is practically limited to the praiseworthy efforts of thousands of Chinese to win from the soil alluvial tin by methods which, if they are successful, are certainly primitive.

The Chinaman, as a unit of taxation, is almost unapproachable; but tin mining specially appeals to his gambling instincts, and, when it fails, he does not become a planter or a trader, he simply goes away to mine elsewhere, or find some other enterprise which contains the elements of risk and possible gain. The trade which often suggests itself is burglary.

When first Residents were appointed to the Malay States many experienced planters in Ceylon applied for land in the Peninsula, but they were, rightly or wrongly, so dissatisfied with the terms offered that, with very few exceptions, they withdrew their applications. Some, however, came to Malaya, and have proved what persistence and unrelenting care and labour can do. This, then, is a second and a better opportunity to secure European planters, and I trust that this time we may be able to offer them such reasonable terms that they will come to stay.

I have spoken already of my inability to mention the names of deserving officers who were instrumental in helping to a successful issue those difficult preliminary negotiations on which the existing fabric of accomplished work rests. Similarly I am precluded from mentioning the many names that occur to me of officers who, in these twenty years, have rendered faithful and arduous services to the Malay rulers, and by their exertions under trying circumstances have secured peace, liberty, and progress. I need not, however, hesitate to remind you of the great debt which a prosperous and happy Malaya owes to Sir Andrew Clarke, Sir Frederick Weld, and Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, who, as governors of the Straits Settlements, recognised in the Malay question the greatest interest of their work.

Sir Andrew Clarke's name will ever be connected with the initiation of a policy that has conferred, and is likely to confer, great benefits on the people of Malaya, and has done something for British trade. Sir Frederick Weld, by his sterling qualities and broad views, endeared himself to the Malays and did much to advance the interests of the States at a time when they were struggling to attain a higher form of existence. But the main credit for the excellence of public

institutions in Malaya must be ascribed to the influence and control of Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, who, for fourteen years, as Colonial Secretary and Governor of the Straits Settlements, gave the Protected States the benefit of his great ability and experience. Sir Cecil Smith's name will always be associated with any scheme for the improvement of education, and his sympathies for this cause were as warm in Perak or Selangor as in Singapore or Penang. But it is in the advancement of railway construction, the most solid proof of the value of British advice, that Sir Cecil's help and encouragement have left the most tangible evidence of his influence in Malaya.

Lest the record should be forgotten, I have appended to this paper a list of the officers who filled the posts of British Resident in the Malay States from 1874 till the present time.

*Perak.*

Name	From	To	Remarks
Capt. T. C. Speedy . .	Jan., 1874	—	Assistant Resident
J. W. W. Birch . . .	Dec., 1874	Nov., 1875	Assassinated
J. G. Davidson . . .	" 1876	" 1877	Resigned (since dead)
Hugh Low . . . . .	" 1877	June, 1889	Retired
F. A. Swettenham . .	June, 1889	Jan., 1896	
W. H. Treacher . . .	Jan., 1896		

*Selangor.*

Name	From	To	Remarks
F. A. Swettenham . .	Aug., 1874	—	Assistant Resident
J. G. Davidson . . .	Dec., 1874	1876	
B. Douglas . . . . .	" 1876	Sept., 1882	
F. A. Swettenham . .	Sept., 1882	June, 1889	
W. E. Maxwell . . .	" 1889	" 1892	
W. H. Treacher . . .	" 1892	Jan., 1896	
J. P. Rodger . . . .	Jan., 1896		

*Sungei Ujong.*

Name	From	To	Remarks
Capt. Tatham, R.A. . .	Dec., 1874	April, 1875	Assistant Resident
Capt. Murray, R.N. . .	April, 1875	—	Died
W. F. B. Paul . . . .	—	—	Retired
Hon. M. Lister . . . .			



*Negri Sembilan.*

Name	From	To	Remarks
Hon. M. Lister . . .	—	1895	The Negri Sembilan were federated with S. Ujong under one Resident in 1895

*Pahang.*

Name	From	To	Remarks
J P. Rodger . . .	Nov., 1888	Jan., 1896	
Hugh Clifford . . .	Jan., 1896		

## DISCUSSION.

Sir HUGH LOW, G.C.M.G.: I think that I do not in the least mistake our feelings when I say we are all very much obliged to Mr. Swettenham for his very able paper. I have known him for a great many years, and from my knowledge of him I am quite certain he is the person most familiar with all the circumstances and able to give you the most recent accurate information of what has taken place in the Malay Peninsula, and I certainly do not know any other who could have stated them so well. The paper is itself so exhaustive that I know of hardly any points which I could illustrate by observations or experience of my own. In every particular in which Mr. Swettenham has directed your attention to these protected States I cordially agree with the views he has announced. I have, like him, served under some of the able Governors whom it has been the fortune of the Colony of the Straits Settlements to have had appointed over them, and I have always been encouraged by their sympathy and support. These gentlemen richly deserve the thanks of the country for carrying out the policy initiated by General Sir Andrew Clarke, which has given to England such rich States as those which have been described to you, and who have done this without the cost of a penny to the British taxpayer, and with the full consent and gratitude of the people who inhabit them. It is now six years since I left Perak, the state in which Mr. Swettenham succeeded me as Resident, and I feel from reading the Reports which come to me occasionally, and the annual reports of the governors, that its development has been so rapid that if I were to return I should scarcely know the country again. Mr. Swettenham has enumerated a great many of the works carried out there, and mentioned the services of those officers

who as heads of the Departments, acting under the Resident, have been mainly instrumental in carrying out the works. It is due to them, I think, that the attention of the British public should be called to the great services they have rendered, and which have been productive of such admirable results. The appointments were so carefully made and the officers so well selected that very rarely indeed was there any failure in the performance of the duties with which they were entrusted. I have had great opportunities of seeing this, and the Chairman knows how much we have to thank them for their work in difficult circumstances. Many have sacrificed health in the performance of their duties: some have fallen by the treachery of the natives; while others have fallen victims to over-zeal and exposure in a climate where disease could only be warded off by the greatest care. There is no Colony which I have visited—not even Ceylon—where the services of the heads of the departments are better performed, and many gentlemen returning to this country have also told me they know of no place where the various services of the Government are better performed than in these States. All that has been described to you has been done in about twenty years, and I hope now that the federation is completed there is a greater future for the States. This federation scheme, which I believe is almost entirely due to Mr. Swettenham (as indeed a great part of the prosperity of these States is due to his personal exertions), will certainly help in this direction. I hope that the services of some of the old pioneers who have assisted the various residents will be taken into consideration, and that they will meet with their due reward. In regard to the liberality which Mr. Swettenham recommends in dealing with gentlemen who go there to invest their money in planting, I may say that I highly approve of the sentiments he has enunciated. I think that it is our duty by every means in our power to forward the views and interests of our countrymen, and I do not think our countrymen are in the habit of wishing their interests to be forwarded unduly against the interests of others. In the past we have not perhaps been so liberal as we might have been to the planting interest; our principal attention has been directed to mines for the purpose of raising the revenue necessary for the building of roads and railways and other public works, but I do think we may now take Ceylon as an example, and be liberal in our treatment of the planters and do everything in our power to encourage the immigration of labour. The paper is so comprehensive that it touches on almost every point of importance, and lays

before you a clear statement of the former and actual condition of things. I have never listened with so much pleasure to any account of the protected Malay States, and I feel it a great compliment to have been invited here. I have much pleasure also in making these remarks in the presence of my friend the Chairman, to whom I owe so much for kindness and assistance when I served under him in the Malay States. He was always ready to forward my views if he approved of them, which I am happy to think he generally did, and I was always able to appeal to him for advice and assistance in every difficulty—and difficulties, in the circumstances in which we found ourselves, frequently occurred. I hope there is a quiet future before the States; I concur in the statement that in no part of Her Majesty's dominions are life and property more secure. This is a very different state of things from what it was when Mr. Swettenham first went there, for he was the companion of Mr. Birch, and narrowly escaped sharing Mr. Birch's fate.

MR. WILLIAM ADAMSON: I am sure we are very much indebted to Mr. Swettenham for his able and interesting address. He has given a most interesting account of the twenty years' government of the country. It is certainly a wonderful account, even to those Englishmen who are accustomed to hear of successful endeavours on the part of officials they send to rule distant territories. In one respect his address has been incomplete: he has told us of the great debt we owe to Sir Andrew Clarke and those governors who succeeded him in carrying out the lines of the great policy he laid down, but he said very little in respect of one person who has been most important in developing that country and bringing it to its present position, and that is, himself. Of course, we understand the reasons which led to this omission, but at the same time we may say for him that which he could not say for himself. There are one or two points to which, as a merchant of the Straits Settlements, I should like to refer. He has told you that of private European enterprise there has practically been none. This is an extraordinary fact, considering the great progress of the States and their neighbourhood to such active centres of business as Singapore and Penang. He has also said that if Englishmen in the Straits had shown the energy that has been shown in Australia and elsewhere, the railway which he indicated would long since have been made. I think the reasons lie on the surface, and are easily stated. In the first place, the wealth of these native States consists of tin deposits, which, although extremely valuable, are not easily handled by the expensive methods of Europeans. The profit of the working of these deposits depends

very much on the organisation of labour, which is Chinese, and which is best left to Chinamen. It is only in exceptional instances that it has been found possible to employ European scientific methods with any advantage. If you remember that the great wealth of the country—the revenue of the country—is derived from these mines, and that these cannot well be worked by Europeans, you will understand why European enterprise could not very easily be employed in the development of the country generally. As to planting, that, of course, is in its infancy. Liberian coffee has no doubt, in the last few years, shown that it may be successfully planted, and I hope we shall see a great extension of that form of enterprise; but at the present moment it certainly has not shown that form of advertisement to which Mr. Swettenham referred when he said that the best advertisement was that somebody should make a large fortune. Planting is necessarily a slow process, and it is a process rather of individual effort, and not one in which large capital can be employed. Then as to railways; if you speak of the railways of the State, these are mostly in the hands of the Government. They have been extremely profitable, because they have run from one important point to another, carrying mostly tin and the produce of the natives; but if you refer to that great enterprise—the railway which is to connect us with Burma—you will see that it is a question of European capital. You must remember that in Australia there has been a great overflow of European capital. Australia has been developed not by Australian capital but by British capital; but for the last four or five years there has been a steady withdrawal of British capital from all silver-using countries, and that is one reason why, not only in the Straits but in India, there has been a lack of enterprise which would not have occurred had there been the same facilities which exist between one gold country and another, or between one country and another where the currency is not subject to violent fluctuations. I thoroughly agree with what Mr. Swettenham has said regarding the planting interest. I have not the least fear that the deposits of tin (which have been the foundation of the prosperity of the States, and which at present are the great sources of revenue)—I have not the least fear but that these deposits will continue for a great many years to come, and that the Peninsula will continue to supply tin to all the world. But in the course of time these deposits must be worked out. At any rate, those who come to mine the tin are Chinese, who do not bring their women with them, and who do not settle on the land. They roam over the country and leave behind them a desert of “apoi.”

What is necessary is to encourage the planting and agricultural interest. I do think the Government of the Straits Settlements has not been sufficiently alive to that want. I think a great deal more might have been done with their large revenue to induce families from British India—where there is an overplus of population—to come and settle on the land. In that way you might have a settled population which would gradually grow, and you would come to have a country different from what it is to-day. In respect to the planting, generally, although I do not wish to say anything reflecting on the different Residents as to the encouragement they have given to planters (because I have never found individual Residents lacking in the encouragement they would give), I think the Government as a whole has not been desirous of giving that encouragement which it might have given, and which, I think, it is necessary it should give. I therefore concur in the recommendation the lecturer has given with regard to encouragement to the planting interests. I have not the least doubt that the Malay States will continue to show great prosperity, nor have I any doubt we shall find gold there as well as tin, and that all kinds of tropical produce will be cultivated there.

LORD SUDELEY: It is, I fear, although called upon by your Chairman, somewhat presumptuous on my part to say even a single word in the presence of so many gentlemen and officials who know the Straits well, and who therefore can speak with far more authority than I can. It was my good fortune a short time ago, however, to pay a visit there, and some impressions which I then formed I will refer to. In his able paper Mr. Swettenham has told us a great many wonderful things. It must, I am sure, have struck you all with astonishment that in a space of twenty years this country should have developed in that marvellous way, and how much must be due to those who have carried it out. Mr. Swettenham summed up the facts by saying there are now eight million dollars of revenue, nearly 200 miles of railway, 2,000 miles of road, and over 1,000 miles of telegraph line. These figures tell a tale that is perfectly extraordinary. Whilst I was there, I was greatly struck with this splendid development of the country, with its glorious vegetation, with the wonderful mining industry, with far greater mineral wealth still to be developed, and with the rich virgin jungle waiting to be cleared—a paradise for planters. But there was one thing which struck me even more, a point to which Sir Hugh Low referred just now. It was the marvellous way in which throughout the country the body of young officers belonging to the Civil Service do their duty. I have seen them in very many

out-of-the-way places performing that duty, showing the greatest devotion to their work with the utmost zealousness and ability. Mr. Swettenham alluded in his paper to the fact that very often what is done amongst the upper classes of officials in hindering and making too much use of red-tape procedure is followed by their subordinates. It occurred to me that is rather a good illustration of what you now find throughout the Straits, only in an opposite sense, namely, in following some of their good deeds. Mr. Swettenham has the character amongst all whom I saw and spoke with of being a gentleman who has marvellous firmness and courage, a surprising absence of fear of responsibility, and at the same time of being a man who shows the greatest tact and discretion in dealing with the natives. It was in these good qualities that I found his subordinates trying to emulate him. Of this I am quite certain, that these gentlemen who serve the Settlement in their various positions, often in lonely places far removed from civilised districts, have no equal in any part of the world. Many times these officers carry their lives in their hands; and they show on all occasions the greatest heroism and bravery. It was my melancholy fate to know one poor officer—Mr. Wise, which I mention as one incident amongst many. I saw him the day before he was killed, and when afterwards I asked how this sad event occurred, I was told that he thought it his duty as a Civil officer of the Government to go forward with an attacking party. So he met his death bravely doing his duty. These are the sort of acts and deeds which make us proud of being Englishmen. I should like to allude to another similar case. You all know that during last year there was a considerable amount of trouble in the district of Pahang. I remember seeing Mr. Hugh Clifford, then acting Resident, just before he went off to try and chase the rebels in Tréngánu, and have since heard a great deal of what he did. I would suggest that this Institute should ask Mr. Hugh Clifford to give an account of his doings during that time, because I venture to say it would be a paper of the greatest interest of thrilling hairbreadth escapes, which would astonish the world in general. Mr. Clifford at one time for the space of three months went through that wild jungle, without road or even a track, alone. Simply by that wonderful power of character we sometimes see, which gives influence over natives, of which Gordon was so splendid an example, he was able to get a body of Malays together to do as he bade them, and by his knowledge of the vernacular he was able to keep up a continuous attempt to capture these rebels, and which at the last would have

been entirely successful if Siamese officials had not interfered. I rejoice to think that Mr. Swettenham has been appointed to the post of Resident-General, and I am sure we all wish him the utmost success in his great career.

Mr. DUDLEY F. A. HERVEY, C.M.G. : An experience gained in over twenty-five years' service in the Straits Settlements, and some knowledge of the native States themselves, may perhaps justify me in offering a few remarks on my friend Mr. Swettenham's very interesting and able paper. I share with a good many others, I believe, his feeling respecting the cumbrous and meaningless name by which the Colony is at present known, and believed two or three years ago there was reason to hope that steps would be taken to alter it for the better ; but I was, it seems, too sanguine. As regards the methods adopted by us in the Straits and the Peninsula of dealing with the natives, though, if we are to judge by results as a whole, they cannot be described as unsuccessful, still I am inclined to think that we err on the side of *suaviter in modo*, and that a little more of the *fortiter in re* would be salutary ; this remark is, however, more applicable to the Colony than to the protected States, where the native is not allowed to abuse the process of the Courts for his own purposes and the oppression of his poorer fellows to the same extent that he does in the Colony. The protected States, not being British territory, are not, shall I say, blessed by the presence of lawyers and their attendant train of mischief-makers. The Colony might with advantage take a leaf or two out of the Dutch book, so far as natives are concerned. I thoroughly endorse what Mr. Swettenham has said respecting the difficulties connected with the education of Malays, and agree that we should not aim at giving them, as a body, a high-class education ; my experience is that many forget very soon what they have learnt, the period of schooling being often much too short ; but the effect as a whole is too often to make them look down on their natural occupation of agriculture, and I should like to see some experiments made in the way of agricultural instruction, which, besides improving their methods, might lead them to feel the importance attached to the industry by Government. It is very satisfactory to know that in the protected States, as in the Colony, there are schools attended by Malay girls ; it is no doubt through the training of the women that we must hope to eventually raise the status of the Malays as a race. I shall not, I am sure, be suspected of desiring to depreciate the mineral resources of the States, if I suggest that the "Golden Chersonese" is to be found in Pegu rather than in the Malay

Peninsula; the older writers doubtless identified it with the latter, but later researches leave no doubt that Pegu was the region in question. It is reassuring to all who are interested in the progress of the Peninsula to hear what importance is attached by Mr. Swettenham to the encouragement of planting with a view to the permanent occupation of the soil, so that the country may not suffer from any possible future falling off in mineral productiveness, and it is satisfactory to note his views as to the treatment to be accorded to European planters; there has been too often in the past a tendency on the part of Government to regard planters with an eye of suspicion, as it were, and to be harassed by a haunting fear lest they should make too much money. This tendency we may feel assured will now be a thing of the past in respect of all *bonâ fide* enterprises. It is certainly matter for congratulation for themselves (to judge from Mr. Swettenham's picture of their condition) as well as for us, that there should be a prospect of the Malay States of Tréngánu and Kélanlan coming eventually under our influence; their natural resources, from what we know of them, are abundant, and if Mr. Swettenham has anything to do with them, we may look forward to a very cheerful future for them. Early treaties entitle us to a development of an influence with these States, and it is entirely our own fault that they are still suffering as they are. The nature of the Siamese claim of suzerainty over States in the Malay Peninsula has for a long period been matter of controversy; it is indicated by a triennial presentation at Bangkok from the so-called tributary State of the "bunga mas," or flower of gold, which is tantamount to an admission of inferiority, *i.e.* to saying, "I admit you can thrash me if you like, but sooner than you should do so, I prefer to send this mark of my inferiority once every three years." It has not conferred any right to interfere with the internal administration of the country; if it should be contended on the part of Siam that it does, that Power may be asked whether her transmission of the gold flower to China for a long period involved any admission of a right to internal interference. I have only to add that, having known Mr. Swettenham throughout the length of his public service, I feel that the protected States are greatly to be congratulated on having secured him for their first Resident-General.

Major EDWARD F. COATES: I am sure all those who are connected with the Straits Settlements must hail with satisfaction the sound comments Mr. Swettenham has made, especially those concerning the liberal policy which he considers should be pursued towards Europeans seeking to invest capital in Maláya. Several



friends of mine, together with myself, have large sums of money embarked in the Malay Peninsula at the present time. We have built, and are interested in, one of the railways in the Peninsula, namely, that from Port Dixon to Seremban. We are also interested in some of the mining industries, and in an industry connected with timber. Our experience, so far as timber is concerned, has not been very satisfactory, although I think successful management may soon reward our efforts. At the same time, there is no doubt, a large trade can be made with England and other countries, with the magnificent timber which is produced in the Peninsula. Perhaps one of the reasons that Africa, Australia, and many other Colonies have been able to attract European capital, is that their Governments have to a certain extent opened up their countries by means of railways. The Straits Settlements Government have already commenced them, but I do not think the railways have opened up the country sufficiently, and I would suggest that British capital should be invited by a guarantee, as in the case of India, of a certain rate of interest on the money embarked by the investors. In regard to other industries, there is no doubt that gold and tin must in the future play a very important part. I read recently in the papers that gold mines had been opened up assaying as much as three ounces to the ton, and only in this morning's paper I read the news of the finding of a large find of tin, assaying as much as 72 per cent. of tin. Mr. Swettenham mentions that the Government have constructed two thousand miles of road. This, no doubt, is a very good record, but I venture to say that few of these roads have assisted in opening up the gold-bearing area, and I happen to know of certain people interested in a very rich gold-bearing region, who have, I believe, to make on their own account a road of some thirty miles long without the assistance of the Government. It seems hard that those who are ready to embark some thousands of pounds in opening up an industry of this description should, out of their own pockets, have to undertake such a work, and I would earnestly urge on Mr. Swettenham the desirability of using his best endeavours to assist these gentlemen in obtaining facilities for getting to and from their property, especially with regard to the movement of their machinery up to the mines.

Vice-Admiral the Hon. Sir EDMUND FREMANTLE, K.C.B.: As one who, some two years ago, had the opportunity of visiting this portion of Her Majesty's dominions, I can give my testimony on one or two matters that have been raised. I was the guest of the

residents of Selangor and Perak as Commander-in-Chief of the China station, and prior to then was very ignorant of that part of the world ; indeed, probably by not a few members of the Colonial Institute and by the general public the Protected States may be regarded as a sort of undiscovered territory, so little are they known. It is just as well the British public should have some information about them, and I am sure that from his large experience and great ability there is no one more capable of instructing them than our lecturer of this evening. I can only speak generally of what I saw as a casual visitor, but I was extraordinarily struck with the immense appearance of civilisation, both in Selangor and in Perak. I was not prepared for the good entertainment we met with, for the substantial European houses, nor for the clubs, the tennis, and the like, but beyond that we have heard to-night of the great expansion of trade there and of the success of the mines. It seems to me that the great prosperity of these States is due to a considerable extent to the fact that they are not so trammelled by British law as the more direct dependencies of Her Majesty. I do not know whether it is the absence of any direct appeal to the straightest sect of the "Nonconformist conscience" or what ; the fact remains that the Residents are able to deal with the numerous inhabitants of various races in a way which seems to be extremely successful, and the reason is, I believe, that though they do not deal with them so entirely in accordance with what the British public imagines ought to be the law, they deal with them as Christian gentlemen and in accordance with the best traditions of the British race.

The CHAIRMAN : It now devolves upon me to bring the discussion to a close. I am quite certain you will agree that no paper more interesting, no paper more pregnant, has ever been read before the Institute. There are one or two matters which I should like to emphasise ; but, first, having had a connection of over fourteen years with the Protected States and the Colony of the Straits Settlements, I desire to express my thanks to Lord Sudeley for the remarks which fell from him as regards the public servants who are doing their duty so gallantly in that part of the world. It is a particular pleasure to find a gentleman wholly unconnected with the public service going out there, and who, coming, as it were, accidentally across those engaged in public work, is able on his return to bear the testimony which Lord Sudeley has borne as to the excellent way in which these officers are doing their duty. And among them Lord Sudeley has drawn particular attention to my friend Mr. Clifford, who, literally from the jungle, has come to

the Institute, and whom we are glad to see here to-night. The two points out of many which I should like to emphasise are these. The first relates to the methods of British rule, and especially British rule as regards native races in the Malay Peninsula. We naturally compare our systems with others, and the only ones we can compare them with are the Dutch settlements in Netherlands India and the French settlements in Cochin China. As to the first, from the earliest days of Dutch colonisation we can learn from many quarters that they considered the paramount duty of those who had the laying down of regulations for the government of colonies was to look to the interests of the mother country. Look, again, to the French. Those of us who have knowledge of what is taking place in Cochin China—the greatest of French possessions—know that the prohibitive tariff which so materially affects the development of that country is a tariff not dictated by the authorities in the colony but from Paris. What is our policy? It is that indicated by Mr. Swettenham—that we should govern the Protected Native States for the benefit of the natives. That is the first and primary duty of the English administrator. Years and years ago, Milton laid it down that it is the privilege of the English to have precedence in teaching the nations, and that is the privilege we recognise to-day. The other point is the personal element. The native, as far as my knowledge goes—and I have, perhaps, a greater knowledge of the Chinese than of the Malay—looks to the individual official. He knows little of government as we recognise it, but he looks to the individual officer, and it is as regards the influence of that individual officer that there will be success or non-success in administration. Happily, that is, I think, thoroughly recognised by all those who hold high office in the British Government, and the greatest possible care has been taken to ensure that those who are placed in such responsible positions as that of Resident or of Resident-General shall be men thoroughly imbued not only with knowledge of the country, but with the proper traditions of the British official. As we are dealing with the question of the Malay races and the Protected States, I should like to say a word in regard to what fell from Sir Hugh Low, who, rather from inadvertence I expect, referred to the Protected States as though they were a portion of the British Empire. They are nothing of the kind, and I for one sincerely trust that nothing will be done in the way of annexation. I think it is our duty to govern these States for themselves. We get all the benefits we ought to get out of them. There is the promotion not only of the

we are of the people but of British trade, and we can get that without attempting what to my mind would be a crime if we annexed them to the Empire. As to the question of federation, history repeats itself. There was a federation of many of the States a considerable number of years ago, namely, in the 14th century, but it was a forcible one. There may be again a far greater confederation than in those distant days, but we believe the federation which is about to be put in operation will combine a series of States all contributing to the benefit of the other, and effecting—what has never been possible before—uniformity of administration, economy, and improvement generally to the people who live out there. In conclusion, I have to convey to Mr. Swettenham our thanks for delivering his paper. He has done so at great personal trouble, owing to the state of his health. We the more appreciate his efforts. I have had the great good fortune of working with him for a considerable number of years. I have rarely met anyone more capable of performing his duties as a public official, and nobody could have been selected by the Secretary of State better fitted for the high office of Resident-General than Mr. Swettenham, whose health, I trust, will permit him to perform his duty in the way I know he desires to perform it.

MR. F. A. SWETTENHAM, C.M.G.: I cannot thank you sufficiently for the extremely cordial way in which you have received the paper. I have very little to answer in what has been said by the various speakers, but there are just one or two points I should like to dwell upon lest anyone should go away disappointed. Mr. Adamson spoke with reference to tin-mining by Europeans. I do not altogether agree with what he said. He conveyed the impression that tin-mining was not for Europeans, but since he left the Straits Settlements tin-mining, at any rate in Perak, has been undertaken with considerable success by a good many Europeans. With reference to railways, when I spoke of what might have been done if the people of Singapore had had the same energy which Englishmen have shown in other places, I was thinking principally of the vast amount of talk I heard in Singapore twenty-five years ago with reference to the construction of a railway across the island. I dare say Mr. Adamson will remember all about it. I live in the Peninsula, and I do not know why this railway has never been constructed; but it is a section which would put Singapore at any rate on the first stage towards its connection with a railway which might traverse the Peninsula from one end to the other, and perhaps go up to Burma. Major Coates asked me a question with reference to the construction

of some thirty miles of road which he considered it a great hardship should have to be undertaken by some investors to open a gold mine in some part of the Peninsula which he did not mention. I know quite well when he put that question he never expected me to answer it, and I do not propose to give him any answer. Admiral Fremantle has touched me on rather a tender point, because he mentioned a subject which I confess I had not the courage to allude to myself. He spoke to you of how much had been done in Malaya, where he said the administration was not conducted altogether on the same principles as those followed in a Crown Colony. He is perfectly right; I did not say so, because in this town I do not speak with the same freedom as I do in the jungle of the Malay Peninsula, where there is nobody to contradict me, but the real reason is that in the Malay States we have had as little red tape as possible, and we have done a good many things that, if we had been working in an old-established and recognised Colony, I have no doubt we should not have been allowed to do. Your Chairman has told you that he and I have worked together for many years, and he has said of me many flattering things, for which I cannot sufficiently thank him, but I feel that I do not deserve his too friendly praise. I have often noticed when working with Sir Cecil Smith that our views have been identical, but I have never noticed this similarity of thought so much as this evening, for your Chairman in his remarks on Lord Sudeley's speech said to you exactly what it was in my mind to say had I been able to command the same facility of expression. Of all that has been said to-night, the one thing I shall carry away with me is the cordial manner in which Lord Sudeley spoke of men who are working in the Peninsula for the benefit of the Malays, and in a measure for their own country. When I return and am able to tell them what was said by Lord Sudeley (a complete stranger, whose testimony is, therefore, of the extremest value)—that their exertions made so great an impression in his mind—I am sure his most generous words will encourage them to persevere in the task that is before them. In conclusion, I ask you to give a very cordial vote of thanks to the Chairman, who has been kind enough to preside this evening. I will not presume to say anything with reference to Sir Cecil Smith's ability or special capacity to discharge the duties of this post, but I will say that whatever he undertakes is certain to be as well done as it is possible to do it.

The CHAIRMAN acknowledged the compliment, and the meeting then separated.

## SIXTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Sixth Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, April 14, 1896, when Mr. L. B. Clarence (late a Judge of the Ceylon Supreme Court) read a paper on "One Hundred Years of British Rule in Ceylon."

The Right Hon. Lord Loch, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., a Member of the Council of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 21 Fellows had been elected, viz., 5 Resident and 16 Non-Resident.

### Resident Fellows :—

*F. E. N. Crombie, James W. Dickinson, Edmund Mitchell, M.A., Charles R. Robson, Douglas W. Wales.*

### Non-Resident Fellows :—

*James A. Audry (Transvaal), W. H. Baynes (Queensland), Aaron A. Boss (Transvaal), Charles S. Davson (British Guiana), Richard Fleming (Transvaal), Ferdinand Grafton (Natal), Josiah R. Hosken (British Guiana), Hon. Clement C. Knollys, C.M.G. (Colonial Secretary, Trinidad), Arthur H. Marshall (Mauritius), Capt. Robert S. Marshall (British Guiana), Charles R. Saunders, C.M.G. (Zululand), Thomas P. S. Sawyerr (Sierra Leone), Rev. Thomas C. Smith, M.A. (British Guiana), Harry Solomon (Transvaal), William S. Telfair (Mauritius), William H. Woodroffe (British Guiana).*

It was also announced that donations to the Library of books, maps, &c. had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN: In connection with the celebration of the centenary of British rule in Ceylon, it has afforded the Council great pleasure to set apart one day of the present Session of the Royal Colonial Institute for the purpose of discussing the progress and development of this interesting and important part of Her Majesty's dominions during that period, and we are much pleased to have obtained the consent of the distinguished lecturer to address us on this occasion. Mr. Clarence has a long experience of Ceylon. He has been, I believe, in the country upwards of twenty years, seventeen years of which time he has filled the distinguished position of one of Her Majesty's judges, and he has on many occasions

filled the position of Chief Justice. The conclusions at which Mr. Clarence has arrived, therefore, deserve the greatest attention and consideration, and I am sure that in the paper he will read we shall find ample material for an interesting and instructive discussion.

Mr. L. B. Clarence then read his paper on

## ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF BRITISH RULE IN CEYLON.

### INTRODUCTION.

THE first Englishman recorded as having visited Ceylon was one Ralph Fitch, who touched there in 1589. He was one of four adventurers sent from London to spy out the prospects of Eastern trade. He visited India, Siam, and Pegu, and on his homeward journey touched at Colombo, then in the hands of the Portuguese. Macbeth's First Witch knew a sailor whose husband "was to Aleppo gone, master o' the 'Tiger.'" Fitch sailed in that very "Tiger," and passed through Aleppo on his way eastward. A few years after this our footing in India began with a venturesome little factory started at Surat.

Compared with India, our power in Ceylon is a thing of yesterday. Madras and Bombay were old British Settlements long before a footing in Ceylon was even thought of, and Clive's victories had assured the future of our Indian Empire more than a generation before we owned a yard of ground in the island. In 1796 we conquered the Dutch Settlements on the Ceylon seaboard, and within another twenty years annexed the rest of the country, over which as yet no European nation had had dominion. The centenary of British rule in the island offers an appropriate occasion for reviewing the results of our rule so far.

In this, our "Premier Crown Colony," we have an island about four-fifths the size of Ireland and one-fourth the Punjaub, lying close to the Indian mainland, and inhabited by two native races whose ancestors migrated from India long ago, all living peacefully and submissively under our rule. The climate, though tropical, compares favourably with that of other tropical regions, and though our European race cannot thrive there in continuous residence for successive generations, an Englishman with due care may live there during a long and vigorous working life, especially if his livelihood lie in the hills or permit of access to their cooler air. You may now leave the sweltering heat of Colombo in the early morning, and, after a day's railway journey upwards, dine by a blazing wood-fire and sleep under blankets. Perhaps no country in the world can

show within such narrow limits so great a variety of atmospheric conditions and scenery. Rainfall varies from about 200 inches annually under Adam's Peak to only 88 or 87 in the dry districts. The extraordinary variances of grand and beautiful scenery are marvellous: tangled and luxuriant verdure in the moist zone; torrid, sandy scrub in the dry country; green paddy-fields and feathery palms; heavy jungle with open glades and towering masses of bare, scorching rock; red palmyra-studded plains in the north; in the mountains, rock, torrent, and shaggy forest with open patanas studded with great crimson-flowered rhododendron trees; and in the planting districts of the hills a singular combination of trim cultivation with wild and beautiful savagery of rock and stream. British capital, with the aid of Tamil labour from Southern India, has created a great and successful planting enterprise. A great export and import trade has been developed, and a magnificent breakwater has made Colombo one of the most important seaports in the world. I need not say that, besides weighing the value of modern Ceylon to England, we must also consider how far our rule has been successful in promoting the welfare of about three millions of native inhabitants.

Let us, before passing to British administration in Ceylon, glance very rapidly at the earlier history of the country.

#### EARLY HISTORY.

About 600 B.C. the ancestors of the Sinhalese people swarmed into Ceylon from Bengal, and speedily made the island their own, supplanting aboriginal races which are still represented by a few fast disappearing Veddahs lingering in the wilds of the Bintenne. Not long afterwards the Buddhist religion came into being in India; an apostle of Buddhism converted the Sinhalese, and Buddhism still remains their national religion, though long vanished from its Indian birthplace. The palmy days of the Sinhalese nation lasted till about the fourth century A.D., and the vast remains of their works, now lying buried amid many centuries' growth of jungle, attest the large population of those days, their activity and perished glories. Meanwhile the island was seldom free from another race of invaders from India, whom the chroniclers style Damilo or Tamils. The tide of war between them and the Sinhalese rolled to and fro, till in the sixth century the Sinhalese star waned rapidly, and Anuradhapura, the royal city, fell into the hands of the Tamils. Once, in the twelfth century, a rally took place under a masterful Sinhalese king, and then the glory of the Sinhalese race



departed never to return. They forsook the northern parts of the island, and their capital was shifted hither and thither in the south.

When, early in the sixteenth century, the Portuguese effected a settlement on the coast, the Sinhalese government had fallen to pieces. The north was in the possession of the Tamils. The nominal Sinhalese sovereign had little power beyond the precincts of a fugitive court, and petty chieftains quarrelled and intrigued all round the country. The old irrigation works had fallen into decay, and rice was imported from India. The shipping-places were in the hands of a race of Mahomedan traders whose ancestors had long done business in those waters, and whose descendants, styled by Europeans "Moors," still live and trade in all parts of the island.

The Portuguese, after much bloodshed and many horrors, secured and fortified a string of factories around the coast, and held them for about 150 years. They had latterly a more or less settled possession on the seaboard, but almost incessant fighting went on between their troops and the Sinhalese of the hill-country. They were then, about the middle of the sixteenth century, ousted by the Dutch, who in their turn held the settlements for another 150 years, and, like the Portuguese, gained no permanent footing in the interior. In 1796 the Dutch were dispossessed by Great Britain.

The Portuguese invasion was attended by revolting cruelty. They united a fanatically zealous religious propaganda to the desire for commercial gain. The Dutch toiled doggedly to enforce their own trading monopolies, and extract in kind the *maximum* of revenue from the natives. They also spared no pains to efface the traces of the Portuguese and their religion. Commercially, neither Colony paid its way. Each nation spent far more on its Ceylon settlements than it gained from them in revenue. It is curious to observe that, although the Dutch held the settlements 150 years after the Portuguese, and strove to efface their traces with a stubborn hatred hardly to be wondered at in men whose forefathers had gone through blood and fire in the days of Philip II. and Alva, the influence of the Portuguese, in some notable respects, is more distinct at this day than that of the Hollanders. The Dutch form of Christianity made no way among the natives, and their language is now forgotten among the Dutch Eurasians; while, on the other hand, a large number of the fisher people along the west coast still profess the Roman Catholic faith, and a bastard form of the Portuguese tongue lingers among Portuguese Eurasians. With all the ferocity of the Portuguese invasion, there was a chivalry in their warfare and their religious propaganda. They strove to implant Christianity, and

scorned to spare a captured Buddhist relic at the price of treasure and political services. On the Dutch side little is apparent beyond the desire for commercial gain ; and, when all is said, the history of the Dutch power in Ceylon remains a gloomy warning against selfish and ignobly commercial attempts at colonisation.

The settlements ceded to us consisted of a string of forts and factories around the coast, with seaboard territory widest in the south and west. The country was quiet ; the Dutch administration had become indolent and corrupt, but the people dwelt submissively under a government which at any rate was orderly. In the unsubdued interior the pulse of native government beat but feebly outside the neighbourhood of the Court at Kandy. The sovereigns at Kandy, owing to Indian intermarriages and failure of issue in the direct line, had for the last fifty years been Tamils. Between the Kandyan Sinhalese and the Tamils of the north of the island, in the country where of old the population had been most dense, there now lay a great waste, wellnigh uninhabited, amid whose solitudes, buried in what seemed primeval forest, lay the ruins of cities, religious buildings, great tanks and irrigation works, the only vestiges of the ancient Sinhalese power. All round the mountain country which roofs the middle of the island the later Kandyan kings had jealously maintained a dense belt of forest thirty to forty miles broad, with the passes carefully guarded, as a rampart of defence against invaders from the coast. Towns in the interior there were none, and Kandy itself, the last refuge of native sovereignty, was a mere collection of huts grouped around the royal residence. A distinct variance had arisen between the Sinhalese of the maritime districts and their unsubdued compatriots in the interior. To this day the "Low-country" Sinhalese and the Kandyans seldom mix, and the Kandyans adhere to ancient customs which once, no doubt, were common to the whole Sinhalese race.

#### BRITISH ADMINISTRATION.

The ceded maritime settlements were at first placed under the East India Company's Government and attached to the Madras Presidency ; but the administration was so signally unsuccessful that a severance speedily ensued. Perhaps, if the cession had happened a few years later all would have worked smoothly, and Ceylon might have been under the government of India at this day. At that time the Company's service was only beginning to be worked up into what it afterwards became. It had been reorganised, but traditions still lingered of the days when its servants received only a pittance

on which no one could live; and, to use the words of the historian Kaye, "the civilian made up for what was wanting in his legitimate profit by practices which can only be palliated by reference to the temptations of his career." The result of the new administration under officials from the Madras side was disastrous. Changes were made rashly and ignorantly, especially in a tender matter—the collection of the revenue—and intolerable corruption is said to have characterised the imported officials. The Sinhalese rose in determined revolt. The rising was soon subdued, and the new dependency was severed from the Company's government and administered thenceforward as a Crown Colony.

"Colony" is a term which somewhat grates on the ear, as applied to a dependency in which the tropical climate forbids that the European immigrants, the only "Colonists" in the strict sense of the word, shall ever be more than a drop in the bucket compared with the sons of the soil. Who would think of styling India a British "Colony"? The Europeans in Ceylon number little more than 5,000 out of a total of over 8,000,000. Ceylon has so much in common with India, and so little in common with the varied and scattered dependencies of the Colonial Office, that one would have expected to find the island under the Indian Government, but fate ruled otherwise. Time was when all European nations administered their foreign possessions on strictly "Colonial" principles, for the benefit of their own countrymen, with scant regard for the sons of the soil. England may claim to have led the van in governing subject races on principles more humane, and under whatever department our dependencies may be administered, we profess and intend to promote the welfare of the native inhabitants.

The severance of Ceylon from the Government of India could not fail to influence the future of the country. It is probable that the great European planting enterprise and the developing trade and commerce would have met with less facility and encouragement under the Indian Government. On the other hand, in matters of legislation, and the important task of contriving administrative institutions, especially with reference to the needs and traditions of the natives, the administration contrasts less favourably with that of India.

In the early days of our footing in Ceylon British statesmen set less store than now by foreign acquisitions. Much for which we should now be thankful was relinquished as not worth the keeping. Witness, for instance, the abandonment of Java, in 1824, by a statesman who is said hardly to have known where it was. After 1700 ——— Dutchmen lingered in Ceylon in the ex-

pectation that the settlements would be restored to Holland. When, after the Peace of Amiens, it was recognised that that would not be, the Dutchmen, or those who had the means of moving, gradually quitted the island for Batavia or Europe. They left behind them a number of Eurasians of mixed Dutch and native blood, whose descendants, clinging to the appellation "Burghers," still remain in the island. At the last census the Eurasians, including those of mixed Portuguese and native blood, numbered about 21,000.

Our first few years in the seaboard settlements witnessed various attempts, by intrigue and arms, to gain possession of the interior. I cannot stay to describe the disastrous annihilation of the ill-fated Major Davie's force in 1803, or the gallant achievement of Captain Johnston, who penetrated from Batticalo to Kandy, to meet an expedition which, unknown to him, had been countermanded before he started, and then fought his way back to the coast at Trincomalee. Reading the records of the sufferings of our soldiers in those days, ill-fed, ill-clothed, exposed to tropical sun and tropical rains, dogged by disease as well as by the lurking enemy, the wonder is that any survived at all.

After a "sullen peace" of nearly ten years the hideous savagery of the then king at Kandy led to a peaceful annexation of the interior. The horrors perpetrated by this royal savage reached such a pitch that the Kandyan became for the while indisposed to resist the advent of a foreign power which should deliver them from the tyranny of such a wretch. Our Government eagerly seized the opportunity, and in 1815 the interior of the island was solemnly annexed, the principal Kandyan chiefs assenting. The royal family were deported to Vellore, where their descendants remain to this day, vegetating on pensions which in process of time have become infinitesimally subdivided.

#### NATIVE REVOLTS—OPENING UP OF THE COUNTRY.

The Kandyan Sinhalese, who hitherto had known no foreign masters, did not accept the change without a struggle. After the first sensation of relief at being freed from the savagery of the late king, they began to find our presence irksome and wished us gone. Probably the people at large had had no definite idea of resigning themselves to foreign domination. Moreover, our administration, though well-intentioned, was entrusted to officers unacquainted with Eastern ways. Towards the end of 1817 nearly the whole country rose in arms, and many months passed before the revolt was sup-

pressed. The Kandyanans struggled desperately. They harassed our troops with ambushes, fired on them from precipices, beset their paths with pitfalls and spring-guns, and gave no quarter. On our side, the troops harried and laid waste the country, and put to death all who were taken with arms in their hands. When, after a long struggle, the attempt to shake off the British power collapsed, when the stillness of exhaustion overspread the country, and Government officers began to move about freely, they were confronted by deserted villages, abandoned tillage, and the melancholy evidences of a diminished population: on our own side a contemporary writer put the loss from disease alone at 1,000 out of 5,000 men engaged. It was reported that out of one detachment of 250 Europeans, 200 died in little more than three months, and only two escaped sickness.

And now a signal change was wrought in the opening up of the country by roads and bridges. So vigorously was this work pushed on that within a year from its commencement a cart-road was engineered right up to Kandy, and in a few years more a network of good roads overspread the island in all directions. This excellent work was gratefully accepted by the natives. Since then the work of road-making has been steadily extended, until at this day upwards of 8,700 miles of excellent metalled roads reticulate the country.

In 1884 information was conveyed to the Government of an intended Kandyan revolt. A number of arrests and trials took place, but the results were acquittals which impaired the influence of the Government. Disaffection undoubtedly existed, but the Government appear to have been misled by false information.

In these years there appears to have arisen in our Government an unfortunate disregard of the native gentry, and a policy of discouraging rather than directing and controlling their authority. The influence of the higher classes of natives, in the words of a veteran officer of the Government, "declined to an inconvenient extent, weakening our own hold over the people, and leaving large sections of the rural districts without any sufficient restraint on the vicious and disorderly of the lower classes."

In 1848 a distinct rising of the Kandyanans took place. Wide disaffection existed, but the outbreak was correctly described as "childish in effort, and futile in the result." It was suppressed with small difficulty, though with considerable severity. A want of touch with the people bred the causes of the discontent, kept the Government until the last moment in ignorance of its existence, and led to needlessly harsh measures when the rising actually took place.

This was the last attempt at overt revolt. Had there been any

disposition in after years to rebel actively against British rule, it might have been expected to display itself when India was being shaken by the Mutiny. Yet there was no answering manifestation in Ceylon. The vernacular press has never, so far as I know, been in the habit of publishing matter indicative of disaffection to British rule.

The vast opening up of the country has made it practically impossible for any native force to make head as the Sinhalese did at the outset of our rule. The native inhabitants are not warlike, and as long as we hold India few things are less likely than any overt revolt against our rule in Ceylon.

As the country was opened up and distances were virtually annihilated by improved means of intercommunication, it became no longer necessary to maintain the numerous military detachments posted throughout the country; and in time the military force was reduced until it had been lowered in the seventies to one European battalion, with some artillery and engineers.

For some years the maritime districts and the Kandyan country were administered on a separate footing. In 1888 the whole scheme was altered, and since then the executive and legal administration has been the same throughout the island. Moreover, in legal procedure, criminal as well as civil, no distinction is recognised between European and native or Eurasian.

It is needless to say that public works of all sorts followed in the wake of roads. To the roads in due time were added railways and telegraphs. At the present time over 800 miles of railway are open. Extensions are in progress, and more, doubtless, will be undertaken. The first railway was from Colombo to Kandy. Then followed extension into the higher regions, where coffee-planting was rapidly spreading, and later on a low-country line to the south.

It is sad to record that side by side with the opening up of the country, three vices have been developed with unhappiest results to the native inhabitants, viz. drink, gambling, and an inordinate propensity for litigation. The first especially has spread disastrously in the Kandyan country, where before our coming it was unknown. Major Skinner, the veteran road-maker of Ceylon, whose long acquaintance with the people enabled him to speak with authority, has described the efforts used by the arrack-renters, to whom the liquor traffic was farmed out, to create a taste for spirits among the native villagers. There are strong objections to farming out taxation of any kind, and particularly in the case of such a commodity as drink. I am told that an attempt is to be

made to induce the Government to appoint a Commission on this subject, and to urge that the arrack monopoly should be regulated, not so much with a view to secure revenue as with a serious consideration of its effects on the people.

#### THE PLANTING INDUSTRY.

I pass to the rise and development of the planting enterprise, which the opening up of the country rendered possible.

Coffee had been cultivated to a small extent under the Dutch, and then allowed to decline in consequence of Java producing more than was thought needful. A little lingered on to our own times, and when the country had been opened up it attracted the attention of Englishmen with money to invest. In 1824 the first European coffee estate was opened. The enterprise grew, and about 1837-40 there was a great rush into coffee. The planting extended rapidly, passing through periods of inflation and depression, until much of the hill jungles had been transformed into trim plantations.

The land once cleared by Sinhalese axe-men, the actual coolie labour for cultivation was drawn from the Tamil districts of Southern India; and without this singularly convenient labour supply, cheap, docile, and ready to hand, the enterprise could never have attained such success. Mistakes were sometimes made in opening land which proved unsuitable, but in the main the enterprise prospered, and the clearings climbed higher and higher up the roof of the island. The railway materially aided the planters.

About 1878 coffee-planting attained its real zenith, and then followed a period of unnatural inflation. A wild gambling speculation set in. Then disease attacked the coffee, and the unnatural inflation rendered the downfall all the more disastrous. About 1879 the fall was headlong. In 1882 the export had sunk from over 1,000,000 cwt. to about one-fourth. The planters and their creditors were at their wits' ends. The Courts were crowded with creditors, including mortgagees vainly seeking to realise. Estates went for nominal prices. Superintendents lost their salaries, and even coolies their arrear of wages at eightpence or ninepence a day. There were estates on which (excepting the weekly advances of rice for food) the coolies' wages had not been settled up for a couple of years.

Yet the great mass of the planters never lost heart. Liberian coffee was tried, but with small success. Cinchona was introduced and prospered for a while, saving many from sinking. Then disease and a fall in the price of the bark attacked that industry. Even then the planters were not to be beaten. They turned their attention to

tea. Dead or dying coffee was cut out, and the land planted up with the new product. The planters had to learn, and then teach their employes, an entirely new industry, a new system of cultivation—*plus* the new processes of plucking the tea-leaf and working it up into made tea, a work requiring intelligence and unremitting attention. Fresh capital was needed for the new planting, as well as for expensive tea-making machinery. All this was successfully accomplished, and for many years now the tea has been thriving and paying its owners well throughout great tracts of land, including not merely the districts in which coffee once flourished, but others in which coffee was tried unsuccessfully, and also entirely new districts opened in the low country. It would be difficult to speak too warmly in praise of this remarkable achievement. The success was won by a singular combination of dogged perseverance with alert and adroit enterprise in new departures, aided by the resolute and cordial manner in which the planters worked together for their common advancement.

That the stream of Tamil coolie labour from India should have returned after the crisis of 1879 argues two things—first, the poverty of the coolies in their Indian home, and secondly, that on the whole they are fairly treated by the planters.

Since tea-planting was extended into the low country, Sinhalese villagers have shown more disposition to come in and work on the estates as coolies, though in an intermittent manner. Yet I doubt if the Sinhalese, who are attached to their own village life, will ever furnish a large labour contingent to the planter.

A little coffee lingers in diminishing amount. Cacao succeeds well within a restricted area. Tea, so far, has been a persistent and increasing success. Whether this success will endure, or whether tea will some day share the fate of coffee, who can say? There may hereafter be difficulties to surmount in the way of labour supply and fuel; but the poor soil and forcing climate seem more favourable for a leaf-product like tea than for a fruit-product such as coffee. At present there are absolutely no signs of a falling-off in the production. More than 800,000 acres are now under tea.

Excellent and meritorious as this planting enterprise is, its value to the native community may be, and often is, exaggerated. It is essentially a European enterprise, and its benefits in the main are for Europeans. The profits go to Europe, and are not invested in the island, and the larger part, though not the whole, of what is paid out by the planter goes elsewhere than to natives of the island.



## CONSTITUTION.

The constitution of the Legislature, as settled when the whole island was placed on one footing, is substantially the same as that of the Indian Presidencies. The Legislative Assembly consists partly of official members and partly of a smaller number of un-officials, intended to be representative of the community at large, not elected, but appointed by the Governor. To bestow responsible Government and elective Legislature on such a dependency would be disastrous, and most unkind to the natives. In 1867 a section of the community, mainly Europeans, agitated with the object of obtaining for the "Colony" control over its financial affairs. The attempt failed, and rightly.

There are now eight unofficial members of the Legislature, allotted as follows:—Four native members represent between them about 2,000,000 Sinhalese, 750,000 Tamils, and 200,000 Mahomedans. The 21,000 Eurasians have one member; and three Europeans, one each for the Mercantile, the Planting, and the "General European" interest, represent a little over 5,000 Europeans. This is a striking disparity. The unofficial European inhabitants consist mainly of persons connected directly or indirectly with planting, and without ascribing either to the Government or the planting community any will to act unfairly by the native interests, it must be admitted that the planting interest has sometimes overshadowed that of the natives.

## TRADE.

A great trade has developed under our rule, increasing with added vigour during the last few years. Galle is thought to have been a "venerable emporium of foreign trade," the port where in days of hoar antiquity, long ere any European keel clove those waters, Indian traders met the products of the Far East and carried them to the traders of the West. But now a magnificent breakwater has made Colombo a centre whence traffic radiates to all parts of the world. Over 80,000 passengers call there annually, and the tonnage of shipping entered and cleared exceeds 6,500,000 tons.<sup>1</sup> Ceylon imports from the United Kingdom about £1,500,000 worth of our goods, and sends us in return £2,750,000 of her own produce—tea, coffee, cacao, cocoanut oil and fibre, cinnamon, plumbago, and other

<sup>1</sup> I take these and other statistics from the very useful Ceylon handbook published at the *Ceylon Observer* office in Colombo by Mr. John Ferguson, to whom I am much indebted.

products. The total trade is about £9,000,000, and the trade is rapidly on the increase. The tea export for 1894 was more than 84,500,000 lbs., and last year's probably reaches 95,000,000 lbs.

The plumbago pits in several parts of the interior are worked by Sinhalese owners. To the largest, considerable numbers of men flock for employment. It is time that this industry was placed under some special statutory control, and for two reasons. First, in order to secure more safety in the working of the pits; and secondly, for the better supervision of the motley assemblage which frequents them. Criminals "wanted" by the police frequently disappear into the crowds haunting these pits, and many a young villager, tempted thither by the pay, has received there first lessons in crime.

In matters of commerce, planting, and the opening up of the country, and in engineering and other physical improvements, the condition of the country may be described as one of continuous advancement. And it needs not to be said that trade and industry of every description are as free to natives as to Europeans. Monopolies such as our European predecessors enforced have found no place in our administration.

#### LEGISLATION.

Yet, as I have said, in legislation, and the framing of law and institutions, especially those bearing more particularly on the natives, the administration has been less successful. In truth, few tasks are harder than that which our countrymen have had to encounter, of contriving legislative and administrative machinery for subject races in the East. The historian of the East India Company has pointed out the difficulties of experimentalising government "upon a foreign people not easy to understand, a people whose character and institutions are not merely dissimilar to our own, but fenced in with exclusiveness and bristling with all kinds of discouragements." In Ceylon the conditions of the task were less favourable than in India. The task was comparatively on a tiny scale, yet this had its disadvantage, for in India the work was carried on with all the skill and talents at the command of a vast Government. Moreover, in India the main advisers of the Government in these matters have been men armed with all the experience to be gained in working lives spent in the country. Less so in Ceylon, which, under the Colonial Department, is one of a motley crowd of dependencies, situate in all parts of the globe, and having mostly but little in common with herself. In spite of a genuine desire to legislate and govern

beneficently, the efforts of the Government lacked success. To use a homely phrase, the Legislature had not got the length of the native foot : the shoes made for the people did not always fit : moreover, in some matters they needed no shoes at all. There was a plausible temptation to cut the knot of difficulty by a hasty importation of some English institution, excellent in the land of its origin, and worse than useless when transplanted.

A neglect of the native languages has been an unfortunate incident of the Ceylon administration. The vernacular is much less used there than in India for public business in the Courts and elsewhere ; thereby the people are placed at the mercy of lawyers and native or Eurasian intermediaries in general, and the administration is the less in touch with the people.

The law in Ceylon leaves much to be desired. Nothing is more disastrous in law than uncertainty. Even law which is intrinsically unjust loses much of its oppressiveness if it be only defined and certain, but law which is confused and uncertain is worst of all. A large element of uncertainty arises from the remains of Roman-Dutch law. After the cession of 1796 the Dutch tribunals were changed, but the Roman-Dutch law remained in force as the unwritten law of the settlements. Strange to say, after our annexation of the interior much of the Roman-Dutch law doctrine crept in an uncertain and undefined way into authority there also. Thus this law, though long since abolished in the Netherlands, lingers in Ceylon in a semi-obsolete and decayed condition. Much of it is now meaningless, through the extinction of Dutch institutions with which it was originally interwoven. Confusion reigns. In the words of Diego in "The Spanish Curate,"—"The codexes of the law have broke loose, gentlemen." The situation would have been past bearing if English law, pure and simple, had not been introduced in various matters. Better far had the Dutch law been entirely abolished. Though maimed and curtailed it still, like a dead hand, maintains its clutch, to the detriment of natives, planters, and commercial men. All suffer from the confusion and uncertainty. The only gainers are the lawyers. To take one instance, the law as to mortgages, a matter of considerable importance, is very unhappily confused by reason of these decaying remnants of Roman-Dutch law.

Of administrative matters in general time allows me to notice but a few. Slavery, which in Ceylon existed in a mild and temperate form, was definitively abolished in 1845. *Raja-kariya* (the Sinhalese term for the ancient right or power of the sovereign

government to exact forced labour on public works) was also abandoned; but at the present day a small Poll-tax in lieu of labour on the public roads is levied on all the population, native and European, except the coolies on the planting estates; and the awkwardly contrived machinery connected with this impost, combined with the native reluctance to pay anything save under legal compulsion, leads to considerable numbers of villagers being familiarised with gaols by undergoing imprisonment as road-tax defaulters.

In 1810, with excellent intentions but unhappy results, trial by jury was introduced in criminal matters. The English law of evidence was also borrowed. As to this last, it would have been far better to enact a special law similar to the Indian Evidence Code.

The Kandyan custom of polyandry, or associated marriage, under which two or more brothers live with one wife, was attacked by prohibitory legislation. This was ill-judged. The usage may be revolting to our ideas, but the Kandians are attached to it, and you cannot enforce European ideas of propriety merely by legislation. The custom, though deprived of legal sanction, endures in the form of concubinage, and the legislative prohibition merely results in much quarrelling and litigation about inheritance.

The Sinhalese and Tamils are both strongly attached to their family lands, and traditions of joint-family ownership survive, though ignored by legislation, which has crushed them down by attempting to adjust legal rights on the basis of a free trade in land. In matters touching land settlement, and the tenure, sale, and devolution of land generally, the administration has been unfortunate. The result is an infinity of litigation, profiting no one save the lawyers, much injustice, and a good deal of crime of violence.

Liability to have their land sold up for payment of fines, and even for maintenance as prisoners in gaol, bore, till recently, very hardly on the people. This, I believe, was never the practice in India. But in Ceylon a villager fined in a police court, it might be for some not very heinous breach of revenue laws, would find his land sold peremptorily over his head, and become thereby a landless and desperate man. I am glad to say that under a Criminal Code modelled on the Indian one, land is no longer sold to pay fines.

Much compulsory sale of land formerly took place for non-payment of the paddy-tax. That tax has been recently abolished. Yet here the grievance was not so much the tax itself, for the people were of old accustomed to such an impost, as the liability to be de-

prived of the land, and the oppression of the "renters" to whom the tax was farmed out.

It is needless to say that education has a department of its own. To this has lately been added an Agricultural School. Perhaps some one later from the island than I may be able to tell us what success has attended the attempt. The Eastern tiller of the soil is slow to adopt new methods. Improvement in agriculture might benefit the community not merely by direct increase of production, but by lessening the disposition of young men to abandon rural life, struggle for Government employ, or crowd into the legal profession.

A few years ago a statute was passed intended to confer on the Buddhist laity control over the large properties belonging to Buddhist Pansalas and Wihares, which were notoriously and corruptly wasted by their incumbents. When I left the island the incumbents were resisting its operation tooth and nail, but its principle was good.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

It may surprise some to hear that one of the least successful departments in Ceylon is the administration of justice. "Surely," you will say, "if there is one thing for which our Eastern fellow-subjects have to be thankful, it is pure and incorruptible British justice." Yes. They believe in the purity of British justice. Every native man knows and fully realises that the youngest civilian who mounts the bench of a police court will render his decisions absolutely without fear or favour, and in spite of the mistakes we make, this trait is highly valued by the people. It is our legal procedure which is defective. This is an unpopular subject with us Englishmen, and amid the bustle of physical undertakings, railways and other improvements, and the successful hurry of a large and increasing commerce, it has not received due attention. Yet this is a matter of the most vital importance, and more so to the natives than to the Europeans. We ourselves litigate as little as possible, and when we do go to law our common sense and non-litigious temperament carry us without a jolt over many a hitch in the legal machinery. In Ceylon you have a native population litigiously inclined, inveterately disposed to involve all proceedings in a tangle of untruth, and unhappily prone to use procedure meant for protecting rights and redressing wrongs as the instrument of fraud and oppression.

In spite of improvements made of late years, and codes modelled

on those of India, procedure is confused and over-complicated. There is far more delay and complication in Ceylon over a suit in the Court of Requests for the value of a few rupees than in an English County Court action with £50 at stake. Litigation about land is especially beset with technicality. It is a very difficult task to contrive legal procedure for a litigious and untruthful Eastern population—to combine a minimum of technical procedure with a maximum of safeguard for the *bond fide* suitor. Over-technicality favours the rogue, the hanger-on about the law courts, at the expense of the honest suitor. Procedure should be as simple as possible, and the stronger the judiciary, the simpler procedure can afford to be. Especially is it important to have strength in the Courts of First Instance. No Appeal Court can undo the mischief of miscarriage in the original Courts. I remember when there seemed to be a theory on the part of the Ceylon Government that any weakling was good enough to be a judge in the minor Courts. This is no longer so. Moreover, encouragement is now held out to members of the Civil Service to persevere in the judicial branch. There is still much need of improved and simplified procedure. Europeans complain with reason of the complications, delays, and uncertainties of the law, and the mischief is far more oppressive in native litigation, where the proceedings are in a language which the people do not understand. In such a country failure of justice in the Civil Courts is the inevitable parent of crime, and weakness in the administration of justice fosters the unhappy disposition to flood the Courts with false testimony, and employ them as instruments of malice and fraud. It is a melancholy fact that the people are more untruthful in our Courts than in their villages. Indeed, if there were in their daily life such an anarchy of untruth as we find in the law courts, life would be unbearable. Every now and then an outcry is heard for some "summary" procedure to check native perjury and fraudulent litigation. The truth is that such practices are best attacked by strengthening the administration of justice, so as to deprive them of success.

The costs in stamps and fees which suitors have to pay to the Crown in legal proceedings are far too high.

Turning to the criminal side of the Courts, there is no need to dwell on the mischief of unjust acquittals and convictions. Moreover, long delays in such matters are specially mischievous. The ends of a false charge are in large measure attained when it is kept long and indefinitely dangling over the defendant's head. What should we think in England if a villager charged with theft were

dragged up and down between his village and the law court for over three years before being actually tried? Late years have witnessed improvement, and there is room for more.

#### TRIAL BY JURY IN CEYLON.

It will be a happy day for Ceylon when trial by jury is abolished there, and some better suited procedure provided for the graver charges at present tried by juries in the Supreme Court. Legal procedure, like other institutions, needs to be adapted to national characteristics, and trial by jury has proved a sad failure in Ceylon. As an eminent modern author has said,<sup>1</sup> "To be of use, this, like any other popular institution, must be born of the popular character. It is not trial by jury that produces justice, but it is the sentiment of justice which produces trial by jury as the organ through which it is to act, and the organ will be inert unless the sentiment is there." The natives of Ceylon, as jurors, are feebly endowed with this "sentiment of justice." They bring but a languid and unintelligent attention to their task, unless local or personal bias intervenes, and at best are apt to blunder through not understanding the proceedings. Where, as usual, the question is how much falsehood and how much truth there is in what the witnesses for the prosecution have said, the judge's summing-up is principally effective as a useful object-lesson to a certain class of Court frequenters on the best way of getting up false evidence. Innocent prisoners are convicted, and rich or influential criminals acquitted. In one circuit town in the island Supreme Court Criminal Sessions were discontinued for many years, and the cases sent to Colombo for trial, for no other reason than the notorious pitch of partiality attained by the native juries. Latterly the trials in that district have been resumed, and why? Not because any improvement was anticipated in the native juries, but because the opening of tea estates in the neighbourhood rendered a body of European planters available as jurors.

This brings me to another incident of the matter. Trial by jury in Ceylon does not mean that the Sinhalese defendant is tried by Sinhalese jurors, or the Tamil by Tamils. Three languages—Sinhalese, Tamil, and English—are current in the island, and there is a jury panel for each. The large majority of the cases are tried by the so-called English-speaking jury, which may be composed in varying combinations of Europeans, Eurasians, and Sinhalese, Tamils or "Moormen," supposed to understand English. In my

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Herbert Spencer, in *Social Statics*.

experience the defendants mostly ask for an "English jury," and the Crown prosecutor also prefers the "English" panel. There is something very pitiful, though complimentary to our English sense of justice, in the frequency with which villagers exclaim from the dock, "We want a jury of English gentlemen." The composition of the "English" panel varies very much. It may be all Europeans, or there may not be a single European on it. The "English" jury at Kandy or Ratnapura is often to a man composed of European planters, and a very upright and intelligent jury they are, good judges of the evidence when the parties are Tamils, though less so in Sinhalese cases. In other towns the "English" jury is less satisfactory, and to this Colombo is no exception. The reason is that most of the cases come from the rural districts, and not merely the Englishmen, but the Eurasians and town-bred natives are often without the necessary knowledge of the ins and outs of village life. I have seen young European gentlemen not long arrived in the island, and quite without experience of the Ceylon country folk, empanelled to try a villager on a capital charge. A leading Colombo merchant once said to me, "There is no duty which I dislike more than serving on a jury here. I have not the satisfaction, in return for my expenditure of time, of believing that I am doing justice. My experience is insufficient to enable me to be a good judge in these cases."

Another and most serious mischief is that the natives empanelled on the "English-speaking" jury very often do not know enough of the language to enable them to follow the purport of the proceedings.

English planters and mercantile men complain with some reason of being continually called upon to serve on juries in consequence of the native preference for an "English" jury. But the grand defect of the system is that it produces injustice. A native newspaper put the matter thus: "The present jury system, though it may be suitable for Western countries, is unfit for this country." The mischief extends far beyond the individual injustice of an unjust conviction or acquittal. Crime is encouraged by the prospect of an acquittal in the teeth of evidence, and conviction loses much of its disgrace and deterrent force when it is notorious that many convictions are unjust. I cannot pause to discuss what system should be substituted for trial by juries. There need be no difficulty on that head.

I would gladly have dwelt on various other topics of moment but time will allow me to glance only at a few.



## A FEW OTHER TOPICS.

Some efficient system with regard to registration of title to land, whether upon the Record of Title basis or some other, would be a boon. The present machinery for registration of incumbrances is useless, and merely favours fraud.

A few years ago a definite Forest Department was inaugurated, after an exhaustive and able report by a commissioner borrowed from India. It would have been well if this step had been taken earlier, for the report disclosed the unwelcome fact that though less than one-sixth of the island was under cultivation, most of the valuable timber had disappeared, in consequence partly of timber-poaching, favoured by want of system, but mainly of the destructive spread of "chena" cultivation, under which successive blocks of forest are cleared, cropped, and abandoned. This began to encroach on the forests when the native government fell to pieces, and went on rapidly in the earlier days of our rule.

Irrigation is an important matter in Ceylon as in India. There is an Irrigation Board, and from first to last about Rs.7,000,000 have been spent on irrigation. Some of the ancient and long-abandoned tanks have been restored, and much remains to be done.

A member of the Civil Service has been told off for Archæological work. Many ancient works have been cleared and laid open of late years, and it is probable that much still remains buried in the forest growth of many centuries. It is now many years since the vast ruins of Anuradhapura lay buried in feverish jungle tenanted by wild beasts. The malaria and the beasts fled before the clearing, and a trim little town, with court and kachcheri, now stands amid the wilderness of carven stone and lofty dagobas.

Of late years the disappearance of Game throughout the island, deer especially, has been the subject of comment. Close times have been enacted, but such prohibitions are very perfunctorily enforced by the head-men. The clearing and opening up of the country is inevitably hostile to the *feræ naturæ*, but the slaughter of game which goes on in the wilder regions is as wholesale as the destruction of timber, of which I spoke just now. One great agent in this destruction of game is the native practice of water-hole shooting in the dry season.

## SUMMARY.

To sum up in a few words the results of our hundred years in Ceylon. We have built up a great trade, and a singularly suc-

cessful planting enterprise. Moreover, apart from its own commercial importance, the nearness of the island to India, its harbours, and the situation of the great port of Colombo, on the high road between Europe, Australia, and the Far East, render Ceylon a possession of the utmost value to Great Britain. It is worth sure guarding, and the value is so great that the cost of defence should be an imperial and not a local matter. As a civilian, I cannot presume to speak of Naval or Military defence, but as an old volunteer I may and ought to say a word about a battalion of Ceylon volunteers enrolled a few years ago, in which I was one of the first officers. This battalion, consisting mainly of town-bred natives and Eurasians, might be described in Dryden's words as

maintained at great expense,  
In peace a charge, in war a weak defence.

The country people have endurance and courage in their own way, but the town-dwelling natives who recruit the ranks of the volunteers would be useless on active service, and the Eurasians more so. I have sometimes heard the Ceylon Light Infantry Volunteers apologetically defended much as follows: "Yes, no doubt the volunteers would be of no use as soldiers, but then the force has such a valuable educational and setting-up influence upon the young men." This is a singular way of appraising an item of national defence. The few Europeans in the battalion would be serviceable if separated from the rest, but as a whole the battalion would be a mere broken reed to lean on in an emergency. There is, however, a European contingent of Volunteer Artillery, and another of Mounted Volunteers, which would no doubt be serviceable.

Last, not least, How far has our rule been beneficial to the natives? Had we not acquired the country when we did, some other European nation would have done so, and we may without vanity believe that the native inhabitants are better off under our rule than they would have been under another Power. It would be easy to dispose of the merits of our rule with reference to them in a few cheap phrases about the blessings of British civilisation, but the truth is that our rule has been less successful in promoting the welfare of the natives than in the realms of commerce. Our intentions have been good, but the administration has been insufficiently in touch with the people. Commercial and planting successes have overshadowed the needs of the people. The shortcoming has been greatest where most will least expect to find it—in the domain of law and justice. If in the main there is now more of security

than in (at all events) the later days of native rule, it is not too much to say that out of our criminal law has arisen a new horror previously unknown, and the more formidable by reason of the very strength of our Executive. No native man, however blameless may be his life, can assure himself as safe from the success of false and malicious criminal accusation.

If in what I have said I have seemed to insist overmuch upon the dark side of the subject—to dwell too little on successful commerce and too much upon defects of law, that topic so distasteful to most of us—I can only say that the commercial success is obvious and needs no advocate to show it off; and I have laboured, even at the risk of wearying you, to point out defects in a well-intentioned administration, defects which I pray may be successfully amended.

Ceylon, though a little island, is well worthy of Englishmen's attention,—no mean item in the Greater Britain of which we are so justly proud. A former chief justice of Ceylon, Sir Edward Creasy, prefixed to his book on the British Empire a line from Milton, which will commend itself to all of us :—

“May He who hath built up this Britannic Empire to a glorious and enviable height, stay us in this felicity;”

and, let us add, enable us to administer our Empire beneficially for all.

#### DISCUSSION.

MR. J. L. SHAND : It is always, I think, a matter for congratulation when this Institute secures as the reader of a Paper one who has spent a large slice of his life's work in the country which he is describing. Such papers may not be, perhaps, so airy and racy as those of the occasional traveller who comes home with much that is new to him, and a good deal that is new to us who have lived in the countries he describes, but at the same time they convey a solidity and carry a sense of responsibility which the paper of the itinerant traveller does not always possess. At the same time I think there is a great deal in this Paper which does not quite fully represent the great blessings which British government has conferred on Ceylon. It may perhaps be that from the very exalted position which the lecturer has held as one of the Chief Justices of the island he has looked upon things from a point of view far above the heads of other people—that he has looked to a Utopia which has not yet been, and perhaps never may be, realised. It may be too, that from having wielded the sceptre of justice so ably, his very association with the criminal classes has made him take a rather

morbid and gloomy view of the position of Ceylon. At all events I want to try and criticise the Paper not more acutely than I think it deserves, and to throw a little light upon several subjects which I think he has rather overlooked, with the view of sending you home in a more cheerful frame of mind than the reading of this Paper would conduce to. In the first place Mr. Clarence, in referring to the government of the Dutch, says that the history of the Dutch power "remains a gloomy warning against selfish and ignobly commercial attempts at colonisation." I do not quite agree with that. Remember that the Dutch never really occupied Ceylon, but only a small strip of the maritime provinces, and there are still there great works which speak of their industry and their attempts at Colonial development. I remember myself well when the fortifications in Colombo were pulled down. It taxed the greatest energy of our English engineers to get rid of them, so well and strongly were they built, and the Wolfendahl Church in Colombo is one of the grandest historic monuments which exist in Ceylon. The canals, &c., some of which were allowed by us to get into disrepair, and the introduction of fruit trees and many economic plants, and the improvement of agriculture, still stamp the Dutch rule as one which, if not so progressive as ours, at all events has left its mark in Ceylon. Then we come to a point upon which I rather join issue with him—that is, the development of the vices of the country, which he is inclined to attribute to the spread of civilisation. In that connection he refers to drinking, gambling, and a love of litigation. It is easy to see that drinking and gambling are brought far more to the surface than they were. If a man drinks and has any good in him at all, he is a convivial drunkard and does not drink sulkily and sullenly at home, as probably the old Sinhalese did. It is, I think, difficult to prove that drinking and gambling and litigation have at all increased as the result of British rule. It is probably the reverse. If litigation has increased, that is very likely owing to the blessings which our rule has conferred on the natives, and to the opening to them of opportunities for redressing grievances which tyranny and oppression had hitherto prevented them drawing attention to. As regards the development of the country by planting enterprise, Mr. Clarence draws, I think, a pretty accurate picture up to about 1878, and then he says, "a wild gambling speculation set in." I was one of those intimately connected with the development of the planting enterprise about that time, and I object to being called wild, a gambler, or a speculator.

Mr. CLARENCE : I did not say all were.

Mr. SHAND : Coffee rose enormously in price ; a large flow of capital consequently came to Ceylon. Planters were offered by bankers and mercantile houses facility for extending enterprise by the aid of borrowed money. We were all hard-working men, engaged in a healthy occupation, and what a miserable creature a man would be who was not sanguine under these circumstances ! We did our utmost to develop our enterprise, and it was not through wildness or speculation that the enterprise came to grief, but through a mysterious fungus which attacked the coffee. That alone was the cause of the failure of the enterprise. I do not think there was any wildness or undue speculation or gambling in that at any rate. The failure was occasioned entirely by this disease which we did our best to combat, but unfortunately in that attempt we failed. Mr. Clarence draws a rather gruesome picture of our unfortunate circumstances at that time, and lays what I think is undue stress on the fact that on some estates labourers, excepting for a weekly advance of rice, had their wages not settled up for two years. That sounds very dreadful, until you know the facts. The food which he refers to is really the only necessary of life which our Tamil labourers have ; they live in a perpetual summer, there is no necessity for providing themselves with warm clothes ; the children do not require shoes ; food, and food alone, is the only thing which is really necessary for their existence. Any surplus of money often goes to the arrack tavern, or is melted down into jewellery for wives and daughters and other female connections, but as a rule food is the one thing which they really require. I remember the circumstances well, and I know many cases in which the statement that wages had not been settled for two years is a mere figure of speech. The coolies drew four-fifths of their wages in food, and small advances were given to buy curry stuffs and salt fish, without which they would not have stayed on the estates. But on a great many of the estates depression had set in, and we were obliged to control our expenditure. In some cases the managers called the labourers together, and said : " It is impossible to give you more than three days' work a week if you wish to remain. Do you wish us to pay you off ? " The coolies had gardens and small household gods about them, and they said " No, give us food ; we prefer to stay ; when better times come we shall with master reap the benefit." I think the lecturer might have referred to the many proprietors who had established themselves in English homes, who, at this crisis, returned to the former scene of

their labours and denied themselves even many of the necessities of life ; they put their shoulder to the wheel, and did their utmost to meet their responsibilities to their labourers. I am thankful to say that in nine cases out of ten, I might almost say in 99 out of 100, the Tamil labourer did not suffer at all from the crisis. Mr. Clarence congratulates the planters on certain things, and tells us " That the stream of Tamil coolie labour from India should have returned after the crisis of 1879 argues two things—first, the poverty of the coolies in their Indian home ; and secondly, that on the whole they are fairly treated by the planters." I wish he had left out the words " on the whole " and " fairly," for my experience is that there is no country in the world where the relations between master and servant work so satisfactorily as in Ceylon. We have in the Tamil coolie a perfect machine for the cultivation of our tea, coffee, or other tropical produce. We have in the Sinhalese a splendid supply of artisans, and there is no condition where master and servant meet together in this world where the labour relations are more pleasant, satisfactory, and happy than they were on the coffee estates and are now on the tea gardens in Ceylon. Then we are told in Mr. Clarence's paper about the profits, and about these profits going to Europe and not being invested in the island. If Mr. Clarence could only go back to the beginning of the coffee enterprise and hear of the large sums of money invested, he would find that a very small proportion of the profits, a very small interest on the British capital, has ever come back to England ; and not only that, but he would find that the money which goes to the Indian labourers all percolates through the natives. A very small proportion of the money leaves the island, while a great part goes to the amelioration of the condition of those employed in the agricultural and other interests. So much is it the case that very little British capital returns, that I remember when I went to Ceylon they used to have a riddle, " Why are the Kandyan hills like Westminster Abbey ? " The reply was, " Because they are the graves of so many buried sovereigns." Mr. Clarence then refers to the representation in Council. I had the honour of a seat in the Council for some time, and of representing the planting interest, but the constituency that gave me by far the most trouble was not the planters, but the Tamils, and I venture to say that if the half-million of Tamils employed in the tea gardens were asked to select a representative to serve their interests in the Legislative Council, they would nominate a European. I cannot follow Mr. Clarence in his learned discourse upon the administration of justice.

He tells us that trial by jury has been the greatest failure. I confess that is news to me. I have served on many juries. I suppose I may pride myself on being one of those few pains-taking jurors to whom he refers. I have heard of a Judge of the Supreme Court saying, "I need not sum up in this case. You, gentlemen of the jury, know more than I do about it, and I leave it to you." I regret there is no mention made in the paper of the great system of civil medical aid which has placed medical and surgical help gratuitously within the reach of every native all over Ceylon who may require it. I think that is one of the greatest blessings British rule has conferred. Again, the subject of education is dismissed in about two lines; I look upon education as a panacea for many of the evils which Mr. Clarence has brought to the surface. Not mere book education, which does a great deal in its way, but the education of associating with the Europeans scattered over the country, to whom deceit is abhorrent. Then Mr. Clarence tells us a very sad story of the volunteers. That again is a matter of education. I remember twenty-five or thirty years ago any little efforts at cricket in Colombo were enough to excite mirth, but our Eurasian boys have been taught cricket, and two or three times they have given a body of men in the prime of life—men who have played for their universities and counties—a jolly good licking at cricket. In the same way with volunteers; you do not want all the men to be 6 ft. 2 ins. in height and 45 ins. round the chest in order to be good volunteers, and there are amongst these burghers some very fine fellows, physically very fine men, well capable of holding their own and defending Ceylon or any other country, if properly taught to do so. I cannot agree that commerce and planting have overshadowed all the needs of the people; governor after governor has said that but for planting and commercial enterprise the great works that have been carried out could not have been accomplished. Suppose we had never been to Ceylon. At the time Mr. Clarence goes back to, nearly 100 years ago, the revenue was about one-eighth of the present amount; we spend a great deal more than that sum now on the three works of irrigation, medical aid, and education, which entirely go for the benefit of the people. We must remember that the natives have had just the same opportunity of investing in lands, &c., as the European planters, but from want either of capital or of energy they have not availed themselves of their opportunities. The fair comparison to draw is not between Ceylon to-day and Ceylon as Mr. Clarence might wish it to be, but between Ceylon as it was 100 years ago,

and as it would be to-day except for British rule. Except for the very few who have been vicious and tyrannical, whose crimes have been exposed, and whose machinations have been defeated, the presence of the English in Ceylon has been the greatest possible blessing to the Colony, and if it had not been for the revenue developed by planting and commercial enterprise the Island would have been simply a naval and military station, and, by the way, we should never have had the honour of having Mr. Clarence as a Judge on the bench of the Supreme Court.

THE BISHOP OF BALLARAT: I am sure I express the opinion of most if not of all present, when I say that the paper has been a deeply interesting one. It was most lucid and instructive in its statements; and I am hardly in a position to criticise it, for though I have paid several visits to Ceylon, it has been only in a passing way. As pointed out in the paper, the position of Colombo, between Great Britain and the Australian Colonies, is one of great importance to the latter, and I hope we Australian travellers may, as such, be contributing in some humble measure to the prosperity of the Colony. I am not prepared, however, to accept the recommendation in the paper with regard to the legal countenance of polyandry in any British Colony. Again, the lecturer says that "perhaps no country in the world can show within such narrow limits so great a variety of atmospheric conditions" as Ceylon. I should be inclined to doubt that, in face of the fact that in Victoria we have variations of 100°. I have myself lectured in a place in my Diocese on a day when the temperature was 126° in the shade, while in the Australian Alps we go down to 27° and 25°, or even lower. In regard to the tea industry, I am sure we all wish that well. Three weeks ago I drank in Ceylon the most delicious cup of tea I ever tasted in my life. As to plumbago, I heard that it promises very fairly indeed as one of the constituent industries of the Colony, and I trust the unfavourable features at the mines on which the lecturer has commented will ere long disappear. In reference to his remarks about the neglect of the vernacular in Ceylon administration, I may say that I have not the least confidence in interpreters. It falls to my lot from time to time to address Chinese audiences, without knowing more than a dozen words of Chinese, and I made a discovery on one occasion as to the value of some interpreting, that opened my eyes very much. I was addressing a meeting of Chinese, usually very mild and self-composed hearers, when the whole body of my audience rose and remonstrated with indignation at what I was saying. The fact was,



the interpreter had been completely metamorphosing what I said, and turning my address, which you may rest assured was, of course, a most eloquent and edifying one, into malignant and pestilent nonsense. I think we shall agree that in public administration, and in Courts of Justice, the use of the vernacular, so far as possible, is most desirable. I remember while in Kandy listening to a trial, where there seemed to be great confusion, arising apparently from a conflict as to what really was said by a witness and what was officially conveyed by the interpreter. I may perhaps observe that no reference is made in the paper to one respect in which our hundred years' rule in Ceylon has been morally beneficial. I refer to religious toleration. Shortly after we took over Ceylon, there were found to be 800,000 members of the Church of England registered in that Colony; whereas the bishop told me there are now only 16,000. This looks like a tremendous diminution, but, as he explained, inferences of the most illusory character might be drawn from the figures. The fact is that the Dutch had ruled on the principle of strong State-Churchism. It came to be understood that the Government expected people to enrol themselves as adherents of the Government Church; the result being that not only Roman Catholics, but Buddhists, Moslems, and others registered themselves as Protestant Christians with a view of obtaining temporal advantages. With the establishment of our rule, it became known that religious pressure was absolutely contrary to our free principles; the result was that, by degrees, these people sneaked back to the religions to which they really belonged, and the 800,000 melted down to 10,000. The 16,000 of to-day are really an indication of genuine progress under absolute toleration. That is a matter which, in my opinion, affects very deeply indeed the springs of moral well-being of the native peoples. I may mention that the great College connected with our cathedral is perhaps the leading educational institution for boys in the Colony, and I was assured that not the least pressure, direct or indirect, is brought to bear on the boys, numbers of whom are Buddhists or other non-Christians. But the effect is, that a large number of the boys who pass through that school voluntarily and from conviction join the ranks of Christianity. May I close by referring to the special pleasure I feel in once more addressing a meeting under Lord Loch's chairmanship? I come from a Colony which enjoyed the immense advantage for a considerable period of his Lordship's presidency as the representative of our most gracious Sovereign. I know he entertains a strong regard for the Colony of Victoria, and I am in a position, as

an old resident there, to assure him that his warm and affectionate remembrances are abundantly reciprocated.

Mr. JOHN FERGUSON : It has given me great pleasure as an old resident, perhaps the oldest continuous resident in Ceylon in this room, to listen to the paper prepared by Mr. Clarence—a paper which, as a journalist and a book-maker about Ceylon, fills me with admiration for the very concise and suggestive way in which, in a limited space, he has thrown the record of one hundred years. It was a most difficult task, and the paper, taken in conjunction with the valuable remarks of Mr. Shand and of the Bishop, will, I am sure, afford most suggestive and useful material for discussion. I regret I must at once plunge into the very middle of my remarks. In regard to law, administration of justice, and legislation, to which as an ex-judge the learned lecturer naturally devoted the greater part of his paper, there is much that is suggestive and that I hope will be listened to and read in Ceylon. But I am obliged with Mr. Shand to say, I feel that the picture presented to you as English residents, some of whom have never perhaps seen Ceylon, of the progress amongst the natives in these one hundred years, and especially the connection between that progress and the planting enterprise, is a defective one. Mr. Clarence came first to Ceylon in 1873: I preceded him by twelve years, and I think the true way to bring the matter before you is to bring the evidence of what has been said of the progress of the Colony from time to time by those who have been in the Island from early days. I would refer you to Dr. Spence Hardy, the well-known Orientalist and Wesleyan missionary, who worked in Ceylon between 1825 and 1847, and who returned to the Island in the early sixties. He found an enormous amount of progress in those fifteen years. He took an immense interest in the welfare of the Sinhalese, and writing in 1868 he said :—

Were some Sinhalese *appuhami* to arise, who had gone down to the grave fifty years ago, and from that time remained unconscious, he would not know his own land or people ; and when told where he was he would scarcely believe his eyes, and would have some difficulty with his ears. Looking at his own countrymen, he would say that in his time both the head and feet were always uncovered, but that now they cover both ; or perhaps he would think that the youths whom he saw with stockings and shoes and caps were of some other nation. He would be shocked at the heedlessness with which *appoos* and *naidas* and everybody else roll along in their bullock-bandies ; passing even the carriage of the white man, whenever they are able, by dint of tail-pulling or hard blows. He would perhaps complain of the hard road, as we have heard a native gentleman from Kalpitya do, and say that soft sand was much better.

He would wonder where all the tiles came from for so many houses, and would think that the high-caste families must have multiplied amazingly for them to require so many stately mansions. In the bazaar he would stare at the policemen and the potatoes and the loaves of bread, and a hundred other things that no bazaar ever saw in his day. . . . He would listen incredulously when told that there is no *rajakariya* or forced labour, and no fish tax ; that there are no slaves, and that you can cut down a cinnamon tree in your own garden without having to pay a heavy fine.

Then there was my late lamented senior, Mr. A. M. Ferguson, who landed in Colombo in 1837, and whom I have heard speak of the depressing effect of the harbour, with its one or two little ships, as compared with so many now, and of the listlessness and dulness throughout the country where there is now so much life. My own experience goes back to 1861 ; and in 1865 I accompanied Sir Hercules Robinson on his first tour through the Principality of Uva, reporting the same, and the change in that province through planting is marvellous. I have seen towns and villages and trades spring up owing to the British capital that came in through the British planter ; there are other authorities, such as Mr. M. H. Thomas, a pioneer planter, north of Kandy, who of late years has returned to Ceylon, to whom I might refer you. My calculation, which I think is a fairly accurate one, is that for every acre of coffee or tea or cacao opened up in Ceylon, four to five native men, women, and children of Ceylon or South India derive their subsistence directly or indirectly. That means, it is the result of the planting enterprise in Ceylon that nearly one and a half million of people derive their livelihood. One single indication of the great change is, that at the beginning of the century there were, I suppose, not more than fifty horses and carriages in the whole island, whereas now there are twenty to twenty-five thousand, the vast majority being in the hands of the natives. There are certain corrections or additions I should like to make to the paper. First, whilst this is the centenary of the British occupation in Ceylon, the centenary of its becoming a Crown Colony will not arrive until October, 1898. It is true there is sweltering heat in Colombo and the low country ; still the climate is a safe one, for we have not those vast ranges of temperature experienced in Australia. The climate is depressing, but you get on well if you are careful, and you are freshened up by going to the hills. The Portuguese appear to have been more successful in proselytising than the Dutch, because there would seem to be more in Roman Catholicism that appealed to the leanings of the natives ; moreover, the Sinhalese were very

proud of the honorifics given to them by the Portuguese in baptism. The lecturer mentions that Ceylon showed no inclination to join in the Indian Mutiny; it is, indeed, almost impossible there should be any revolt in Ceylon. There is sometimes a riot in the bazaars when rice gets dear, led by the Malays, but that is all. Mr. Clarence has mentioned the love of litigation, gambling, and lying as the three great vices, and I have great sympathy with what he has said. As to litigation, some of the natives seem to think that the only way of taking a holiday is to have a case in the Law Courts. As to drinking, that is an evil that has increased and is increasing, and I hope our present Governor will see his way to grant the commission Mr. Clarence has referred to. Gambling has increased in the last six years more than in the previous thirty, and is one of our great evils. Passing to other points, I would say that tea has been a marvellous success in Ceylon, and the wonder is that we did not think of tea long before as being a leaf-crop well suited to the soil. As to coolie labour I would remind you that there are now a very large number who know no home except Ceylon, and who, therefore, never think of returning to their country, and I may add that the Sinhalese have come to the tea plantations to a larger extent than would be supposed from the lecture. Concerning the constitution of the Island Mr. Clarence dwells upon the fact that there are only three official European members for the Europeans to one for the Sinhalese, one for the Tamils, and one for the Eurasians. Since then two more have been added to the natives; one for the Moor men and one for the Sinhalese, but the great fact is that on the official side of the house there are ten official members headed by the Governor, whose special business is to protect the interests of the natives. The Jury system is one of the heaviest burdens upon Europeans in Ceylon. It is, indeed, no light matter to be taken away for ten days at a time to serve on a jury for the purpose of hearing native cases. The paddy tax has been very fairly referred to; through the influence of the Cobden Club we have actually "Protection" in Ceylon. We have a ten per cent. import duty on grain, while grain grown in the country is free. Two great mistakes have been made in the past in Ceylon; the land sales' proceeds and the railway receipts ought never to have been mixed up with the general revenue of the Colony, but should have been funded separately and treated as capital to develop the country. The lecturer winds up with a quotation from Sir E. Creasy. I would recall another by the same writer, who, in his history of England, says: "I have seen more human misery in a single winter's day in London

than I have seen during my nine years' stay in Ceylon." That does not mean we have not poor people in our large towns, but there is no cold, and they are not subject to the same necessities as they are here. One word as to what we do want. We want an improved fiscal system; we want legislation for improved mortgage laws; we want the registration of laws upon the Torrens system, and we want a geological survey. The two great events in the history of Ceylon have been the rise of the tea industry and the creation of the wonderful harbour of Colombo, the most splendid artificial harbour in the world. We think the Admiralty ought to make a Graving-Dock out of imperial funds, and charge for its commercial use. Then Colombo will be not only the capital of Ceylon, but, when connected with Southern India by the Indo-Ceylon railway, will become the capital of that part of the world; that is a great imperial work that is to come. In the northern half of the Colony two-thirds of the island's territory is undeveloped, and the great thing that is wanted to develop that part is, as I have said, the Indo-Ceylon Railway.

Dr. D. MORRIS, C.M.G. (Royal Gardens, Kew): I had not intended taking part in the discussion this evening, but at the call of the noble Chairman I am happy to express the pleasure I have felt in listening to so clear and able an exposition of the history of Ceylon during one hundred years of British rule. Mr. Clarence is to be congratulated on the courage shown in striking out a path not usually followed in similar papers, where, too often, successes only are dwelt upon, and failures are passed over in comparative silence. There are possibly none of us who can endorse all that the learned lecturer has set forth in his interesting review of Ceylon history. My life in the island was all too brief to allow me to offer anything like an adequate criticism of the paper read to us to-night. Indeed, after the vigorous and practically exhaustive speeches we have heard already from such specially well-informed Ceylon men as Messrs. Shand and Ferguson, there is not much more to say. In the particular branch with which I am concerned, it is only right to record that Ceylon has always afforded a striking example, not only of phenomenal success in the prosecution of planting industries, which are the admiration and possibly also the envy of the whole world, but also in maintaining a highly scientific and well-appointed Botanical Department, which has been presided over by men of learning and experience. Success in planting, and the existence of a highly equipped Botanical Garden, are, to my mind, simply an instance of the efficient working of the law of cause and effect. Both Dr. Thwaites, the late Director, and Dr. Trimen, the present

Director, have not only maintained the gardens as centres of activity in botanical science, but they have consistently administered them so as to render them of considerable service in developing the resources of the island, and particularly in encouraging new industries in place of those that had become unproductive. Especially was this the case during the time that followed the collapse of the great coffee industry. There are many Ceylon men present who are well acquainted with the facts, and I need not enlarge upon them here. The Ceylon Government has also, within the last thirty years, furthered the general development of learning by the establishment of a large museum and an Oriental library in Colombo, by assisting researches into the remarkable and interesting archæology of the island, and by subsidising the publication of standard works dealing with its fauna and flora. Although the Government had not so much to do with them as with others, yet it is allowable, in this connection, to refer to Captain (now Colonel) Vincent Legge's exhaustive work on the Birds of Ceylon, and to Moore's elaborate volumes on the Lepidoptera (the butterflies and moths) of the island. As to the botany, it is of interest to mention that a "Flora of Ceylon," containing descriptions of all the species of flowering plants and ferns, illustrated with numerous coloured plates, is about to be completed this year by Dr. Trimen. The latter has recently returned to Peradeniya, in spite of great physical infirmity, to complete his self-imposed task. The work will embody results that have taken nearly fifty years to prepare and elaborate. The completion of this flora, together with the other matters I have mentioned, is of importance as showing that Ceylon has taken a prominent position amongst thriving Colonial communities in other parts of the Empire in matters of a scientific character. In fact, these matters have been recognised and encouraged as essential to true progress in knowledge and civilisation.

Colonel J. S. YOUNG: There is one point in the lecture which has not been touched upon, and which, at the present moment, when the Colonies are deservedly attracting the attention of our statesmen, is one, I think, of importance. My excuse for referring to the matter is that I spent three of the happiest years of my life in Ceylon—years which, it happened, were those when the coffee enterprise was at its lowest ebb and before the sun of the tea industry had risen. The point in the lecture to which I refer is that where Mr. Clarence speaks of the value of Ceylon as a possession which he says "it is worth sure guarding." With that view I entirely sympathise. I believe sufficient importance has not yet

been attached at the Colonial Office to Ceylon as a part of the link of the chain of defence of the Empire. When it is remembered that the port of Colombo has in recent years been enlarged and made into what has justly been called "the Clapham Junction of the East," it seems to me, looking to the position of that port in relation to India, Australia, and the Far East, that this is a matter of imperial even more than local concern. I remember when I was a resident of Ceylon that one of the subjects which caused the greatest excitement in connection with the then pressing necessity for retrenchment in the public expenditure of the Colony was the question of "Military Contribution," a question which the authorities at the War Office and Admiralty had much more to do with settling than the local authorities. Now, I believe myself, that, looking to the fiscal and financial conditions of that Colony, it was almost an unfair thing to exact anything like what was exacted then from the Colony in the matter of the military contribution. Though the contribution has since been reduced, I believe that the present amount of the contribution could be very much better employed in the further development of the Railway system of Ceylon in the manner Mr. Ferguson has alluded to—the Indo-Ceylon Railway—and I think this is a particularly opportune time for bringing the subject forward. I will only add that in our opinion there never was a more splendid example of British pluck and perseverance than that shown by the planting community of Ceylon in their long and weary struggle through the dark days of the failure of the coffee industry.

MR. A. M. FERGUSON : It may have escaped attention that some of the previous speakers have praised the energy and pluck of the planters, while others, with Scotch names, have not mentioned the fact at all. The explanation, perhaps, is that the planters, almost to a man, are Scotchmen—so much so, that Ceylon is said to be an outlying dependency of Aberdeen. I very much admire the wonderfully concise manner in which Mr. Clarence has gathered in the history of 100 years. This conciseness, no doubt, explains a good deal of Mr. Shand's criticism. I agree with what was said by Mr. Shand, not because he disagreed with Mr. Clarence, but because he supplemented what the latter had not time to say. With regard to the Burghers as volunteers, I believe that, as with cricket, they would turn out better than is supposed. As to the jury system I may say that, unlike the planters in Mauritius, we in Ceylon learn the language of our labourers, and so can follow the evidence pretty closely, and detect any glaring mistakes of the interpreter. And,

finally, many Europeans having lived between fifty and sixty years in Ceylon is a convincing proof of the salubrity of its climate for those who take care of themselves.

The CHAIRMAN: It is now my pleasing duty to wind up the proceedings of the evening by a short summary of what has passed. Besides the gentlemen who have spoken there are many planters present from Ceylon who could, I know, give us very interesting and valuable information. I think we are all indebted to Mr. Clarence for his most interesting paper. It is a paper full of information, stated most clearly, and I think one great advantage has been that the paper has led to a most interesting and to my mind instructive discussion. Mr. Shand has come forward, and I am glad to think he has combated to a considerable extent many of what I may call the depressing portions of the paper. He gives us a more encouraging view of the progress and development of British rule in Ceylon during the past 100 years than I think we should have gathered in the first instance from listening to the paper alone, but the advantage of the paper is that it has elicited these remarks, as well as the remarks from Mr. Ferguson. At the same time the experience of the gentleman filling for so many years the high position occupied by Mr. Clarence is deserving of the greatest attention, and I think his remarks with regard to the manner in which the law is administered may lead to satisfactory changes. There is one point which I confess astonished me a good deal, and that is his remarks with regard to the administration of Roman Dutch Law. That Law is administered at the Cape, and is preferred by very able lawyers and judges there, even to English Law as administered in this country. I have heard many arguments raised between English lawyers and those resident in the Cape who administer Roman Dutch Law, and I think in many instances the result of the discussion has been in favour of the Roman Dutch Law. I do not know whether that Law is administered in the same way in Ceylon as in South Africa: I dare say certain matters may have crept into the administration of the law in Ceylon which should be remedied. It was most satisfactory to hear the different opinion expressed by Mr. Shand with regard to the volunteers of Ceylon. Certainly the description Mr. Clarence gave of his experience as a volunteer officer did not encourage us to think we might depend with any considerable degree of satisfaction upon the defence of the country if we depended solely upon the volunteers to which he referred, but I have no doubt that the organisation of that force will be improved. I quite agree with



those speakers who have pointed out the great importance to the Empire of having the defence of Ceylon put upon a proper and firm basis, and of having a sufficient garrison available to meet emergencies. We know how suddenly difficulties may arise which necessitate our great coaling stations, such as Ceylon, being kept in a constant state of defence. The Bishop of Ballarat gave us a very interesting account of his short stay in Ceylon as he passed through ; I thank him very much for the kind way in which he referred to myself personally. There are two great enterprises upon which we may congratulate Ceylon ; one is, the tea plantations, which cover apparently over 800,000 acres, and the other is the great breakwater constructed by Sir John Coode. I think it is one of the finest engineering sea works that have been carried out in any part of the world. I am well acquainted with Sir John Coode's marine works ; he carried out for me several sea works, the cost of which amounted in the total to about half a million, and they were on the whole successful ; and I congratulate Ceylon on having acquired a work so well adapted to meet the requirements of the Colony. I hope steps may be taken to cover the anchorage by proper defensive works ; I am glad to see here to-night a gentleman who has turned his attention to the defensive works of the Colonies, and from his position in Parliament he will, I hope, support any steps which may be brought forward to strengthen our Colonial defences. I beg to propose that we give to the lecturer our very hearty thanks for his interesting and able paper.

Mr. L. B. CLARENCE : There is much that I should have liked to say in answer to what has been advanced during the discussion. Some of the speakers regretted that I had not referred to various other topics in which they were interested. If I had said all I should have liked to say, I should have detained you for hours ; in fact, our Secretary, warned me that the limits of time would require me to omit much of what I had written. Some of my views have met with adverse criticism, and I gather from the speakers who followed me that on sundry points I am in a minority. I am never afraid of being in a minority. A minority sometimes becomes a majority. I have laboured to draw your attention to important matters in which the law and administration in Ceylon need amending. As I have said, the great success of the planting industry is obvious, and needs no advertisement. But many years of labour in the country have forced on me the knowledge of defects which I would gladly see remedied, because I know that they are matters which bear very hardly on those

inhabiting the country, on planters, and merchants, and on natives. Mr. Shand criticised in his good-humoured way much of what I have said about planting. I thought Mr. Shand would dissent from some of the things which I have had to say. Mr. Shand and I are very good friends; we have walked a good many miles together in the planting districts. In fact, I may say that the Ceylon planters and myself are excellent friends. It would not be right to say that I have undervalued planting—far from it. I have endeavoured to point out the admirable success of planting, and how brave and meritorious has been the work of the planters. At the same time I have been at some pains to point out that the planting interest is not necessarily the interest of the natives. It has, to a certain extent, overshadowed the wants of the natives, and distracted attention from needs of theirs which, I hope, may in future be attended to. Mr. Shand rather misunderstood what I said with regard to the Dutch; he seemed to think I spoke of commerce as necessarily ignoble. That is not what I have said. There is commerce and commerce—a selfish and ignoble commerce and an unselfish and generous commerce. I hope ours is, and will continue to be, of the latter kind. The Dutch imposed restrictions and enforced monopolies against the natives which we do not enforce and never have enforced. I do fervently trust that the administration of justice in Ceylon may be amended; that it has not been amended before now is partly due, I think, to the fact that law is not a popular topic with Englishmen. We do not go to law much, and we do not like talking about law. Still the subject is a most important one, and I hope that not many years will pass before some of the defects in our legal system in Ceylon will be amended. It is now my pleasing duty to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN having responded, the meeting terminated.

*[An instructive series of original drawings by the lecturer, illustrative of Ceylon life and scenery, were exhibited; and also some diagrams prepared by Mr. D. G. Mantell, the Surveyor-General of the Colony, including a plan of Colombo Harbour, sections of borings for harbour works, and a diagram showing the mean annual rainfall in various parts of the Island.]*

## TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY BANQUET.

A BANQUET to celebrate the Twenty-eighth Anniversary of the foundation of the Institute took place at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Friday, April 24, 1896. The Right Hon. the Marquis of Lorne, K.T., G.C.M.G., M.P., a Vice-President, presided.

The following is a complete list of those present :—

F. Adams (New South Wales), Sir A. J. Adderley, K.C.M.G., E. T. Agius (Malta), Sir J. W. Akerman, K.C.M.G. (Natal), J. B. Akcroyd, J. F. Aldenhoven, W. J. Anderson (Cape Colony), Capt. W. Ashby (New Zealand), Sir G. Baden-Powell, K.C.M.G., M.P., W. A. Baillie-Hamilton, C.B., C.M.G., A. R. Baird (Victoria), G. Beetham (New Zealand), Moberly Bell, S. M. Bennett (Sierra Leone), H. J. Bhabha, M.A. (India), J. S. Bhumgara (India), H. F. Billingham, Sir A. N. Birch, K.C.M.G., F. Bissenberger (Western Australia), J. D. Booker (Western Australia), J. R. Boosé, A. E. Booth (Cape Colony), Hon. T. A. Brassey, C. E. Bright, C.M.G. (Victoria), C. D. Buckler, F. Buehl, Sir H. Bulwer, G.C.M.G., A. H. Burt (Trinidad), A. R. Butterworth, (New South Wales), A. F. Calvert (Western Australia), H. R. H. the Duke of Cambridge, K.G., S. W. Carr (Hong Kong), Wm. Chamberlain, Edward Clark, J. M. Clark (New Zealand), Col. Sir G. S. Clarke, K.C.M.G., Dr. W. J. Collins, Admiral of the Fleet, Sir Edmund Commerell, V.C., G.C.B., Rev. B. Compton, F. E. N. Crombie (New Zealand), J. Crowe (Natal), F. H. Dangar (New South Wales), H. P. Dangar (New South Wales), Capt. G. C. Denton, C.M.G. (Colonial Secretary, Lagos), C. S. Dicken, C.M.G. (Acting Agent-General for Queensland), F. M. Dickinson (Victoria), Hon. A. Dobson (Tasmania), G. P. Doolette (South Australia), Fred. Dutton (South Australia), C. Washington Eves, C.M.G., John Ferguson (Ceylon), W. Flux, L. P. Ford (Transvaal), Sir Malcolm Fraser, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for Western Australia), A. C. Garrick (New South Wales), Sir J. F. Garrick, K.C.M.G. (Queensland), A. E. Gawthrop, C. T. Gedy (New South Wales), W. J. Gilks, H. Grant (New South Wales), Major-General Sir Henry Green, K.C.S.I., C.B., C. Griffith (New South Wales), Sir A. L. Haliburton, K.C.B., C. A. Harris, F. Harris, J. Harris, W. H. Harris, C.M.G., S. T. Harrison (Gold Coast), R. G. Haslam, J. Henniker Heaton, M.P., C. Heneage, Sir Robert Herbert, G.C.B. (Agent-General for Tasmania), Rev. A. S. Herring, M. W. Hervey (New South Wales), V. S. Hervey, F. E. Hesse, Graham Hill, Sidney Hill (Cape Colony), F. D. Holcombe, Hon. Mr. Justice Hopley (Cape Colony), Admiral Sir A. H. Hoskins, G.C.B., G. L. Houstoun, C. Hurst, G. P. Hurst, H. E. Hurst (Western Australia), W. J. Hurst, Major-General E. T. H. Hutton, A.D.C., C.B. (New South Wales), E. M. James (Victoria), Right Hon. the Earl of Jersey, G.C.M.G., J. C. F. Johnson (M.P., South Australia), R. B. Johnson, Hon. Mr. Justice Kelly (Niger), R. A. Ker (Queensland), H. Kimber, M.P., Right Hon. the Earl of Kintore, G.C.M.G., R. Kummerer (New South Wales), Sir C. Lawson (India), C. A. W. Lett (New South Wales), J. Stanley Little (South Africa), Right Hon. Lord Loch, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Baron Von Loeschke, General Lowry, C.B., Hon. Wm. McCullough (New Zealand), C. F. J. Macdonald (New South Wales), K. N. Macfee (Canada), G. S. Mackenzie, A. J. Malcolm, Junior (Victoria), A. P. Martin (Victoria), G. E. Michaelis (Cape Colony), G. V. Morgan, K. P. Morgan, Dr. D. Morris, C.M.G., E. Nathan (Transvaal), E. M. Nelson, R. Nivison, General Sir Henry Norman, G.C.B. G.C.M.G., C.I.E., J. S. O'Halloran, C.M.G. (Secretary),

Dr. Ord, W. W. Oswald, J. Paddon (Cape Colony), Major Roper Parkington, H. G. Parsons (Western Australia), H. Pasteur (South Africa), H. M. Paul (New Zealand), Walter Peace, C.M.G. (Agent-General for Natal), S. W. Philips (New Zealand), A. Pomeroy (Western Australia), J. M. Prillewitz (Transvaal), J. Rankin, M.P., A. S. Rathbone (New Zealand), C. C. Rawson (Queensland), Hon. Robert Reid (Victoria), H. B. Rendall, T. H. H. Richards (Gold Coast), J. Rippon (West Indies), Major-General C. W. Robinson, C.B., Sir Wm. C. F. Robinson, G.C.M.G., R. Rome (New South Wales), C. Rous Marten (New Zealand), L. F. Sachs (Queensland), Sir Saul Samuel, K.C.M.G. C.B. (Agent-General for New South Wales), A. Sclanders (New Zealand), Right Hon. the Earl of Selborne (Under Secretary for the Colonies), Sir Ambrose Shea, K.C.M.G. (Bahamas), Charles Short, W. H. Simmonds (Cape Colony), Sir C. Clementi Smith, G.C.M.G., Sir F. Villeneuve Smith, James Smith (Cape Colony), E. T. Somerset (Cape Colony), Dr. Sprawson, C. N. Springthorpe, E. J. Stubbs, G. Sturgeon, Hon. Sir David Tennant K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for the Cape of Good Hope), R. Tennant, H. Tichborne, Rev. M. Tweddell, Most Hon. the Marquis of Tweeddale, E. A. Wallace, E. W. Westby (New South Wales), W. H. Willans, General Albert Williams, A. Williamson, Sir Wm. C. Windeyer (Judge of the Supreme Court, New South Wales), B. M. Woollon (Cape Colony), A. E. Wright (Ceylon), Hon. Agar Wynne (Victoria), Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., Colonel J. S. Young, Sir James A. Youl, K.C.M.G.

The guests were received by the following Vice-Presidents and Councillors :—

The Marquis of Lorne, K.T., G.C.M.G., M.P., the Earl of Jersey, G.C.M.G., Sir Henry E. G. Bulwer, G.C.M.G., Sir Robert G. W. Herbert, G.C.B., Sir James A. Youl, K.C.M.G. and Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G. (Vice-Presidents), and Mr. W. J. Anderson, Mr. F. H. Dangar, Mr. Frederick Dutton, Mr. C. Washington Eves, C.M.G., Sir James Garrick, K.C.M.G., Major-General Sir Henry Green, K.C.S.I., C.B., Admiral Sir Anthony Hoskins, G.C.B., Lord Loch, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Lieut-General R. W. Lowry, C.B., Mr. George S. Mackenzie, Sir Saul Samuel, K.C.M.G., C.B., Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, G.C.M.G., and Sir Francis Villeneuve Smith (Councillors).

Flags bearing the union-jack and the arms or distinctive badges of many of the Colonies were conspicuously displayed in the Banqueting Hall, and formed a novel feature in the decorations. The majority have been presented to the Institute by the respective governments for use on special occasions, and so far the following Colonies are thus represented:—Barbados, Bermuda, British Guiana, Canada (Province of Ontario), Cape of Good Hope, Cyprus, Falkland Islands, Fiji, Gibraltar, Jamaica (presented by C. Washington Eves, C.M.G.), Lagos, Leeward Islands, Mauritius, Natal, New South Wales, New Zealand, Sierra Leone, Straits Settlements, Western Australia, Windward Islands.

After dinner the CHAIRMAN proposed the toast of "The Queen," which was duly honoured.

In proposing "The Prince and Princess of Wales and the rest of the Royal Family," General Sir HENRY W. NORMAN, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.I.E., said: We all know how constantly the Prince of Wales engages in public labours, and besides being President of

this Institute, whose anniversary we are celebrating to-day, lie always takes the greatest possible interest in all matters affecting the welfare of the Colonies and India.

The Right Hon. the Earl of JERSEY, G.C.M.G., in proposing "The Naval and Military Forces of the Empire," said: There is no one in this assembly who does not feel the greatest sympathy for those of our fellow-countrymen who in Southern or in Northern Africa are at this moment defending the interests of the Empire. In South Africa especially the volunteer and the partly paid forces have every claim on our sympathy and on our goodwill. The trained sailors and soldiers of our Empire are most important, but after all they are not the only forces. What has made and what will help to continue our Empire? Not trained sailors and soldiers alone. It is the hereditary courage and the imperial loyalty of our race. This is the bed-rock upon which our Empire has been built, and against which the waves of foreign intrigue will beat in vain. This toast is meant to cover all those who in whatever country or of whatever race serve Her Majesty under the same glorious flag. With the toast I couple the name of an illustrious admiral who has had a great deal to do with the direction of our navy, and also the name of the Duke of Cambridge. The illustrious Duke has on more than one occasion had the advantage of seeing in this country military representatives of different parts of the Empire, and he must, I think, have been struck by their martial appearance. If he had any doubt on this point, he has only to ask the distinguished general who has just returned from New South Wales, where he has done work which by universal consent is good and useful work for Australia and for the Empire. Major-General Hutton will assure him that there is in New South Wales a force composed of men whose only fault is that there are not more of them. I wish the illustrious Duke, who for so long has been at the head of the Army, could take the opportunity of visiting some of the Colonies, where, I am certain, he would experience a very hearty reception, and he would realise that the voices which during recent times have come across the distant waters assuring the Mother Country of their aid in time of need are indeed the voices of kinsmen willing to share those difficulties.

Field-Marshal H.R.H. the DUKE of CAMBRIDGE, K.G., G.C.M.G.: I appear before you to-night in no official capacity, but as the guest of this Institute. At the same time I appreciate the high compliment that has been paid to me by Lord Jersey, which perhaps arises more from personal affection than from any merits

on my part. After having been so long at the head of the army, though I am at this moment no longer in effective service, I feel as much interest in the army as if I still continued in that position. That is a sentiment which I hope you will think natural, reasonable, and proper. I feel that all we see now around us, as far as military matters are concerned, has sprung up and has been consolidated during the period I was at the head of the service. On these grounds, though withdrawn from active service, I may perhaps speak upon the subject of the army with that confidence which those do who are now in control of it. I feel persuaded that my successor, who takes, I know, the liveliest interest in all Colonial matters, as well as those connected with the home service, will do his utmost to maintain the service in the position in which I believe and I hope I have handed it over to him. It has been asserted that I have never entered into the spirit and the desire to introduce those changes which time and circumstances bring with them. Now I deny absolutely that I have ever objected to reasonable changes; what is more, I am satisfied the changes which are calmly, deliberately, and quietly brought into that great service, are and must be beneficial, because we all must go with the times in whatever position we find ourselves. Certainly I have sometimes objected to some of those extraordinary new proposals which people occasionally are disposed to put forward. I do not blame them for putting forward their views, but it is the business of those in authority to modify them, to adapt them to the requirements of the age, and to the interests and the benefit of the service. It is an easy thing for any man to say that this or that ought to be done; but when you have the responsibility of feeling you are making a great change, you must be prepared to feel also that you are justified in making it, and I think it is a great misfortune sometimes it is thought changes ought to be adopted rashly and quickly, when they may and ought to be adopted calmly, quietly, and deliberately. I hope, whatever our military services may be called upon to perform, they will be found equal to the occasion in every part of the globe. Lord Jersey has alluded to the position in which we find ourselves placed at this moment. It is not for me, under such circumstances as the present, to refer to those matters beyond stating what extraordinary demands are made on our service. Home service is almost essential in all the great Continental armies. With us our service is world-wide. We have duties to perform of the most varied kind in every part of the globe, and that is a very different thing, believe me, from merely having to deal with large home

frontiers, which of course can be dealt with in a much simpler and much more easy manner. We have to perform services in climates which try a man more almost than actual war service. With us, climate has to be contended against as well as enemies; the enemies are the easiest portion to contend with. These are considerations we ought to bear in mind. I am addressing gentlemen who come from all parts of the world, and they will agree with me that what I am now pointing out is literally and truly the fact. We have a great many things on hand at the present moment. It is said we are an isolated nation; well, be it so. We may be an isolated nation, but we are a respected nation. If we have the power and the will to do our duty honourably by our own country, other countries, even if they don't appreciate it as fully as we do, still feel that we are to be looked up to and not to be despised, and the great object we all ought to have in view is to maintain our country in such a position that whilst we don't desire to be on anything but the most friendly terms with our neighbours, yet at the same time we are quite prepared to meet them should it be found that those neighbours endeavour to coerce us to do anything that is contrary to our interests. Of course I am no politician, and never was, and that for a very good reason—because I consider the Army and the Navy out of the pale of politics; they are the servants of Her Majesty, and perform their duty by their country; therefore they have no dealings with politics, though very likely a large number of them have political sentiments. I have no political sentiments but the good of my country. It is a charming and a delightful thing to be invited to such a gathering as I see around me, because that gathering is a representation of an Empire such as I do not think the world has ever, up to the present time, seen. The question arises, Is it worth while to defend our institutions so as to maintain that Empire in the proud position in which I think we all consider we find it at the present moment? If it is to be so maintained, the establishments of the Army and the Navy must be sufficiently kept up at all times, that when called upon at a sudden emergency they will be ready to perform their duties. Unless those duties are supported by the country they cannot be performed properly. We must look to the country to maintain the services; it is for those in charge to produce the results which the country enables them to deal with. I am bound to say that I have greatly admired the instinct of the present Colonial Secretary when he undertook a grave responsibility, and did so as an Englishman and as an English statesman. We feel in-

debted to him for having done so. I hope the result of his endeavours will be, in a peaceful and calm manner, to restore a portion of our Colonial Empire to that harmony which we desire to see it in. We have no desire to be offensive to our neighbours, but we have no desire that our neighbours should be offensive to us. I can only say that that man who is successful in such an undertaking as I believe and hope the present Government and present Colonial Secretary are engaged in, deserves well and highly of his fellow countrymen. I have, during my long service and in my high position, had opportunities of seeing a great deal of what is going on in various Colonies of the Empire. I have felt that whilst we are here at home a small community, in some respects we are a great heart and great soul, and we see its development in the Colonies in every part of the world. It is gratifying, I think, to Englishmen—at all events to one who, like myself, loves his country before everything else—to feel that, whilst we are a small home nation, we are an Empire, created and developed and increasing day by day and year by year by the great endeavours of men many of whom I see around me. It would be impossible in any other country to bring together such a body of men as I see around me; all loving their special Colonial interest, but at the same time having the grand feeling that England is their home, and that the Empire of England they are determined to maintain. I see around me many English gentlemen who have been at the head of these Colonies, who have been respected there, who have been beloved there, and who have come back amongst us, and they are enabled to tell us of the great efforts and advances made in the various portions of this great Empire. It is a proud feeling for a man like myself, towards the end of his life, to feel that he belongs to such a community as that which I have now the honour to address. Lord Jersey has been good enough to express very complimentarily a hope that I might perhaps be able to see some of these great possessions. There is nothing that would give me personally so much pleasure; but I must remind you that I am now 77 years of age. I can only say I am gratified and grateful to God for enabling me to appear before you to-night with a certain amount of vigour still, though I could not positively accept at once the kind hint which Lord Jersey has been good enough to throw out. If I do not obey that hint, it is not from any desire not to do so, for my wish would be to do so; but from a sentiment that I am too old to undertake such long and distant journeys. But possibly I may be able to do so. If



that should be my good fortune, I can only thank my noble friend for the suggestion he has made and the hint he has thrown out. I beg to thank you for the flattering manner in which you have drunk my health in connection with the army, which though, as I have said, no longer under my immediate command, is as dear to my heart as ever.

Admiral of the Fleet Sir EDMUND COMMEREILL, V.C., G.C.B. (responding for the Navy) : The Duke of Cambridge knows—no one better—that the two services have always pulled together—that our hearts have beat in unison not only for the Sovereign and the Royal Family, but for Britain and the Britain across the seas. We, in the Navy, have nearly all of us been in the Colonies. We know with what hospitality we are received. I have only heard one objection taken to that hospitality, and that was by an admiral who recently returned from Australia, who complained that the young ladies of Australia walked off with all his young lieutenants, and he suggested they should either wait a little or take some of the senior officers. But they took the young fellows, and all I can say is it shows their good taste and good sense. The admiral, when he was challenged, made use of a very pertinent expression, and that was, as he was instructed, the young ladies from the Colonies, generally speaking, were very well ballasted. You heard the other day of the material of the Navy, how magnificently we are going ahead and what splendid ships we are building, in fact that we are doing as well as could possibly be. But there is one point which does not, I am afraid, meet with that consideration which perhaps it might, and that is the manning of the Navy. It is a very, very difficult question. You have got to have a service which is thoroughly elastic. You have got to have a service which will be in all respects good in time of peace, and which will be elastic enough for the time of war. There is an idea that all you have got to do, if you want seamen, is to commission half a dozen more training ships. There is no doubt in the world that we can get plenty of fine boys in the Navy, and I cannot help thinking that the time will come when we shall go to that Greater England and ask that assistance in thews and sinews which you have already got in the way of material. We have to remember that in time of peace we have got to find employment for these young fellows whom we educate at very great cost. Every boy whom you educate in the service costs, I am told, a sum of £240, and though of course that cost will be reduced when you enter more, yet you must be prepared to employ

those in time of peace whom you enter and educate. It is ruination morally and physically if you have a number of young fellows, at an age when there are many temptations, kicking about seaports and doing nothing. If you employ them at sea, you would have to go to a very great expense both in material and the ships you commission and also as to the boys themselves. All this requires a great deal of careful thinking out. I am perfectly certain of one thing—that the present Board of Admiralty is “as good as you make ‘em,” and that they will carefully and honestly thresh out these questions, and solve them in the manner in which I hope they will be solved. I remember many years ago in the Colonies I received a letter from a lady saying: “My dear Commodore, I have a son who does not know what truth is; who does not know the difference between *meum* and *tuum*, and I never can keep him square. Under these circumstances I think he would be admirably suited for the Navy.” I replied: “Madam, I am very much obliged to you for your kind offer, but I think the Navy will be very sorry indeed to deprive you of what I can only hope is a unique specimen of the human race.” I thank you for the manner in which you received the toast.

The CHAIRMAN, in proposing “The United Empire,” said: You have listened with great pleasure to the large Imperial patriotism of the sentiments of the last two speakers. For my part I shall not endeavour to follow the remarks of the Admiral of the Fleet—to follow such a fast cruiser would be too difficult a job for me. I shall find myself more at home in endeavouring to make some remarks more or less founded upon the sentiments which fell from the illustrious Duke who, as you know, is Grand Master of that great Order to which so many of us belong, the Order of St. Michael and St. George; and I think when we remember the inception of that Order, as well as the long period the illustrious Duke has been connected with the Order, we shall realise what an immense difference has come over the state of affairs which is now represented under the toast which I have the honour to submit to you—that of the United Empire. That Order was first founded to do honour to the public men who belonged to the Ionian Islands, and I believe when His Royal Highness first wore the Order it extended very little beyond those islands. The difference is measured by the comparatively small circle who then belonged to it, and the great number of men who were so well represented by that great assemblage which took place at the Imperial Institute last year, where we had the honour and the privilege of seeing the Duke presiding

over so many of the Knights of that great Order. If any of you have visited the Ionian Islands—a pleasanter place to go to I cannot conceive—you will see in the great reception room, over the chimney-piece, a full-length picture of His Majesty King George IV.; also a full-length portrait of St. Michael killing his dragon, and another of St. George performing the same beneficent operation. Since those pictures were put in that hall the Order has embraced every part of the world. Our dominion has become so great and so vast that it has been a question in some minds whether it would be possible to keep so vast a whole together. For my part I entertain no fear whatever upon the subject; I believe that we can very safely go on as we have hitherto done, taking things as they come, and strengthening from home whatever desires may be expressed by the great Colonies abroad. Very vast and startling schemes may certainly be considered, but should be considered with some caution. It is at the same time a subject of the most intense interest to discuss these questions and to see how, little by little, as I hope, we may have arrangements concluded for offence and for defence, if necessary, in case of trial and trouble between the great Colonies and between the Colonies and the Mother Country. I do not know whether any of you have seen the announcement that the prizes instituted by the *Statist* have been awarded for essays regarding this great and momentous question. I am happy to say, though I have no official intelligence, that a Canadian has been successful in one case, namely, Mr. J. G. Colmer (a Fellow of this Institute), and in the other an Englishman, Mr. R. S. Ashton. I may mention that the *Statist*, with a laudable desire to encourage discussion, offered prizes of a thousand guineas, and one Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, was requested to name one judge, and another Prime Minister, Lord Rosebery, to name another. They asked Lord Playfair, for one, to consider these essays. We have read a great number; not 2,000, as I have seen mentioned in one newspaper, but a very considerable number of most able and most interesting essays. The prize in the case of one, Mr. Colmer, has gone for an essay which goes rather upon the principle of going slowly; and in the case of the other to a gentleman who undertakes a larger programme. It is not for me on this occasion to take up your time in discussing these various views; all I will now say is that I think we ought to be deeply grateful to gentlemen who become candidates on this occasion. We have been compelled by the exigencies of the award to give prizes to only two gentlemen—I shall hope it will be within the power of

the *Statist* to publish the writings of a much larger number who have contributed to this discussion. There is much to be said upon both sides, both on the side of a possibility of the whole of the Empire taking to internal free trade and having some differential duties as against the foreigner, and also on the other side of going more slowly and getting together at first the nucleus of a fund for defence. But I shall leave the consideration of these matters for the present to the able essayists, and beg that you will give your attention to the arguments they have brought forward. It is customary, I believe, on the occasion of our Anniversary Festival, to say a few words with regard to the principal events which have occurred during the last twelve months throughout our Colonial Empire. The difficulty naturally is to pick and choose, for after-dinner speeches should, if possible, be brief. Certainly we have had many subjects for anxiety and for the deepest consideration of late. We began at the beginning of the year with a formidable prospect before us that we might have some difficulty and misunderstanding with our friends in the United States. I think we can safely assume that the intervening months have almost wholly dissipated that dread. If matters are not finally settled, I think we may entertain a confident hope that second and third thoughts have made it appear to our American cousins that we were not filibusters, that we were not anxious to tread upon other people's feet, and that we only wished to assert our own position. I believe also that the feeling in regard to the submission of such questions arising between our brethren across the Atlantic and ourselves to arbitration has also largely gained ground. At the same time we must resolutely pronounce that some matters cannot be submitted to arbitration. We cannot, for instance, submit to arbitration the question as to whether our heads belong to us or not. There is no doubt that every time a question like this can be settled by the good sense of both peoples, an immense advantage is gained. With our immensely long frontier there, and the questions in the New World which must necessarily arise, points of difference are certain to crop up, frontier difficulties and others. I need not enlarge on that. These points are known to many of our Canadian friends, and it is for the advantage of the future peace of the world that arbitration should be, so to speak, a standing order of our two Houses. In regard to other matters which have excited very great anxiety of late, and which pertain to South Africa, there are many present far more competent to speak on such subjects than I am, and I can only say what my thoughts are as a humble private

member of Parliament. I believe even with regard to those somewhat acute troubles which have supervened in South Africa, we may entertain a sanguine view that they will not lead to increased difficulties. It is the wish of everyone in England to look at these matters from the point of view of what is best for South Africa. I do not think that there is one person, of whatever nationality he may be, in that country, who does not wish the affairs of the southern part of that continent to be—to use an American expression—“bossed” by Great Britain rather than by any foreign Power. That we shall allow any foreign Power to interfere is, it goes without saying, completely out of the question. It has been said that politics have no place in this room, and I believe no question of politics will interfere with the pronouncement which all Englishmen of all parties will make, that in South Africa we intend to have no interference by any foreign Power whatever. From the point of view of the advantage accruing from such a policy to all, including the Boers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, we may say this, that it cannot be for the benefit of any State that they should be put into such a position that any foreign Power can have even the temptation to interfere with regard to them. In course of time there is no doubt we shall see that happening in that part of our Empire, which has so fortunately taken place in our Island among different races; we shall see a mingling of the different blood. It will be greatly to our advantage that we should have in the population of the future in that country a strong blend of the Dutch blood. Many of us, personally, may feel, whenever we have felt hasty and impulsive, that a mixture of Dutch blood would have done us a great deal of good; we should, on some occasions, in all probability have been more easily able to consider our resolutions before acting upon them. Those in the House of Commons may even think it would be well if, upon certain benches in that assembly, a little Dutch blood had checked the somewhat hasty developments we sometimes witness. As I say, I believe, despite the difficulties of the situation, we may look upon Boers and Afrikanders as likely to form in the future one strong people. We believe that they are quite able to settle their differences among themselves, and that they are able to carry through that campaign against savages in which our people are at the present moment engaged. I may say for myself I should like our imperial position in South Africa emphasised to this extent—not that the imperial troops should now be sent up-country, but that we should recognise that the Cape is a position which is perhaps the most important in a military and

naval sense in the whole Empire, and that there should be a permanent garrison of imperial troops stationed there. Such a policy would not in the least impinge upon that which we all wish to lay down, that we wish to have no Downing Street interference; that we desire only to supplement and reinforce the wishes of our Colonists, for our Empire is one which we are proud to think of as an alliance between free men. It is as such that I propose this toast, with which I couple the name of my friend, Lord Selborne. We have unfortunately lost him from the House of Commons; the distinguished son of an illustrious father, he has gone to what is euphemistically called "another place"; he is no longer, I am grieved to say, a whip. The whispers of council have succeeded to the lash of control, and I am perfectly sure that all those who are connected with the Colonies and have business with the Under-Secretary, who so well represents the Colonial Office in the House of Lords, will be very glad that what has been the loss to the House of Commons has been to the gain of the Colonies, and that he has become a Minister of the Crown and a friend and servant of our Colonial Empire.

The Right Hon. the Earl of SELBORNE: I feel it a great honour to be entrusted with the response to a toast of this vast importance. I will ask you to consider for a few moments some of the conditions that are embraced within the term "United Empire." It means unity of history, race, and language. It means unity of interests, of sentiments, and of responsibility. It means something more. It means that within the United Empire all races have a right to equal justice, and, so far as they have the capacity, to a share in the control of that Empire. The application of the principle of equal justice applies to all within that Empire, whether they are of European extraction or whether they are natives; but besides that comes the question of the enjoyment of a share of the rights of government, and in this connection I will ask you to-night to remember there are within the United Empire two great groups of our fellow subjects who are our fellow subjects in very fact, and in all the essence of that great attribution, but who are not common with us in their origin, or race, or language. There is the great body of the French Canadians. No responsible man, I imagine, will deny that they have an equal right with their fellow subjects in Canada who are of British extraction to full and equal consideration in all affairs that appertain to Canada. There is also the group of the Dutch in South Africa. Now I am afraid there is a tendency amongst some of our friends at home, who are perhaps

more impulsive in their desire to attain an end which they ardently wish than happy in their judgment of possibilities and of policy, to ignore altogether—or at any rate to ignore to a great degree—the right of our Dutch fellow subjects in South Africa to a full and equal consideration with our fellow subjects of British extraction. I will ask you to consider for one moment what has been the history of our Dutch fellow subjects in South Africa. They are the original European occupants of that country. They find themselves now absorbed within the orbit of the British Empire, and I have no hesitation in saying, and I know those who know South Africa and who are present to-night will not deny the fact or correct me when I say, that they are wholly content to accept their position as an integral part of the British Empire, and are proud of their connection with that Empire, and are loyal to the sway—the benignant sway—of the great Sovereign who rules over that Empire. But, like all of us, they have their sentiments, and their sentiment leads them to regard with peculiar affection those of the same history, of the same race, of the same religion and the same language, who inhabit the two Republics of South Africa. Now I cannot imagine a responsible British statesman deliberately leaving out of his calculation in dealing with South African problems this great fact. Of all the deplorable effects of recent events in South Africa, none has been so deplorable as the effect of cleaving asunder those two races—the British and the Dutch, who for ever must live side by side, and to whom belongs the heritage of that great dominion. If you want to appreciate to the full the effect in this connection of recent events, carry your mind back to what has been the life-work of that great Colonial statesman, Mr. Rhodes; and consider how it has been affected by these recent events. The great work of Mr. Rhodes, for which he has laid out the whole of his life, was to weld into one harmonious whole the British and the Dutch in the dominions of the Queen in South Africa, and he had effected that purpose to this remarkable extent: that instead of two nations with two divergent sets of policy, those Dutch and British were, before recent events, united in one great public opinion, which was the most potent influence for the advancement and civilisation and tranquillity of South Africa. Before those recent events the whole sympathy of the Dutch at the Cape and in Natal was on the side of those men who were living, as they conceived, under circumstances such as all free men must resent; the sympathy of these Dutch was entirely with those men who were leading a

constitutional movement for the redress of admitted and genuine grievances. But that incursion into the Transvaal fell like a bomb-shell into the camp of the Dutch in South Africa. It destroyed for the moment—I hope only temporarily—their confidence in the *bona fides* and honour of their British fellow subjects, and it has produced—only temporarily, I am sure—that cleavage of opinion which goes by race, which must be most disastrous to any country which finds itself in the circumstances of South Africa. Now, under these circumstances, what is the policy of Her Majesty's Government? That policy is, in the first place, to maintain unimpaired all the rights of the British Crown in South Africa; in the second place, strictly to maintain all the honourable obligations of the British Empire in South Africa; and thirdly, to try and weld once again into one great South African public opinion the opinion of the Dutch and the British, and make that the potent, all-powerful, and invincible instrument of progress and reform in South Africa. There are those who are clamouring for the despatch of immense reinforcements to South Africa. I must ask you to distinguish; there is the question to which your Chairman has alluded—the question of an adequate garrison for the coaling station at the Cape. You may be perfectly certain Her Majesty's Government will never shrink from increasing that garrison for that purpose to the full extent which Her Majesty's naval and military advisers consider necessary. But when we are asked to send large bodies of troops, 5,000 from England and 5,000 from India, for the purpose of quelling this Matabele rising, I would ask you to consider the circumstances of the case. There is, no doubt, some alarm in the public mind as to whether the reinforcements that have been sent, and are being sent, are adequate for the purpose. I think you may reassure yourselves, when I assure you as a certain fact, that those on the spot, whether at Bulawayo, Mafeking, or Cape Town, have received every single man for which they asked, and that if any necessity should show more are required, more will be forthcoming. When Sir F. Carrington is in a position to take the offensive and quell the insurrection, he will have at his disposal from three to four times more men under arms than there were under arms in the first war in which the Matabele were first conquered. Now, what is the position of affairs at Bulawayo itself? I believe the public may reassure themselves. We are in daily telegraphic communication with that place. Coaches are running into that town every day. Therefore we are under no uncertainty as to the actual condition of affairs there. There are plenty of men;



there is an immense store of ammunition ; there are not as many rifles as I should like to see there, but rifles are on their way, and no doubt has been expressed to us from those in Bulawayo lest their food supplies should fall short. The great difficulty of the case is getting the men, the munitions of war, the horses, and the food, from Mafeking to Bulawayo. It is a most difficult business. Water is scarce, transport is scarce, and, as if South Africa were not sufficiently plunged in trouble already, on the top of all previous troubles comes a gigantic calamity in the shape of a most malignant form of rinderpest. The difficulty is not to find men, but to get them on the spot ; and I can assure you those at Mafeking who are responsible, whether Imperial officers or officers of the Chartered Company, are showing the most determined energy and splendid self-reliance in pushing forward those reliefs which are so anxiously expected. Meanwhile, as the telegrams show, our fellow countrymen in Bulawayo are proving themselves worthy of their forefathers. Nothing can be more fine than the way in which they have faced difficulties ; the way in which they refuse to be shut in without taking the offensive, and the way in which they are carrying the war into the enemy's camp. But as nothing would be more disastrous for South Africa than disaster, Mr. Chamberlain has—I am sure with the unanimous assent of his fellow countrymen—without in the least hampering or restricting the efforts of those brave men in Bulawayo to relieve their difficult position, he has enjoined on them great caution in taking that offensive which must be the preliminary to the final crushing of the rebellion. Far better to wait and get such a force on the spot, that Sir F. Carrington will be able once for all and finally to crush this unhappy insurrection. I have heard rumours that for this, as for many other Colonial contingencies, unfortunate Downing Street is being blamed. Now, gentlemen, Downing Street has a broad back, and I am afraid that the tendency is probably more marked in South Africa than even elsewhere to lay the blame of everything, from the Jameson raid down to the rinderpest, upon Downing Street ; and yet South Africa ought not to be in any perplexity or doubt as to the real position of Downing Street. True it is that where Crown Colonies are concerned the Colonial Office as the finally responsible authority must have the final control, and must take that responsibility ; but South Africa should know, surely, as well as Australia and Canada, that when you come to self-governing Colonies, they are as absolutely independent in their internal affairs of the Colonial Office, as any republic in South

America or South Africa. At any rate the duty of the Colonial Office at the present moment is clear. We have to crush absolutely this insurrection so that it can never recur; but with as much consideration and humanity for the unhappy natives as is possible. We have to give the Chartered Company a fair field for again setting in order the machinery of administration, and for that development of the country which it so sorely needs. We have firmly, but with the greatest courtesy and in the most friendly manner, to continue our representations in order to secure that our fellow countrymen enjoy in the South African Republic those reforms which free men throughout the world and without respect of nationality conceive to be their legitimate rights. But we intend to use, as I have already said, as the all-powerful and invincible instrument for that purpose, that united public opinion of the Dutch and of the British in South Africa which no government in South Africa can permanently resist. Finally, gentlemen, we have to see that the position of the British Empire, the United Empire, as the paramount power in South Africa, is impaired by no foreign intrigue, and remains what it is—the controlling and last word in South Africa.

Sir DAVID TENNANT, K.C.M.G.: I have to propose “Prosperity to the Royal Colonial Institute.” I may say I am one of the oldest non-resident Fellows of the Institute, having been elected in 1872, and I have seen the Institute, as it has emerged into manhood, sustain all the expectations that were formed of it, and answer all the purposes for which it was founded. It has, by spreading information concerning the Colonies and in many other ways, promoted the interests of the Colonies, and at the same time advanced the interests and the welfare of the whole Empire. As Agent-General for the Cape of Good Hope, I desire to express my thanks to Lord Selborne for what he said so far as relates to that Colony. I will not travel into any questions of diplomacy, or into the political aspects which now surround the situation. I will only confirm the views which have been expressed as to the sincere loyalty of the people of the Cape of Good Hope. They are a united people determined to uphold the sovereignty of England, and to aid the Government in its efforts to secure and preserve intact the power of this great Empire. The Dutch of to-day are the descendants of those who emigrated from Holland two centuries ago, and what they desire to preserve, and very properly so, are the language and the religion of their forefathers; in every way they are true and faithful to England, and as subjects, equally with those of British

ancestry, are proud to exhibit that loyalty when the occasion demands it. As showing that this is not mere sentiment, I would remind you that at our own cost we have greatly enlarged the docks at Cape Town for the purpose of preserving our commerce and trade and of sheltering Her Majesty's ships. Again, when it was determined to build a railway to Simon's Town, such was only undertaken as a matter of defence; for the plan of uniting the coaling-station at Table Bay with the naval dockyard at Simon's Bay was conceived with no other object than that of Imperial defence. A short line of fourteen miles along a difficult coast was built at a cost of £217,000, and no return will ever recoup the interest on that expenditure. It is, in fact, worked at a considerable loss to the Colony. But this money was gladly and willingly voted by a Parliament constituted of English and Dutch, and they expressed their satisfaction in being able to show their loyalty in a substantial and effective manner. Further, during the period of the Indian Mutiny, when the Cape was denuded of troops for the purpose of protecting a distant portion of the Empire, the citizens of Cape Town, Dutch and English, cheerfully undertook the defence and protection of the Castle and fortresses; a large number of Kaffir prisoners being at the time confined in some of them. These are but a few of the proofs I will adduce in support of substantial loyalty. And these Colonists have not deviated one inch from the determination to uphold the power of England. They know that there is no power that can confer on them rights and privileges so extensive as can this great Empire. A cloud has come over South Africa, but the cloud has its silver lining, and will be dispelled. Let calmness, forbearance, gentleness, and justice be meted out to everyone, and let the present Government, actuated as it is by these noble feelings, continue its course, not being dictated to by those who know nothing of the position or who may have ulterior objects in view. Be sure that the more you maintain justice and right, the more you will secure the love and affection of a loyal people. For myself, I look hopefully to the time when we shall be able to regard these present troubles as the harbingers of better things. If the Government will but pursue, as they are now pursuing, the course before indicated and hold clearly to these views, we may be sure there will before long be that harmonious action between the different States which we all desire to see. The toast further embraces our thanks to the noble Chairman. I will remind you of the excellent work the Marquis of Lorne has accomplished as Governor-General of Canada, and I recall to his recollection the

experience he has acquired of the loyalty of the French Canadians, and assure all here that the case of the Dutch Africanders finds its parallel in Canada.

The CHAIRMAN : I beg to thank you for the kindness with which you have received this toast. We all greatly deplored the loss of Sir Charles Mills, whose voice was frequently heard at our meetings, but we rejoice that the vacancy has been so worthily filled by the appointment of Sir David Tennant. In sending him, the Cape has acted on the principle which, I hope, will be followed in the future, as in the past, of sending one of her leading statesmen to represent her in Great Britain. There is nothing which is so striking as the manner in which any service, however humble, rendered to the Colonies, is recognised with kindness many years after the service has been performed. I am sure that those who have had the honour of representing Her Majesty in the Colonies will back me in saying that anything they have done has been rewarded a hundredfold by the recognition the service has received. I congratulate you on the success of the twenty-eighth anniversary meeting of the Institute, and may we have many more as successful.

The company then separated.

## SEVENTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Seventh Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, May 12, 1896, when the Hon. W. P. Reeves (Agent-General for New Zealand) read a Paper on "The Fortunate Isles (Picturesque New Zealand)."

The Right Hon. the Earl of Jersey, G.C.M.G., a Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 29 Fellows had been elected, viz., 10 Resident and 19 Non-Resident.

Resident Fellows:—

*George H. Cressy, M.R.C.S., William G. Cunliffe, Sir G. William Des Vœux, G.C.M.G., Colonel Edward T. H. Hutton, C.B., A.D.C., Sinclair Macleay, William J. Meek, Andrew Mure (Late Judge of the Supreme Court, Mauritius), D. Boswell Reid, M.R.C.S.E., The Most Hon. the Marquis of Tweeddale, Henry R. Willats.*

Non-Resident Fellows:—

*Frank Babbage (New South Wales), G. Dudley Bates (Matabeleland), Fred Bell (Natal), A. H. Bisset (Matabeleland), Harold Brodrick (Transvaal), Hugh C. Clifford (Straits Settlements), Francis M. Dickinson (Victoria), Stephen Dyer (Transvaal), Robert M. Forde, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S. (Colonial Surgeon, Gambia), Lawrence Foskey (Gold Coast Colony), Henry Gore (Victoria), Hon. William McCullough, M.L.C. (New Zealand), Capt. Abdy L. Morant (Sierra Leone), Frederick J. Neunham (Transvaal), Max Rosettenstein (Transvaal), Leo Ferdinand Sachs (Queensland), William H. Stymest (Transvaal), Capt. Cecil C. W. Troughton (Sierra Leone), J. W. Von Winkler, M.D. (British Guiana).*

It was also announced that donations to the Library of Books, Maps, &c., had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN: The interest and importance of the Royal Colonial Institute are clearly demonstrated by the minutes which have just been read, and by the proceedings which have just commenced. Only a month ago we were discussing the charms of Ceylon. This evening we are looking forward with pleasure to the Paper that is to be read to us by Mr. Reeves on New Zealand. This, I think, shows that the Institute is quite alive to the wants and

desires of the present day. From Ceylon to New Zealand is certainly a great distance, sometimes a rather stormy distance, and I might say almost always a hot one. I think you will agree that it would be pleasant upon a day like this to hear from Mr. Reeves something of those cool places which form the charm of New Zealand during an Australasian summer. It will not be for me to talk about New Zealand, for we have in Mr. Reeves a gentleman who has just left those Fortunate Isles. He will, I am sure, receive from us a hearty welcome on this occasion, and he will find in England, during his term of office, that that welcome will grow heartier day by day.

Mr. W. P. REEVES: It is an especial pleasure to any Australasian who comes to England to have the countenance and pleasure of a nobleman who has left in Australasia a name connected with such pleasant memories. His lordship was kind enough to say that you were looking forward to my humble address with pleasure. I hope sincerely that an hour hence you will be looking back to that address with something of that feeling. I will begin by appealing to your kind consideration. I am totally unused to the making of public addresses of this character. This, in fact, is the first occasion on which I have attempted to lecture. I am aware it is easy to read a paper, but my efforts at reading aloud have been pronounced by competent family critics to be so absolutely intolerable that it appeared to me it would be less unbearable to you, as it will be to me, if, discarding my paper, I try to talk to you in a straightforward manner about my country. At the instance of your Secretary, I was induced to come here some weeks ago and be a listener to the proceedings, rather with the hope of wearing off some natural nervousness. I came, and beheld a colonist of the highest and most respected character stand here and read a paper teeming with information. To him I listened with interest and delight. Scarcely had he sat down when three or four other colonists, equally well-informed, respected, and experienced, arose, and in succession, in a very good-humoured way, began to "walk into" earnest and respected colonist No. 1. They assailed his arguments, danced upon his deductions, and generally made hay of his statements, so that so far from gaining confidence, I went away in a cold perspiration. Although I am told these critical speeches are strictly limited to ten minutes each, the first three ten minutes of these energetic and critical gentlemen amounted altogether to fifty-three minutes by my watch. I do hope that if anyone is unmerciful enough to criticise my humble efforts he will be strictly limited to the ten minutes.

## THE FORTUNATE ISLES.

(PICTURESQUE NEW ZEALAND.)

I PROPOSE to attempt to sketch some of the attractions which New Zealand has to offer to the traveller, the invalid, the angler, the mountain-climber, and the artist.

New Zealand is not so very far from London now. English letters are often delivered in Wellington in thirty-three days after they are posted here, and in Auckland some thirty hours sooner. The robust globe-trotter who does not mind rushing across North America with the mail-bags can come in at the Antipodes with the letters. He will be wise of course if he takes a week or two more over the journey. But in forty days New Zealand can be reached with absolute comfort and security and under conditions which involve no strain upon health and strength, but will do much to build them up. I should like to dwell for a moment upon the wonderful ease of the transit. It is not so very long since a voyage to the southern ocean, to stay-at-home people at least, had a smack of adventure and hardship about it. Now there is little more of the abnormal and terrible about it than in a long railway journey. Indeed you may have to put up with more discomfort in coming by rail from Naples to Dieppe and more tossing about in crossing from Dieppe and Newhaven or Havre to Southampton than in all the weeks of voyaging from New Zealand to Plymouth. Even if you meet a gale in the Southern Ocean it is often more grand to watch than terrible to endure. You hear complaints of the "dulness," "roughness," and "monotony" of sea-voyaging. Surely this is to a large extent a tradition of the past, dying hard as all traditions do, but now to be decently interred. In the old days of small sailing-ships, when one took eighty or ninety or a hundred days of circumnavigation according to the caprices of the winds and waves, there was foundation for grumbling. Then society was limited, food plain, and, above all, space so scanty that you realised the full force of the words "cribbed, cabined, and confined," as week after week, month after month, you ran before great westerly gales; panted listlessly through long days and still nights becalmed in the sweltering heat of the equator; or, close hauled to an unfavourable wind, threshed through sheets of flying spray "for ever climbing up the climbing wave." Not that those old sailing voyages had not their bright days, but probably nobody except Mr. Clark Russell or a very enthusiastic retired sea captain would undertake one a second time for pleasure.

Now how different ! Almost as great a change as the revolution in these islands from the coaching days when George the Third was king to this era of the Flying Dutchman and more amazing northern expresses. Not merely has the time taken in crossing the world been shortened to something like two-fifths of what was consumed a generation ago ; not only is the expense moderate ; but what I wish to insist most upon is the comfort, the security, nay the actual pleasure which attend the passage. The gigantic machines which we call ocean steamships are in fact first-class hotels harnessed to trustworthy locomotives. Much of your journey is made literally in an armchair. Your fellow-passengers are so many, the ship's officers so courteous, that you must be misanthropic indeed if you do not make pleasant acquaintances and even friends by the way. Even if you care nothing for the far-stretching and ever-changing aspects of sea and sky with their glories of light and colour, sunrise and sunset, for the luminous days and the brilliant nights of the tropics—still your little world aboard is busy enough. The deck is ample enough not only for exercise but for all sorts of games from cricket to quoits. If the energetic secretary of the Sports Committee should beguile you into entering into two or three tournaments you will astonish yourself at the amount of excitement and enthusiasm you develop over the contests. For the rest, what with books, tobacco, chess, draughts, dominoes, eating and drinking, and a great deal of sleep, you must be peculiarly restless if you find time hang on your hands.

Therefore if you are the head of a family and have young children, or are an invalid, or too old to care about bustle and the shifting of luggage, or even if you are merely "run down" and want the nerve tonics and sedatives of rest, ocean air, and freedom from worry, go by the direct sea route. Don't fear that the direct voyage to or from New Zealand in one of the New Zealand Shipping Company's or Shaw Savill and Company's steamers bears the faintest resemblance to a period of purgatory. On the other hand, if you are young and strong, and either in a great hurry or in no hurry at all, there are the routes across the United States and Canada. The former takes you to Auckland, the latter to Sydney, whence you can reach New Zealand in something less than five days. Of the routes through the States I say nothing. Our American friends understand the art of advertising their great country's attractions so well that one can do nothing but envy them. Nor can I dwell now on the British North American route with its great lakes, greater plains, and solemn and rugged



western mountains. That it will grow in favour as a summer route I have little doubt. Turning eastward there is the somewhat longer voyage by the Mediterranean, Suez Canal, Red Sea, Indian Ocean, and Australia. The very list of names is tempting, is it not? If you have leisure to loiter by the way in Egypt, or beautiful Ceylon, or novel Australia, go that way. In winter time the famous heat of the Red Sea is a bagatelle, and, as far as comfort goes, the steamers of the Messageries Maritimes, Orient Line, or the Peninsular and Oriental Company are luxurious enough for anyone. But if you must press on and don't appreciate flying glimpses of strange ports, or if you especially dread heat (for part of the passage will be hot, if not in the Red Sea then south of the line), don't go by the Eastern route.

One small hint to the voyager. This is an intelligent audience, perfectly well aware that a magazine rifle, a six-chambered revolver, a hunting-knife, and a suit of dressed leather, are not requisites for Antipodean travel, and that the intrepid visitor need not land there with a deadly weapon in one hand, and his life in the other. Still, one may be permitted to lay stress upon the immense mistake of taking too much luggage of any kind. The burden of riches is nothing to the burden of bags and boxes. Two or three suits of thin grey flannel for the tropics are better than many changes of white drill or khaki. For New Zealand, itself, two suits of tweeds—one heavy, and one light, and a few flannel shirts for the country, and a moderate supply of the ordinary habiliments of an ordinary Englishman for the town, are all that are wanted. Your frock coat and your tall black hat you may leave at home. Strangers may even call at Government House without them, and not be challenged by the sentry. For the rest, you can buy anything you want in the Colony from boots to bicycles, and get good quality. Nor are the prices anything to be afraid of. The day when Colonial charges staggered the new arrival have quite passed away. And what is true of the shops is true also of the hotels. The New Zealander has to stay in the public palaces of Europe and America to learn what bills can be. It is the innocent colonist on his travels who is staggered nowadays. Moreover, a bachelor passing through New Zealand, armed with a few good letters of introduction, has himself to thank if he troubles hotels much, at least in the larger towns. Club after club will open its doors to him as an honorary member with a prompt kindness that often astonishes Englishmen. But hospitality in the Colonies is not confined to clubs or to the larger towns. In many respects, the conditions of Colonial life are changing, are

growing less primitive, even less simple. But this characteristic is, I am proud to say, scarcely changing at all. My countrymen and countrywomen, of all sorts and conditions, are hospitable so far as their means permit, and with a hospitality that does not exhaust itself in a single invitation to lunch or dinner. A very slight claim upon a colonist will often cause him to put his home "at the disposition"—as the Spanish Americans say—of a visitor, and to take a great deal of time and trouble in speeding the parting guest upon his way. As for the general demeanour of the population you may count on civility—not servility—everywhere. The amusing stories which some globe-trotters tell of rough displays, of exaggerated independence by clerks, ticket-collectors, porters, workmen, &c., &c., in America, would not be true of the Antipodes. Of course, there are a few boors everywhere—even, it may be, in the northern hemisphere.

What is New Zealand like? Let me begin by telling what it is *not* like. It is not very like England. Heretical as that sounds, I think it is true. Neither in climate, outline, vegetation, nor colouring do the two countries much resemble one another. Nor, on the other hand, does New Zealand in the least recall Australia. Of course, standing in a garden near Christchurch with your feet on a sward of English grasses, with English roses blooming near, English oaks, elms, and ashes in leaf close by, with the English skylark trilling overhead, and English blackbirds stealing your English cherries, you might easily fancy yourself in England, or dreaming. But were you to walk out of the garden far enough to gain a view of the western horizon, you would see, many miles across an utterly flat plain, a long high blue wall, and above the top of that another blue wall, and behind that a third barrier. You would notice that the highest barrier was capped or streaked with white snow. You would not need to be told that England shows no such mountain-walls as the Southern Alps. Then, were you to turn the other way, and look at the grassy volcanic hills to the east, you would note in their outlines, and in the yellow and brown tints mingling with their green, something un-English. As you went further afield, then, almost every mile you put behind you would show you less and less likeness to England. Its mountains, valleys, forests, birds, coast-line, and, above all, its lakes, rivers, and climate, are as different from those of the great neighbour continent as can well be imagined. The dominating eucalypt of Australia is only known in New Zealand in plantations. Australia is a land of open spaces, so vast as to seem endless, and hot and

dry, but otherwise easy to traverse, because for the most part flat or rolling. Its forest is park-like. Its trees, though interesting, and by no means unbeautiful, have a strong family likeness to one another; its prevailing colours are yellow, brown, light green, and grey. New Zealand, on the other hand, is not a vast land. It is but about as large as the United Kingdom, minus half Ireland. Its coasts rise steep and high; its long, narrow islands are lonely amid the immense unbroken expanse of the Southern Ocean. Even Australia is 1,200 miles off to the north-west, and to the east there is only sea and sky till you come to South America, 5,000 miles away.

The noble forest of New Zealand is a dense jungle, thick and luxuriant as those one reads of in descriptions of the tropics where the traveller and hunter have to cut their path through tangled thickets and interlacing creepers. The general hue of this forest is not light but dark green—beautifully relieved, it is true, by bright fern fronds, light tinted shrubs, and crimson or snow-white flowers. Still the undertone is somewhat sombre, and would be more noticeably so but for two things—the abundant sunshine and great variety of species of trees and ferns growing side by side.

New Zealand is by no means a flat country, though there are in it some fair-sized plains, one of which—that of Canterbury—is about as flat a stretch of one hundred miles as I should think is to be found in the world. On the whole, however, the Colony is, emphatically, a land of the mountain and the flood, and not only in this, but in the contour of some of its hills, some of its peaks, and coast-line, it shows more than a fanciful resemblance to the west of Scotland. But the New Zealand mountains are, of course, far loftier than anything in these islands. In our islands you must expect hill and valley, sometimes mountain and ravine, pinnacle and gorge. The rocky coasts as a rule rise up steeply in mid ocean, standing out in many places in bold bluffs and lofty precipices. The seas round us are not shallow, sleepy, or land-locked, but deep, wide, wind-stirred, flecked with foam, and with their blue surface more often than not lit by brilliant sunshine. The climate and colouring, too, are not only essentially un-British, but differ very widely in different parts of the islands. For New Zealand, though narrow, is long, stretching through 18° latitude, and for something like 1,100 miles from N. to S. Geographically, it is not at the antipodes of England. If you could transport it to this Northern hemisphere and lay it on the map of Europe, its coldest end would be about at Vienna, its warmest near the island of Crete; or bring

it further west, and it would stretch from Orleans in France to the city of Fez in Morocco. As you might expect in a mountainous country, lying in the open ocean, our climate of New Zealand is breezy and, except in two or three districts, moist. It is gloriously healthy and emphatically bright and cheerful. If I were asked to sum up in one word its prevailing characteristic, I should say—light!

Hot as some of the summer days are, they are seldom sultry enough to breed the heavy, overhanging heat-haze which shrouds the heaven nearer the tropics. Sharp as the frosts of the winter nights are in the central and southern part of the south island, the days even in mid-winter are often radiantly beautiful, giving us seven or eight hours of clear pleasant sunshine. It rains in New Zealand—of course it does, especially in the west, or ours would not be the fertile country it is—but for the most part the rains are heavy, but not prolonged; they come in a steady businesslike downpour, or in sharp angry squalls; suddenly the rain ceases, the clouds break, and the sun is shining from a blue sky! Fogs and mists are not unknown, but are rare and are passing visitors, do not come to stay, and are not brown and yellow in hue, but more the colour of a clean fleece of wool; above all, they do not taste of cold smoke, gas, sulphur or mud. High lying and ocean-girt, our long, slender islands are lands of the sunshine and the sea. It is not merely that their coast line measures 4,800 miles, but that they are so shaped and so elevated that from innumerable hilltops and mountain summits one catches distant glimpses of the blue salt water. From the peak of Aorangi Mr. Mannering saw not only the mantle of clouds which at that moment covered the western sea twenty miles away, but a streak of blue ocean seventy miles off near Hokitika to the north-west, and by the hills of Bank's Peninsula to the north-east, a haze which indicated the Eastern Ocean. Thus, from our highest peak, he looked right across New Zealand. The Dutch, then, its discoverers, were not so wrong in naming it after their own Zealand or Sea-land.

Next to light perhaps the chief characteristic of the country and its climate is variety. Thanks to its great length the north differs much from the south. While Southland is as cool as northern France with an occasional southerly wind as bracing as Kingsley's "wild north easter"; on the other hand, in gardens to the north of Auckland I have stood under olive trees laden with berries, with orange trees, figs, and lemon trees in full bearing, close at hand. Not far off a winding tidal creek was fringed with mangroves.

Exotic palm trees and the cane-brake will grow there easily. All over the north island, except at high altitudes, and in the more sheltered portions of the south island, camellias and azaleas bloom in the open air. As for the grape vine, that may lead to wine-making in both islands—unless our friends the total abstainers grow strong enough to put their foot on the manufacture of alcohol in every form in our already distinctly and increasingly sober Colony. But in New Zealand not only is the north in marked contrast with the south, but the contrast between the east and west is even more sharply defined. As a rule the two coasts are divided by a broad belt of mountainous country. The words "chain" and "spine" are a misnomer, at any rate in the south island, inasmuch as they are not sufficiently expressive of breadth. The rain-bringing winds in New Zealand blow chiefly from the north-west and south-west. The moisture-laden clouds that these bear, rolling up from the ocean, gather and condense against the western flanks of our mountains. Thus in the west of the north island we have an abundant rainfall which in ages past nourished an unbroken and beautiful forest. On the west of the south island the rain is more than abundant, and down towards the south-west corner—where the famous Sounds lie—it registers a phenomenal number of inches, something between 110 and 160 inches in the year. On the east coast of the same island, on the other hand, the fall is not more than one-fifth of this, sometimes less, is rather irregular, and is followed by drying winds and a bright sunshine.

I have dwelt a little at length on all this climatic variety, because it is the key to that striking variety of vegetation and colour, and therefore of scenery and life, which the visitor must expect in New Zealand, and to suit which he ought to lay his plans. To anyone who can spend a summer in New Zealand and is entirely master of his movements, I would say keep October for Auckland, November for Canterbury, December and January for Otago with its lakes and sounds; give February to the Alps, Westland and Nelson, and March and April to the North Island, especially to the hot lakes and Taranaki.

I have dwelt on the variety that distinguishes north from south and—though not so much so in the Auckland province—east from west, and explained that it is the heavy and often warm rainfall of the west coast that is responsible for the rich luxuriance of the forest growth that nearly everywhere clothes its hillsides, valleys, and the shores of its wonderful gulfs. To this rainfall is due that bright living green in which the pasture of our west coast vies with

English meadows. I have seen no other spot of earth which does so, to the same extent, and for so many months of the year. Our east coast on the other hand is not jungle-clad, but open and grassy, or clothed with bracken. So in the south island, and for many years in the north island too, the open east was settled before the forest-covered west, and even now most of our sheep and wool are raised on the eastern side of the Great Divide.

Features for which the traveller in New Zealand should be prepared are the far-reaching prospects over which the eye can travel, the sight and sound of water everywhere, and the glimpses of snow high overhead, or far off—glimpses to be caught in almost every landscape in the south island and in many of the most beautiful of the north. Through the sunny lucid atmosphere it is no uncommon thing to see mountain peaks sixty and eighty miles away diminished in size by distance, but with their outlines quite clean cut. From great heights you may see much longer distances, especially in very early mornings of still midsummer days, when, before the air is heated or troubled or tainted, but when night seems to have cooled it and purged it from all impurity, you may see, far off, ridges and summits astonishingly sharp and vivid. On such mornings though, from a spot low down by the seashore, I have seen the hills of Bank's Peninsula between sixty and seventy miles off, though they are not great mountains. I have seen them seem to rise purple-coloured from the sea, wearing "the likeness of a clump of peaked isles," as Shelley says of the Euganean hills seen from Venice. On such a morning from a hill near Pemberton, looking northward over league after league of rolling virgin forest, I have seen the great volcano, Mount Ruapehu, rear up his 8,800 feet, seeming a solitary mass, the upper part distinctly seen, blue and snow-capped, the lower bathed and half-lost in a pearl-coloured haze. Most striking and impressive of all is it at sunrise, looking through a cleft in the forest to catch sight of the peak of Mount Egmont, as it stands an almost perfect cone, its flanks curving upward from the seashore for 8,800 feet. Utterly alone is Egmont without peer or rival near, its slopes mantled with dark forest. See it, if you can, when its summit is sheeted with snow, tinged with the crimson of morning and touched by clouds that stream past in the wind. Lucky is the eye that thus beholds Egmont, for he is a monarch who does not condescend to show his face every day or to every gazer. I should only weary you if I multiplied these recollected visions! multiplied they could be *ad infinitum*! But let me recall one more: The sight of the "Kaikouras" or "Looker-on."

When seen from the deck of a coasting steamer they seem almost to hang over the sea, heaving more than 8,000 feet below their summits. Strangely beautiful are these mighty ridges when the moonlight bathes them and turns the sea beneath to silver. But more beautiful are they still, I think, in the brilliant glow of early morning, white down to the waist, brown to the feet, with the sunshine full on their face, the blue sky overhead, and the bluer sea below. More than one voyager has noted a peculiarity of the highest New Zealand mountains. That is, that when seen from the sea far off they appear as though uplifted into high air away from their bases. Whether this is some trick of the mirage—which we often see in or near New Zealand—I cannot say; but when, 250 years ago, Abel Jansen Tasman, first among European seamen, sighted the south island he wrote in his log-book this singular illusion. It may have been “Aorangi” or the neighbouring summits of the Southern Alps which then unveiled themselves to the eyes of the Dutch sea captain. I have sometimes wondered what were his thoughts as he stood on his bluff-bowed little *Heemskirk*, saw that stupendous vision rising from the unknown deep, and realised that his months of weary searching had not been all in vain.

New Zealand is a land of streams of every size and kind, and these streams and rivers have almost all three qualities in common—they are cold, swift, and clear! Cold and swift they must be, of course, as they descend quickly to the sea from heights more or less great. Clear they all are, except immediately after rain, or when the larger rivers are in flood. It is difficult, perhaps, for you, living in these cool and abundantly watered islands, quite to sympathise with the dwellers in hotter climates; or to understand what a blessing and beauty these continual and never-failing watercourses of New Zealand seem to be to visitors from sultrier and less fortunate lands. Our sun is quite strong enough to make us thankful for this gift of abundant water, and to make the tinkling music of some little forest rivulet, heard long before it is seen through the green thickets, as melodious to the ears of the tired rider as the note of the bell-bird itself. Even pleasanter is the sound and the glitter of water under the summer sunshine to the wayfarer in the open grassy plains or valleys of the East coast. As for the number of our streams—who shall count them? But it is on record that between the mouths of the Mokau and Patea rivers—a distance which cannot be much more than one hundred miles of coast—no less than eighty-five streams empty themselves into the Tasman Sea, of which some sixty have their source in the slopes or in the chasms of Mount

Egmont. Quite as many more, I should think, flow down from Egmont on the inland side, but these, of course, do not reach the sea separately, but are tributaries of two or three larger rivers.

Would that I could give you some really lifelike impressions of the exceeding beauty of many of our rivers. I am quite aware that travellers come to our shores and leave them with no notion of a New Zealand river, except as a raging mountain torrent, hostile to man and beast. Or, on the other hand, they may pass this same torrent shrunk and dwindled in summer heat to a mere glittering thread, meandering about as though in a more or less lost and bewildered state over an intolerably wide bed of hot and unlovely stones. But then our railways and ordinary lines of communication are chiefly along the coasts: the unadventurous or hurried traveller sticks pretty closely to these. It happens that our rivers, almost without exception, show plainer features as they near the sea.

He who wishes to see their beauties must go inland and see them as they are to be seen in the north island, winding through untouched valleys, under cliffs hung with drooping ferns and shrubs, clothed with mosses and lichens and shadowed by forests as yet not marred by the hand of man. Or, in the south island, the traveller must go into the Alps to see the rivers boiling and racing at the bottom of frowning gorges.

As a specimen of a New Zealand forest river, let me take the Wanganui, the longest and most famous, and perhaps the most beautiful of our north-western rivers. Near the sea, it is simply a fine broad river, traversed by boats and small steamers, and with its grassy banks dotted with weeping willows or clothed with flax and the ti. But as you ascend it, the hills close in. Their sides become tall cliffs, whose feet the water washes. From the tops of these precipices the forest, which becomes denser and richer at every turn, rises on the flanks of the hills. In places the cliffs are so steep and impracticable that the Maoris use ladders for descending from their villages above to their canoes in the rivers below. Lovely indeed are these cliffs; first, because of the profusion of fern frond, leaf, and moss, growing from everything that can climb to lay hold of or root itself in a crack or crevice or ledge on their faces, and then droop, glistening with spray drops, or wave whispering in the wind; next, because of the striking form and colour of the cliffs themselves. They are formed of what is called "papa": this is a blue calcareous clay often found with limestone, which it somewhat resembles. The Maori word "papa" is applied to any broad, smooth, flattish surface, as, for instance, to a door, or to a



slab of rock. The papa cliffs have a smooth slablike look, they are often curiously marked—tongued and grooved, as with a gouge or chisel, channelled and fluted. Sometimes horizontal lines seem to divide them into strata; then again the lines will be winding and spiral to such an extent that when looking at the cliffs in the Mokau country, I have conceived it possible that the Maoris could have got from them some of their curious tattoo patterns. Though pale and delicate the tints of the rock are not their least beauty. Grey, yellow, brown, terra-cotta, even pale orange are to be noted; but it is, as I said before, the drapery that clothes these cliffs which is their chief charm, and that a much better word-painter than I am could not hope to bring home to you. No photograph can do it, because photographs give no light or colour, and New Zealand scenery without light and colour is "Hamlet with Hamlet left out." How can I possibly bring before you the dark glossy green of the glistening Karaka leaves? the feathery waving foliage of the lace bark? the white and purple bloom of the Koromiko? the stiff sword-bayonet-like blades of our flax with their polished green? the richness of the fern which bears the name of the Prince of Wales? or the glint of the sunshine as it falls on the golden tossing plumes of the Toe-toe, the New Zealand cousin of the well-known Pampas grass? Add to this, that more often than you can count as you go along the river, either some little rill comes dripping over the cliff, scattering the sparkling drops on moss and foliage; or the cliffs are cleft and, as from a rent in the earth, some tributary stream gushes out of a dark leafy tunnel of branches. Sometimes, too, the cliffs are not cleft, but the stream rushes from their summit, a white waterfall veiling the mossy rocks. Nor must I forget the birds. In mid-air you may see the little Fantail, aptly named, zig-zagging to and fro. The dark blue Tui, with those white throat feathers that procure him the name of the Parson bird, will sing with a note that outrivals any blackbird. The Kuku or wild pigeon will show his purple, copper-coloured, white and green plumage as he sails slowly by, with that easy confiding flight that makes him the commonest victim of the tyro sportsman. The grey duck, less easy to approach, rises noisily before your boat or canoe comes within gunshot. The olive and brown, hoarse-voiced Ka-Ka, one of our large wild parrots, and green crimson-headed parakeets may complete the list. Such is a "papa" river, and there are many such. The Wanganui may be taken as the chief example, and as few travellers can manage to descend the less-known but quite unspoiled Mokau, I would advise all visitors

to New Zealand to make a point of running down the Wanganui from Taumaruanui to the mouth. Down the upper and more beautiful portion, Maori boatmen will convey you in canoes. If proper precautions be taken, the charge will not be exorbitant. The Maoris are expert canoe men, and their long crank-looking craft skims along delightfully. Of course, the great war canoes of the past, with their high-carved stems and sterns, their decorations in red paint and mother-o'-pearl, and their scores of paddle-men, are things of the past—you must go to museums to see them or even imitations of them! As for the large double canoes, in which the Maoris came from Polynesia, they had forgotten to make them many generations ago. They still used them in Tasman's day, but not in Captain Cook's.

The modern Maori canoe is a weather-beaten, prosaic, unpainted shell, hollowed out of a large tree trunk. The first time you trust yourself to the tender mercies of one of them, to be ferried over some brown, flooded, swirling river, you wish that you had made your will, as your experienced companion facetiously asks you whether your hair is parted precisely in the middle, and warns you not to shut one eye at a time. But Maori canoes are not as dangerous as they look, and though New Zealand rivers have drowned many scores of wayfarers in old days, I cannot just at this moment recall any case in which the victims have been upset from a Maori canoe. While on the subject, I remember that the late Mr. Crawford, in his book on New Zealand, notes how much he was struck, when being canoed by Maoris, by the contrast between the massive, handsome look of their brown limbs, and the pinched, pallid look of a white man's arm or leg, in juxtaposition to them, when the men were paddling or wading through shallow water. I have noticed this massive, powerful look which the more muscular Maoris have. No doubt, their brown skin—a finer colour, I think, than even the true bronze you see in Ceylon—has something to do with it. But the truth is, that the Maori, when in health, is a burly personage, as anyone who has watched him dancing, clad only in his ancestral kilt, can testify.

No address, which professes to deal with the picturesque aspects of New Zealand, in however hasty and sketchy a way, can pretend to any completeness without a reference to the native race. To some of our visitors they are our most interesting inhabitants: over that point we white New Zealanders will not quarrel with our tourists. The courage of the Maori, their intelligence, their look of manliness, the very ferocity of their long-relinquished habits, have at-

tracted curiosity and attention. To me, among the most interesting points with regard to them is the uncertainty of their origin and future fate. Whence come the Polynesian race—the tall, brave, warlike, poetic, brown people—that stretches across the Eastern Pacific, from Hawaii in the north to New Zealand in the south? Alike in look and character, and speaking different dialects of the same musical language, they all differ utterly from the Asiatic races to the west of them, the Japanese and Malays. So they do from the degraded and hideous blacks of Melanesia and Australia. Ethnologists have looked eastward, and tried to trace a likeness in them to the Red Indians of North America. I cannot help thinking it fanciful. My friend Edward Tregear, whose studies in this matter do him credit, thinks that their language shows them to be nearly allied to the primitive stock from which our European races sprang. But if I continue this subject I shall begin to talk about Aryans, and you know what that leads to. Certain it is that the average European does not seem to feel that repulsion for the Maori which causes him to loathe so many dark-skinned races. And in their personal courage, their love of sport and horses, their recognition of what we call “fair-play,” and the frank courtesy and hospitality of the bettersort of them, the Maori seems to have something in common with English sentiment. Are they dying out? That is what I cannot tell you. For the last fifteen years their numbers appear to have been about stationary. The Quinquennial New Zealand Census now being taken ought to throw some light on the question. For some time past, at any rate, there have been about 41,000 of them, living quietly in scattered villages, cultivating their land, leasing some of it, selling blocks of the unused portion from time to time, rearing a little live stock, fishing, digging for Kauri gum, living a not unhappy, nor uncomfortable, perfectly peaceful existence.

A fair number of children are born, and the tribes would increase if they would observe the ordinary laws of sanitation. It is that much more than drink, or any special epidemic, which keeps them down. More than half the children go to school, some to ordinary European state schools, most to special schools, provided by the Government. Very quaint little people they look, with their dark eyes, sometimes droll, sometimes pathetic, seated on the wooden benches, and learning the three R's that we all learn. As a rule, when in competition with white schoolmates, they are distanced by them; but you must remember that the teaching is done in English, and that to most Maori children English is not the tongue of their homes.

The Maori men are often handsome ; of the Maori women, one may say that, like " Lady Jane " in *Patience*, they are not pretty, but massive !

Four Maori members sit in the New Zealand House of Representatives. Two make their speeches in English, two speak through an interpreter. When they talk on subjects especially affecting their race, they talk fluently and well. Maori chiefs often have no mean gifts of eloquence. Their language helps them there ! Welsh has been described to me as a language consisting of consonants, with a vowel thrown in here and there for the sake of appearances ; many Polynesian words, on the other hand, are made up so much of vowels that a poor consonant seems sometimes to find it rather hard to get in. Take, for instance, the expression " e-ora ana ahau " or two words which occur to me by chance !—" Waiau " and " Aotea." Each word, you see, has one consonant—that is, if *w* be a consonant. Thus, when pronounced by a skilled Maori elocutionist, graceful of gesture, the tongue sounds liquid and musical in a high degree. You know what Byron says of Italian :—

" Sounding as though it had been writ on satin,  
With syllables that breathe of the sweet south,  
And gentle liquids gliding all so pat in,  
That not a single accent seems uncouth ;  
Not like our whistling grunting northern guttural,  
Which we're compelled to hiss, and spit, and sputter all."

You will, I dare say, not be displeased to know that the Government and other influences are now working to preserve the Maori names of mountains, lakes, rivers, and waterfalls. Some of the early settlers preferred to replace these by English names, sometimes fitting enough, sometimes rather comically inappropriate. Opinion nowadays has declared in favour of the Maori place-names, and justly. Very sweet and sonorous many of these are. Nor do they add greatly to the difficulties of the tourist, though he is apt to think so when he first sees them in print. If he will but remember to give the vowel sounds the value they have in Italian he will avoid many pitfalls. The meanings of the names are often poetical or expressive, as Waitangi (water of lamentation) : Waiorongomai (listen, ye waters !) : Pukearuhe (ferny hill) : Awatere (swift river) : Wairarapa (gleaming water). Last but not least comes Aorangi, as the Maoris call the great peak that we have chosen to dub Mount Cook. Linguists differ as to the interpretation of Aorangi. It is probably not " sky-piercer " as popularly believed. Whether it be

"morn in the heavens" or "peak of the driving scud" I leave to experts to determine.

A word or two more, and I must bid goodbye to the Maoris. Cannibalism has been utterly extinct for generations; war is a thing of past years. The loneliest and most inexperienced tourist need fear no violence in their villages. Only in the mountainous and picturesque Uriwera country they still try to keep up isolation. Even that is a matter of friendly arrangement with the Government. Last year a deputation of their chiefs visited Wellington, and in dignified and pathetic words begged that their land might be preserved for them inviolate, so that their trees, their birds, and their Maori customs might not perish from the earth. You will be glad to know that our Parliament was willing to grant this appeal.

To the visitor who has not many weeks to spend in the Colony I will venture to offer a little advice. To begin with, I would say—do as little sea-coasting as possible. Once landed, strike into the interior, and use the sea only when necessary. Then do not loiter about in the towns—unless, of course, you wish to study some points of their political and social life. The most striking and characteristic features of New Zealand life and scenery lie for the most part far away from cities. Not that our towns are without charm or interest. I only hope that it may be your good fortune, as it has been mine, to climb the grassy slopes of Mount Eden, and, after looking into the funnel-shaped crater of that singular little volcanic cone, turn and look out over Auckland, its harbour the Waitemata, and the Hauraki gulf. Close beneath are fields divided by stone walls of grey scoria. It is about the only place in New Zealand where you will see such field walls. Then come the gardens, orchards, blossoming hedgerows, and plantations of the suburbs—and few colonial towns have more to be proud of in this way than Auckland. In late October, the time of the arum lilies, she is indeed a City of Flowers. Beyond spreads the white city lying beside the long inlet that forms her harbour, and which goes winding and glittering mile after mile inland. Outside you see island upon island, till the Little Barrier rises blue and faint, a conical cap in the far North. Out eastward you just see the shadowy mountains of the Coromandel peninsula, famous wherever gold miners and investors do congregate. They tell you that you can see sixty-three volcanic cones from the top of Mount Eden. It may be so. But if you have an eye for natural beauty you will be far too well engaged to count them. If you are a yachtsman you have only to glance at that blue island-sprinkled sea and breathe that genial air to

recognise that you have come to an ideal haven. Good yachtsmen when they die may do worse than go to Auckland.

But push inland. Turn your back if you must on the kauri forests and the "gum country" of the far north. Leave behind the giant trees with their pillar-like trunks, patchy foliage, and candelabra-like branches. Leave behind those moorlands and hill-sides of barren white clay dressed in deceptive green by stunted fern and stunted manuka, over which wander in scattered thousands the kauri-gum diggers, probing the hard earth with their spears, and then painfully digging out the dark lumps of the precious resin. More interesting sights lie southward. The railway is now opened to Rotorua, and one long day's ride will take you to the sanatorium and into the heart of the thermal springs district. If you are an invalid you need not make the journey in one day, but may make a comfortable halt, and have your first taste of hot bathing at Okoroire by the way. Once at Rotorua your movements will be regulated by your health. If you go there for medical treatment you will of course obey orders and live by rule, and must only take such excursions as your doctor permits. If, on the other hand, you are perfectly well and go there as a sightseer, I have a word or two to say. Painstaking descriptions of the wonders of the thermal district abound. Even if I felt capable of rivalling them I should have to devote the whole evening to doing so. So this address must be confined to a few points. First of all remember that the hot lakes district is of very considerable extent. Not a hundredth part of it or its marvels can be seen in one view. How many scores of times has one not been asked whether there is anything left to see now that the pink and white terraces have been overwhelmed? Whereto the answer must be that an intelligent person could spend many weeks there and come away without having seen all. How many hot springs are there? asks one questioner. I don't know. I don't think any one does know, they have never been counted. They are too many. How hot are they? asks another. They are of every degree, from, say, 60° Fahr. to 212°. The chief, or at any rate the most noticeable, chemical elements producing effects of colour in the thermal district are sulphur, alum, and silica. To the last-named we owe the frosty snow-white hue of innumerable terraces, banks, and ledges. The alum walls, or so-called caves, are more greyish. It is to the almost rainbow tints of the sulphur pools, springs, and deposits that the springs owe their most brilliant effects. How can I describe them? It is easy to talk about red and yellow and green, but that does not give you any notion of the infinite and

beautiful gradations. Yellow, yes; everything from orange to pale primrose. Red: that means rose, carmine, cardinal, blood-colour, crimson, port-wine. In the same way you may see all the greens, from the deepest emerald to the palest sea-tints. Then how can I give you even the faintest sketch of the inexhaustible variety in which the subterranean forces of fire and water manifest their strength? I can tell you that there are geysers, solfatiras, fumaroles, and mud volcanoes by the score; but does that make them boil and roar, and writhe and seethe, and hiss and snort, and spout and steam, and gurgle and splutter before your eyes? A far better word-painter than I would fail utterly to give you any vivid impression of these extraordinary phenomena. In close contrast with them are often the brightest, tenderest fern and leafage. It may be truly said that the wide plateau in which the lakes stand is not always beautiful, that the ferny terraces and pumice plains are sometimes dreary when away from the water. But then there is so much water, and who can grumble at the scenery of the lakes when once you have reached their shores? Rotorua is but one of many. The visitor should insist upon being taken to Rotoiti, Rotoehu, and Rotoma. Charming as Rotorua is, lying a bright circle, a silver setting round green Mokoia, perhaps its sister lakes are more charming still. Who that has glided in a canoe across the green, placid surface of Rotoiti and has watched the vapour from some steam jet on its beach rising white against a green background of forest will forget that tranquil water? Then when you have duly inspected the foaming geysers, miniature terraces, and boiling pools of Wakarewarewa and the dark hell-broth, thick and slab, that bubbles and gurgles in the horrid cauldrons of Tikitere, it will be time to pursue your journey to Lake Taupo. By no means make the mistake of turning back from Rotorua in the belief that you have exhausted the thermal springs district. Taupo—the sea, as the Maoris called the great lake—is one of the finest sights in New Zealand. The air of its uplands is peculiarly tonic and bracing. Away past its south-west corner frown the great volcanoes Ruapehu, and Ngauruhoe, the steaming cone of Tongariro. The open-air bathing in the hot pools at more than one spot is as delicious as you can wish. You can boat on the wide lake, or by its shores good pheasant-shooting may be had for the trouble of walking—at least that was the case when I was last there. Then the river Waikato flows into Taupo and flows out again, draining the big lake. Before the inflow it is a pretty, tree-fringed stream merely. After exit it is a fine river, and, nigh the lake,

being suddenly jammed into a narrow rocky pass, it boils through the imprisoning chasm and hurls itself in one clear leap, all foam, light, and colour, into the broad quietly flowing expanse below. Such is the Huka waterfall; Huka means foam. Even finer in all except colour are I think the long, tumultuous rapids two or three miles further down. You may ride there easily from the Wairakei hotel, fording on the way a stream with which the waters of warm chemical springs have mingled. If your horse has been some time in the district he will drink this if he be thirsty. If a stranger he may refuse, as mine did, snorting in disgust. But I must leave the scenery of the hot-springs country. I have not even mentioned the alum caves of Orakei-Korako, or the natural rock fortress near Ateamuri; or the cliffs at Horo Horo; or the crater, the cinders, the chasms of dark and mischievous Tarawera. I have said nothing of the Waiotapu Valley with its long succession of pools, mud-volcanoes, and fumaroles, scientifically as interesting as anything in New Zealand. I have not even described a mud-volcano as I meant to do. But how can I help it? As a lecturer I have, like Faustus, "but one brief hour to live."

Just a word to those who seek the springs for health. They are not a pool of Bethesda, in which even one man may dip and be healed, no matter what his disease. The cures they effect seem miraculous enough in all truth sometimes, as for instance the effect of sulphur-baths on certain paralytics; but their effect has been scientifically studied, is pretty well understood, and is limited to certain, though numerous disorders. Roughly speaking, we may say that the stimulating acid springs show their most potent virtue in liver troubles, rheumatism, and gout, and the soothing alkaline-siliceous springs in certain forms of gout and rheumatism, and in skin diseases generally. Disorders of the digestion, of the blood and the nervous system are often signally benefited at Rotorua. But it does not follow that persons in an advanced stage of consumption, or with heart disease, or cancer, or softening of the brain can expect aid. Then, again, let me say to invalids—avoid indiscriminate bathing. It is just because our springs are powerful that they ought not to be played with. At Rotorua and Te Aroha you can get good advice, as well as most comfortable accommodation—take them. Within these limits it is well-nigh impossible for invalids to hope too much from the power and pleasantness of the bathing, the interest afforded by the country, and the important help given by the bright, bracing, upland climate.

From Taupo you may go east or west. If you are in search of



the scenery of the wilderness, my advice is to go west. Cross Taupo or drive round its shore to Tokaano: then, passing between the Kaimanawa mountains and the great volcanoes, one of the grandest spectacles in the Island, make for the Upper Wanganui, a voyage that I have already attempted to sketch. But, if that do not tempt you, drive through the forest of Awarua to the railway at Hunterville. The road in summer is good.

The glory of New Zealand forest scenery may be summed up best in the words—variety and luxuriance. The tall trees grow close together. For the most part their leaves are rather small, but their close neighbourhood prevents this spoiling the effect. The eye wanders over swell after swell, and into cavern after cavern of unbroken foliage. As a rule the lower part of the trunks is branchless; they rise up like tall pillars in long colonnades. But this does not mean that they are bare. Climbing ferns, lichens, pendant grasses, air-plants, and orchids drape their trunks with verdure. Long rope-like lianas seem to fall like cords from their branches to the ground. Around them bushes, shrubs, creepers and ferns of every size and height combine to make a tangled thicket, filling up and even choking the spaces between trunk and trunk. So the giants of the forest are not lonely by any means.

Like the Australians, New Zealand Colonists call their noble forest "bush." What in England might be called bush or brushwood is called "scrub" in the Colonies. Our forest trees are evergreens, therefore even in mid-winter they are beautiful. The glorious autumnal tints of English woods are not theirs; yet theirs are every shade of green from the light Puriri to the dark Totara, from the bronze-hued willow-like leaves of the Tawa to the vivid green of the Matai, or the soft golden-green of the drooping Rimu. Then, again, though the wild ground-flowers of our Islands cannot compare in number with those of England or Australia, we are fortunate in flowering creepers, shrubs, and trees. There is the Koromiko bush with its white and purple blossoms. That, fortunately, is common enough. Everywhere in the "bush," too, you may meet that lovely white *Convolvulus*, which covers whole thickets with blooms, delicate as carved ivory, whiter than milk. There is the *Clematis*—the cream-coloured or the variegated. There is the yellow Kowhai, which seen on the hill-side shows the russet tint of autumn at the very height of springtime. There is the Manuka with tiny starry blooms. But perhaps the king of our forest flowers is the crimson, feathery Rata. Is it a creeper or is it a tree? Both

opinions are held with delightful confidence ; both are right. One species of the Rata is a parasite and climber, the other springs sometimes from the ground, sometimes from the fork of a tree into which the seed is blown or dropped ; thence it throws out long rootlets sometimes to the ground, sometimes wrapping round the trunk of the tree on which it is growing. Gradually this Rata becomes a tree itself, kills its supporting tree, and, growing around the dead stick, ends in almost hiding it from view. The most gorgeous of all flowering trees, as distinguished from creepers, is the sea-loving Pohutukawa. When the wind is tossing its branches I can think of few lovelier sights than the contrast between its blood-red flowers and the dark upper side and white downy under side of its leaves.

Would that I had space to detain you while I could launch out on our ferns, from the black-tree fern thirty to sixty feet high to the filmy fern and the little maidenhair, and the creeping lycopodium that often carpets the glades. The silver tree-fern, and the *Todia superba*, and a hundred others must be unhonoured to-day. But I cannot quite forget the Nikau, our only true palm, and the charming contrast which its rather stiff upward-pointing leaves afford to the curving lacelike fronds of the tree ferns when they grow side by side, as they often do in the forest.

Arrived on the west coast, a traveller, however hurried, should strive to see Mount Egmont ; that done should make for Wellington ; from thence a railway journey to Napier and back will show him one of the finest of our pastoral districts—the grassy Arcadia of Hawke's Bay and also the bush settlements of the seventy-mile forest. Let me say a word or two here to the traveller who happens to be a sportsman, because from Wellington he may reach the Wairarapa, where deer are to be shot, or cross Cook's Strait to Nelson, where they are to be shot also.

As long as two years ago a party of sportsmen secured fourteen stags' heads in a week in the Wairarapa. One of these showed eighteen points. In the same month in Central Otago seven sportsmen in three days shot thirteen stags. Red deer grow bigger and heavier in New Zealand than in Scotland. One hears of stags "as big as bullocks" ; but Mr. W. A. Low in a letter to the *Field* mentions a two-year-old stag weighing 8 cwt. A twenty-shilling license and a few good letters of introduction are all that are needed to enable the visiting sportsman to get a good time with the deer. There is plenty of pheasant, duck, and hare shooting to be had in the Colony in the season, and of course there are times when and

places where you can butcher rabbits to your heart's content. Wild pigs and wild cattle can be got by those who go far enough afield.

Angling is no longer confined to a few streams in Canterbury or North Otago. There is excellent fishing to be got in the north island. If the big lake trout don't take the fly, their relations in the rivers and streamlets are by no means backward. Every year the Acclimatisation Societies are spreading trout about the Colony, but even now visiting anglers can confidently count on getting good fish to their heart's content, and every possible assistance and kindness from numerous Colonial members of the angling brotherhood. I have only time to add that those who like sea-fishing can get plenty of it in New Zealand, either north or south, and catch big fish from a fifty-pound hapuka downwards.

Now to conclude with a few inadequate sentences devoted to the Southern Alps, their gorges, lakes, and sounds. My suggestion to the tourist is that he should begin the south island from Nelson, travelling by coach down the valleys of the Buller and Grey rivers. Then cross, still by coach, to Canterbury, passing through some of the finest Alpine gorges and beautiful wooded valleys of the world. Go by rail to Christchurch and pay a visit to Aorangi, thence go on by the inland line to the Otago Lakes and see at least two of them, if possible four or five, and finally wind up with a visit to the Sounds. How can I attempt in a few feeble words to give you the faintest notion of our Alps? To understand them and to be competent to describe them one ought to be a botanist, an Alpine climber, a landscape painter, and a poet. I am none of these things, and have but a minute or two at my disposal. The especial charm of the New Zealand Alps, I think, lies in their showing you at one and the same moment a combination of the sternest grandeur aloft, joined with the softest and most luxuriant foliage below. On the west coast the forest climbs to the snow line, while the snow line descends as if to meet it. On the western side glaciers come down to within 700 feet of the sea level; even on the east side the snow line is some 2,000 feet lower than in Switzerland. This means that the wonderful land which lies above that line is easily and quickly accessible. You can easily reach the realm where life is dead and where ice and snow, rock and water reign supreme, and where man seems a daring intruder.

Though Aorangi has, I believe, been ascended to the topmost pinnacle of its 12,849 feet, still the peaks are many which are yet unscaled, and the valleys many which are virtually untrodden. Exploring parties still go out and find new lakes, new passes,

and new waterfalls. It is but a few years since the Sutherland Falls, 2,000 feet high, were first revealed to civilised man, nor was there ever a region better worth searching than the Southern Alps. Every freshly-found nook and corner gives us new beauties and new interests. Far away as it is therefore, mountaineer and cragsman may rest assured that it is well worth a visit. The ordinary tourist who does not travel to scale icy peaks may be assured that an infinite feast for the eye may be enjoyed from the lower levels without danger or excessive exertion. Both our glaciers and lakes are on a grand scale. The Tasman glacier is eighteen miles long—more than two miles across at the widest point; the Murchison glacier is more than ten miles long; the Godley eight. The Hochstetter Fall is a curtain of broken, uneven, fantastic ice coming down 4,000 feet on to the Tasman glacier. Imagine such a spectacle if you can, seen amid the stillness of the High Alps, broken only by the occasional boom and crash of a falling pinnacle of ice. Read the volumes written by Messrs. Green and Mannering, and they may help you to realise what our Alps can display. As for the lakes, Waikatipu is fifty-four miles long, and though its surface is 1,000 feet above the sea level, its profound depth sinks below it. On the sea side of the mountains Milford Sound is 1,100 feet deep near its innermost end. When you are in the Sounds the knowledge of the gulfs beneath your feet adds to the effect upon you of the towering mountain-heights, hanging as it were over your head. The quiet and tranquillity which reign in these great arms of the sea are often a delightful change from the rough ocean without, and a change which often comes so suddenly as to seem as quick as the shifting of a theatrical scene. Yet the stillness of the Sounds is not absolute. When it is, or has been, raining, and that is usually the case there, the sides of the precipices are streaked and seamed with waterfalls of every kind and size, from tiny dropping threads to thin gauze-like veils or broad roaring torrents like the mighty Bowen. You have to thank the rain in the Sounds for ever-changing fairylike effects of mist and cloud, capping or wreathing peak and cliff. It is the rain, too, to which you owe the mantle of vegetation which clothes every shore and face not too precipitous to support the cloak of green and gold and grey—the cloak that gives the Sounds that incomparable colour which prevents their grandeur becoming too terrible and awe-inspiring. Although the climate of the Sounds may be like that of Ireland, a good climate to live out of, we may well be grateful to it for blending in matchless harmony shifting colours on sea and sky, waterfall

and forest, rock and snow, such as, perhaps, no other corner of the earth can show.

In conclusion Mr. Reeves proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding.

The CHAIRMAN: I have to thank you for the extremely kind way in which you have received this vote of thanks. As one good turn deserves another, perhaps you will allow me, in your name, to offer our thanks to Mr. Reeves for his lecture. I am sure that we have, all of us, been deeply interested in the description of New Zealand, and that many of us, at least, only wish we could go there under Mr. Reeves' guidance. This is an opportunity for expressing the thanks of the Institute to Mr. Samuel H. Moreton, of Christchurch, for some oil paintings he has presented descriptive of New Zealand scenery. It is something to know that the Institute can not only command interest and attention in this country, but that others far away take a real interest in its proceedings by sending such pictures. I now beg to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Reeves for his address.

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An Afternoon Meeting was held in the Library of the Institute on Tuesday, May 19, 1896, Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., in the Chair, when Mr. Arthur Clayden read a Paper on

### OUR COLONIAL FOOD SUPPLIES.<sup>1</sup>

[ABSTRACT.]

COMMENCING with the remark that in his judgment one of the most pressing obligations binding on the British community, with its population of forty millions and an increase of a thousand souls daily, was the looking well after the food supply, the author proceeded to make out his case. Every year we grew less and needed more. In 1874 there were 3,880,767 acres in the United Kingdom under wheat, and in 1894 the wheat acreage had shrunk to 1,980,228, just about one half. These portentous figures pointed to the question of our food supply as one of paramount importance. They were also an impressive reminder that it was none too soon that a due appraisal were made of the resources of "Greater Britain."

He proposed, therefore, to pass in review a few of the resources for food supply under the British Flag, confining himself to the

<sup>1</sup> A copy of the Paper itself is preserved in the Library, and is always available for reference.

three leading necessities—wheat, meat, and fruit. As regards the “staff of life”—bread, it might be assumed that for at least two out of every three loaves consumed on the British Isles we are indebted to the foreigner. The Board of Agriculture Returns gave 37,176,257 bushels of wheat, or 19,000,000 cwt., as the total quantity grown last year by British farmers; and the latest Board of Trade Returns give 19,074,790 quarters of wheat (1 quarter=8 bushels) and 18,368,410 cwt. of flour as our last year’s importation.

The true significance of these figures was seen when the increased population was taken into consideration. In 1881 our total population stood at 34,884,848, and in 1874 it probably did not exceed thirty millions; to-day it reaches or exceeds forty millions. So that to put the question in its most concrete form, with ten millions more mouths to feed, we find ourselves with only half the supply of the “staff of life” grown at home that we had in 1874.

Mr. Clayden then ran hurriedly over the great wheat fields of the Colonies, and reached the conclusion that the future granary of Great Britain would be found in the Canadian north-west territories. Here we had a wheat-growing area, second to none on the earth’s surface, of practically limitless extent, and of exhaustless fertility. Areas larger than half a dozen United Kingdoms would probably be brought within from eight to ten days’ sail of Liverpool by the proposed new route *via* Hudson’s Bay. By this route some 1,291 miles would be saved, meaning a saving of £1 per ton on wheat and £3 per head on cattle in carriage.

The author gave a variety of figures as to the wheat-growing regions to be thus opened up by this Hudson’s Bay route, and quoted Mr. Ruttan, engineer to the city of Winnipeg, to the effect that “within the next decade the province of Manitoba and the adjacent territories will be producing 200 million bushels of wheat annually.” An interesting account of a Canadian Parliamentary Special Committee’s report on a comparatively unknown region, “The Great Mackenzie Basin,” was given. Here, at our doors, as it were, was a corn and meat-growing area as large as Western Australia—over a million square miles.

Passing on to the meat supplies of the Colonies, Mr. Clayden referred to the wonderful growth of the frozen mutton and beef trade. When he first made the acquaintance of New Zealand tens of thousands of sheep, too old for the profitable growth of wool, were yearly boiled down for tallow, and their carcasses strewn on the runs. In 1882 the first consignment of frozen sheep reached England, of the value of £19,839. In 1890 the annual

value of the New Zealand frozen meat trade exceeded £1,000,000, and last year (1895) the total Australasian export of frozen meat had grown to three million carcasses. The consumption of frozen meat in the United Kingdom has increased to eight per cent. of the total beef and mutton consumption, and nearly one-fourth of the total mutton supply in Great Britain is imported frozen.

The Paper read at the Institute, in April 1894, by the Hon. James Inglis, was referred to, and his important facts and figures as to the enterprise of his Colony of New South Wales, and the contiguous Colonies of Victoria and Queensland, in the matter of sending food to the United Kingdom. Victoria had spent £6,000,000 on irrigation, and various large freezing works were in course of construction. In New South Wales there were 80,000,000 acres of unoccupied land awaiting farmer settlement. With artesian wells to counteract the droughts those Colonies would soon count for much in the matter of food supply. There were in the whole of Australasia over 100,000,000 sheep and 10,000,000 head of cattle. As the home growth of beef and mutton was actually less in 1894 than in 1874, the exact figures being 17,651,790 cwts. in 1874, and 17,105,870 cwts. in 1894, this magnificent provision of Australasia was every way satisfactory.

But Canada would have much to say on the meat as well as the wheat question, as Alberta, one of the north-west territories, was one of the finest cattle and dairy countries in the world, and about the size of England.

The author then passed to fruit, dwelling on its growing importance as an article of food. Messrs. Chaffey's Australian Irrigation Colonies were touched on, and the rapid development of Canadian and Australian fruit farms. The fine apples of Tasmania and New Zealand were also referred to. In all directions there was promise of Colonial supplies of fruit equal to any possible demand. Time forbade his notice of the splendid tropical fruits of the Colonies. Canadian apples and tinned fruit were coming over in ever increasing quantities, and the multiplying irrigation works of Australia would ensure an ample supply of dried fruits.

In conclusion, Mr. Clayden availed himself of the opportunity of expressing his continued pride in the Royal Colonial Institute. He had been a member more than half the period of its existence, and a dozen years ago he had the honour of reading a Paper before the Fellows on "New Zealand." He devoutly hoped that a progressive spirit would possess the executive, so that the Institute might keep in touch with the go-a-head communities beyond the seas, and

keep pace with the growing necessities of this stirring and perhaps ominous era.

The following took part in the discussion : Colonel J. Harris, Mr. S. Lowe, Mr. J. C. Colledge, Mr. E. Salmon, Mr. Sebright Green and the Chairman. Votes of thanks to the Reader of the Paper and the Chairman were passed.



## EIGHTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Eighth Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, June 9, 1896, when Sandford Fleming, Esq., C.M.G., read a Paper on "Canada and Ocean Highways."

The Right Hon. the Marquis of Lorne, K.T., G.C.M.G., M.P., a Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 45 Fellows had been elected, viz., 9 Resident and 36 Non-Resident.

### Resident Fellows :—

*Ralph S. Ashton, B.A., John Astrop, William H. Durrant, Ernest Grant-Govan, Herbert L. Hudson, F. Woolton Isaacson, M.P., Sir Westman D. Pearson, Bart., M.P., Charles W. Stevens, Colonel Charles M. Watson, R.E., C.M.G.*

### Non-Resident Fellows :—

*Capt. George B. Appleton (Victoria), Andrew Bennie (Cape Colony), Hon. Sir Mackenzie Bowell, K.C.M.G. (Canada), Thomas J. Britten (Transvaal), Arthur J. Broad (Mauritius), J. B. Brown (Transvaal), Bernard Cave-Brown-Cave (Sierra Leone), Dr. J. G. Croghan (Cape Colony), William Crosby (Transvaal), Dr. Henry W. Drew (Cape Colony), John C. Farquharson, J.P. (Jamaica), Hon. J. J. Felton, M.L.C. (Falkland Islands), Rev. Walter K. Firminger, M.A. (Zanzibar), Very Rev. Dean A. R. Fitchett, M.A. (New Zealand), Myer J. Foots (Transvaal), George Greig (Ceylon), George C. Halliday (New South Wales), Francis Hart (Western Australia), Edward W. Hayward (South Australia), Hon. John Henry, M.L.A. (Tasmania), Thomas H. Holdship (New South Wales), Harry C. Lovemore (Transvaal), Ernest McDonald (British Honduras), George MacDonald (Gold Coast Colony), Rev. J. Middleton MacDonald (India), George J. Penny (Straits Settlements), W. A. Phillips (Transvaal), John T. Ralston (New South Wales), E. C. Reynolds (Transvaal), Edgar P. Rathbone (Transvaal), James C. Sharp (Transvaal), Capt. C. J. Sims (Transvaal), Thomas Stevensen (Cape Colony), H. G. Vander Hoven (Transvaal), Dr. S. H. R. Van Ryck de Groot (Gold Coast Colony), Frank Wright (Gold Coast Colony).*

It was also announced that donations to the Library of Books, Maps, &c., had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN: During this Session a series of papers, by writers of recognised authority, have been read and discussed.

It is usual to include, if possible, in our annual programme, a paper on Canada, as forming one of the most important parts of the Empire, and we are fortunate in having induced Mr. Sandford Fleming, who has just arrived in this country, and whose name is a household word in the Dominion, to address us this evening. The Royal Colonial Institute is being favoured with another prosperous year, and continues to command the confidence of our Colonial friends and supporters. We have added to the roll no less than 176 new Fellows, as against 119 during the corresponding period of 1895. Several important questions have recently come under the consideration of the Council. In view of the general desire for a closer relationship between all parts of the Empire, they have felt it their duty to urge on the Chancellor of the Exchequer that serious objections exist to the present practice of levying income tax here on income that has been earned and already taxed as such in the Colonies and Dependencies. They, therefore, asked that the law might be so amended as to exempt income from the payment of income tax in the United Kingdom in all cases where it has already been charged with income tax in that part of the Empire, wherever it may be, where it was earned. The Lords of the Treasury state, in reply, that they are unable, for various reasons, to accept the suggestion contained in the memorial; but the Council are still hopeful that, on further reflection, the desired exemption may be conceded. We rejoice to be able to welcome this evening Sir Mackenzie Bowell, who took the place of the late lamented Sir John Thompson, and who has served Canada as Prime Minister. We are glad to find that although he has for a time laid aside official harness, he is hard at work at the present time at the conferences now being held in London, serving Canada as he has throughout his whole life. We hope he may long be spared to continue his able and useful services. We have also the pleasure of welcoming for the first time—not for the first time in his personal capacity, but for the first time in his official capacity—Sir Donald Smith, High Commissioner for Canada, and we are well assured there could be no worthier representative of Canada in Great Britain. Mr. Sandford Fleming is also by no means a stranger to these rooms and these audiences. You are aware he may be called the pioneer of trunk railway construction in Canada, for he was chief constructor of the Inter-colonial Railway. It is not only as a great railway constructor that he is distinguished, but as a man of science. It is to him we owe the meridional division of time. As you are aware, the great continent of America is mapped out by meridians, and within them the

trains run upon one time, just as in Europe trains are arranged on the times of the great capitals. It is not always possible even under this arrangement to catch a train, for the experience of many of us is that there is not only meridional but ladies' time, and Mr. Fleming, great scientific man as he is, has never been able to calculate and formulate that time. I have no doubt that to-night he will tell us something not only about trans-continental travel, but also about ocean travel—not only what trains to catch, but about the means of crossing the two oceans.

Mr. Sandford Fleming, C.M.G., then read his paper on—

### CANADA AND OCEAN HIGHWAYS.

I have been requested to address the members of this Institute on Canada. The subject selected for me is exceedingly comprehensive, and I owe it to myself to say that it will not be possible, in the short space of time placed at my disposal, to do more than refer briefly to some one of the many considerations having relationship to the Dominion; and that, imperfectly as I may be fitted to address you, I have undertaken the duty not without hesitation, but owing to the desire I strongly entertain of serving my country as well as I am able.

The cause which the Royal Colonial Institute is designed to promote is indicated in the words that appear in the motto it adopted. Whatever title may be assigned to my paper, these words, "United Empire," are sufficiently suggestive to me. In my opinion I can submit to this audience no remarks more appropriate than those which are in full accord with the two words quoted. Canada is no insignificant portion of the great British Empire, and in my country, as in every quarter of the globe where the sway of our good Queen extends, be the portion of territory of wide or of limited extent, we find a feeling prevailing that it is of the first importance to improve and increase the means of intercourse between the individual parts, so as to strengthen the bonds of union between the Mother Country and the whole Empire.

I propose, therefore, respectfully to submit to your consideration what may be called the development of the means of transit across the ocean ferry lying between Great Britain and Canada. In directing your attention to this subject I shall refer to the past, the present, and the future, alluding briefly to proposals which have been made so that the ocean may be crossed rapidly and in safety. I shall likewise submit some suggestions in reference to means of

traversing the intervening distances between the Mother Country, Canada, Australasia, and India in the least possible space of time, and with as absolute freedom from danger as is attainable.

You will, I trust, believe in the honesty of purpose with which I shall present my own views, not from an undue sense of their value, but from the conviction that the most humble amongst us may be capable of adding to the common stock of experience, even though it be slight. Expressions of error or of mistaken views may even be of service if they lead to examination and criticism ; a recommendation which is impracticable may suggest what is practicable and attainable ; it may awaken attention to a public want and lead abler minds than its advocate to grapple successfully with the difficulties which he has failed fully to meet. I must respectfully ask that this view of the duty I have undertaken may be kindly accepted as an explanation for my appearance before you at this meeting of the Institute.

Allow me then in the first place to direct your attention to the map of the world on the wall. On this map my friend Dr. Parkin has depicted in a conspicuous manner the British possessions in both hemispheres. It will be apparent to you that the Dominion, as a member of the Empire, occupies a singularly central geographical position. To the west we see the British possessions in Asia and in Australasia ; to the east those in Europe and Africa. Two great oceans, the Pacific on the one side, the Atlantic on the other, provide the means of direct communication by steamship between Canada and every point where the British flag flies on these oceans. Coal, an indispensable adjunct to steam navigation, is not wanting ; nature has furnished a bountiful supply for the marine of the future on both oceans ; it is found in inexhaustible deposits on the eastern and western sea-boards of Canada.

From these facts, and a knowledge of the many and varied resources of the Dominion, from an intimate acquaintance with its people, I feel warranted in expressing the belief that Canada is destined to play an important part in the future of the British Empire.

In June 1897 four centuries will have elapsed since the first recorded European voyage was made to that portion of the American Continent now known as the Dominion of Canada. Although the commander of the vessel was born in Venice, the crew was English, and the voyage was undertaken with the private resources of the merchants of an English seaport. The vessel was a small craft, "*The Matthew*," of Bristol, with a crew of eighteen men.

The commander, John Cabot, with his family, had established himself in England. On the petition of this John Cabot and his three sons—Louis, Sebastian, and Sancia—a patent was granted by Henry VII., dated March 5, 1496, empowering them and those associated with them, at their own expense, to discover any new lands not hitherto claimed by any Christian monarch, and to take them in possession for England. Cabot sailed from Bristol the following spring. On his voyage he discovered the American Continent, and in three months he returned with a report of his discovery. As an outcome of this voyage a flotilla of four ships with 300 men was fitted out the following year. The second patent was granted in favour of John Cabot alone. There is nothing to guide us as to the position he assumed on this voyage. The credit of the voyage was afterwards claimed by his son Sebastian, who returned in command. It has been supposed that John Cabot may have died at sea, as nothing is known of his services on this second voyage. What is of importance in the annals of Canada is the first voyage of John Cabot in 1497. Some writers on this subject have attributed to him the discovery of Newfoundland on his first voyage; modern inquiry rejects this view, and there is a consensus of all who have diligently examined this subject that the landfall of John Cabot of June 24, 1497, was on the most eastern point of Cape Breton, now part of the province of Nova Scotia, in the Dominion of Canada. Of the second voyage of the Cabots, in 1498, with which the name of Sebastian, the captain, is generally identified, the accepted opinion is that he struck land at Labrador, and descended the coast southerly as far as Cape Hatteras.

I must ask to be permitted to refer briefly to the historical records, known, doubtless, to many who hear me. In placing John Cabot first as the discoverer of the mainland of America, I have not forgotten the claim advanced in favour of Columbus. Columbus left Spain in 1492 to reach the island of San Salvador, and it was not until his third voyage, in August 1498, that he sighted that part of South America not far removed from the territory now in dispute with Venezuela. Thus Columbus saw for the first time the continent of South America more than a year after Cabot made his memorable discovery, and it does not appear that he (Columbus) sighted North America proper on any one of his voyages. The same may be said of Amerigo Vesputius, after whom the Western Continent has been named. If his own account is trustworthy, Vesputius reached America eighteen days before Columbus. According to Humboldt and others, the opinion is that

Vespucius had no share in the first discovery of America, and that by error the new continent received the name it bears. Vespucius' account of his voyage and discoveries is not remarkable for the modesty with which it is written. It was published at St. Dié, in Lorraine; by a clerical error it was stated that Vespucius preceded Columbus in reaching the mainland, and as the proposition that the continent should be named after the first discoverer was generally accepted, the new continent received the name of "America." No one at the time recognised the error, and the name of America has continued in use. That the name of Columbus or Cabot was not given to the newly discovered continent presents one of the many facts to show how chance governs much of our history.

The desire to recognise Columbus as the first discoverer of America has led some to deny John Cabot's first voyage in 1497. They have gone so far as to refuse to believe even in his existence, and claim that the first voyage made by anyone bearing the name of Cabot was the second voyage of his son, Sebastian Cabot, in 1498, and that his landfall was Labrador. No conscientious writer can now maintain that view; the whole subject has been minutely examined by a learned member of the Royal Society of Canada, Dr. S. E. Dawson, and I append his closing remark :

Upon that easternmost point of this Nova Scotian land of our common country John Cabot planted the banner of St. George on June 24, 1497, more than one year before Columbus set foot upon the main continent of America; and now, after almost 400 years, despite all the chances and changes of this Western world, that banner is floating there, a witness to our existing union with our distant mother land across the ocean. May the *cavo descubierta por Ingleses* ever be thus adorned; and meantime, when in 1897 St. John the Baptist's day arrives, what shall Canadians do to commemorate the fourth centenary of that auspicious day when the red cross was planted on the mainland across the western sea, and when on a point of land in our own Dominion the English tongue was heard, of all the languages of Europe the first, upon this great continent—from the desolate shores of the Arctic Ocean on the north to the silent wastes of the Antarctic on the south?

We claim, consequently, that Cabot's voyage of 1497 takes precedence of every recorded voyage between the two continents in the northern hemisphere, and that the frail craft "The Matthew," with a crew of eighteen Bristol sailors, may be viewed as the forerunner, the primitive embryo, of the magnificent fleets of ships that now traverse the ocean with so much regularity between the Old and New Worlds.

Among the navigators who succeeded Cabot we are told that Cortes Réal discovered the Gulf of St. Lawrence. But probably that honour belongs to Denys, of Honfleur, who in 1606 made a map of those waters. We have also a record of discoveries by Verrazzanno and others. Jacques Cartier, so well remembered in Canada, made his first trip in 1537, his last in 1548. This French navigator ascended the St. Lawrence and established the claim to the discovery of Canada, as it was long afterwards known, and from which the Dominion took its name.

In 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert crossed the ocean to Newfoundland, of which he took formal possession in the name of Queen Elizabeth. One of his three small vessels foundered near Cape Breton, not many leagues from the landfall of Cabot, when the commander and all hands perished.

Champlain, the founder of the city of Quebec, made eleven voyages between 1608 and 1638. This date may be described as the approximate period when the voyage across the Atlantic had become an ordinary matter.

The first Colony of Englishmen landed in New England November 1620. From that date to the end of the seventeenth century the trade of the Colonies steadily and rapidly increased, and many ships were engaged in the transatlantic service. The English ships at the beginning of the eighteenth century, according to a statistical return, numbered 1,858; compared with modern vessels they were of small size, the largest did not exceed 157 tons.

England and Scotland united to form Great Britain in 1707, and the union gave an immense impulse to commerce. As time advanced, the size and accommodation of the ships were increased. The eighteenth century was remarkable for British maritime expeditions, and the development of the Colonies and shipping. The ocean was traversed by fleets of sailing ships to the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when a new power was brought into use, which completely revolutionised the means of crossing the Atlantic and navigating every ocean.

Early in the century some progress had been made in applying steam to navigation, but it was chiefly confined to rivers, estuaries, and inland waters. It was through the enterprise of Canadian merchants that the ocean was first crossed by steam power. The first ocean-going steam vessel was constructed at the city of Quebec. It was built by a joint-stock company, the designer being Mr. James Goudie, a native of the city, of Scottish descent, who died only four years ago. The vessel was launched in the spring of 1831, with

more than ordinary ceremony, in the presence of the Governor-General (Lord Aylmer) and a large concourse of citizens, the band of the 82nd Regiment being also present. The vessel was named the "Royal William," after William IV., then on the throne. Her dimensions were : 146 feet keel, 176 feet over all ; beam 27 feet 4 inches ; width over paddle-boxes 48 feet 10 inches, between paddle-boxes 28 feet ; depth of hold 17 feet 9 inches ; draught 14 feet. She had three masts, schooner rigged ; measurement 1,870 tons, and accommodation for sixty passengers. She was towed to Montreal to receive her machinery, and made several trial voyages to Halifax and Boston. She left Quebec for London on August 5, 1833, called at Pictou, Nova Scotia, to receive coal, resumed her voyage on August 18, and arrived with her passengers and cargo safely at Gravesend on the Thames, in twenty-five days. On the banks of Newfoundland she encountered terrible gales, through which one of her engines was disabled. This steamship afterwards passed into the service of the Spanish Government, and was renamed the "Isabella Secunda."

A claim has been made on the part of the United States that the "Savannah," built at New York, and launched August 22, 1818, was the first ocean steamship. Investigation has established that the vessel in question was a sailing ship, to which was added shifting paddle-wheels capable of being driven by an engine placed on deck. The paddle-wheels were so contrived that they could be folded up on deck and lowered into the water in a few minutes in calm weather, and again folded on deck when the wind rose, or when the sea was rough. The vessel had no capacity for carrying coal ; indeed, it is doubtful whether coal was used, one authority stating that the fuel burnt was wood. The recent publication, by the Smithsonian Institute of Washington, of the log of this vessel on her trip to Europe, has completely swept away the claim that this ship was propelled by steam across the Atlantic. The record states that on the whole voyage, which extended over 29 days 11 hours, steam was used in the aggregate 8 days 8 hours only. That is to say, she was for 627 hours propelled by wind alone, on a voyage of 707 hours, the makeshift paddle-wheels being all this time folded up on deck ! The "Savannah" did not carry a single passenger. On her return voyage to America she was propelled wholly by wind. On her arrival the steam-engine and the primitive paddles were entirely removed, and the vessel resumed her character as a sailing ship.

There can be no question that the "Royal William," of Quebec, was the first ocean steamship to carry passengers ; indeed, the first



ocean steamship constructed. The fact is so well established, that the Dominion Parliament ordered a memorial plate, recording the event, to be placed in the corridor leading to the library of the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa. It was unveiled by His Excellency the Earl of Aberdeen, in the presence of the delegates present at the Colonial Conference held at Ottawa on June 28, 1894. The inscription testifies that the first vessel to cross the Atlantic by steam power was wholly constructed in Canada, and navigated to England in 1833, thus placing on indisputable record that the "Royal William" was the pioneer of those mighty steamers which furnish the naval strength of every nation, and, as messengers of peace and commerce, traverse every ocean.

This vessel may be regarded as the direct forerunner of the celebrated Cunard flotilla. Among the shareholders were Mr. (afterwards Sir Samuel) Cunard, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, and his two brothers. Sir Samuel, a Canadian merchant, born in Halifax, was a man of much originality of character. He rapidly seized the situation; it became plain to him that the era of sailing vessels was passing away, to be succeeded by steamships. Acting upon this theory, after much labour and negotiation, he, associated with Mr. George Burns, of Glasgow, and Mr. David McIver, of Liverpool, succeeded in obtaining from the British Government a contract for carrying the mails across the Atlantic. In 1838 four steamships—the "Britannia," the "Acadia," the "Caledonia," and "Columbia"—certainly four significant names—were placed under construction. On their completion they formed the first of the splendid vessels that constitute the Cunard fleet.

Independently of the proceedings of Sir Samuel Cunard and his associates, the British and American Steam Navigation Company was formed in the Mother Country in 1836 by British merchants. The construction of the "Great Western" was followed by the "Sirius" being chartered by this company. These two were the first steamships to cross the Atlantic after the "Royal William." The "Sirius" left London on April 4, 1838; the "Great Western" started from Bristol four days later. Both arrived at New York on St. George's Day, April 29.

While the honour of building the first steamship in Europe expressly intended for transatlantic voyages, and the first actually to cross the ocean from East to West, unquestionably belongs to Bristol, equally the honour of building the first steamer to cross from West to East belongs to Quebec. The "Royal William" made the first passage five years earlier than the "Great Western." She never

returned to Canada. Having been sold to the Spanish Government she took part in the Carlist war, then in progress, and was the first steamship from which was fired a hostile shot. Her history is fully recorded in Canadian Parliamentary documents. While we have thus placed on record the claims of the oldest city of the Dominion, at the same time we yield all honour to Bristol. To that historic city a double debt is due. Near the end of the fifteenth century Bristol fitted out the little craft which bore the discoverers of the Western Continent across the main; in the seventeenth century Bristol took an active part in the early attempts to colonise the new world; in the nineteenth century Bristol constructed the first steamship to cross the ocean from the shores of England.

The success of the Cunard Line needs no comment. For many years this line carried the mails between Liverpool, Halifax, and Boston; subsequently the steamers extended their voyages to New York, to which port they still run. The development of the Cunard Line has been a continued success from its first inception to the present day. Of what other company engaged in the movement of human beings by sea or land can it be said that in fifty-six years it has, under Divine Providence, never lost the life of a passenger? A comparison between the "Britannia," the first Cunard ship launched in 1840, with the "Lucania," launched in 1898 (the last addition to the fleet), indicates a marvellous advance—the result of gradual improvement in construction year by year.

The "Britannia" was a paddle-wheel steamship constructed of wood. The "Lucania" is a double-screw steamship constructed of steel.

Length of the "Britannia"	207 feet	Length of the "Lucania"	620 feet
Tonnage	1,189	Tonnage	12,950
Horse-power	740	Horse-power	30,000
Speed per hour (knots)	8½	Speed per hour (knots)	21½

The "Britannia" was designed to accommodate ninety passengers; the "Lucania" to accommodate 600 first-class, 400 second-class, and 700 to 1,000 third-class passengers.

Before the establishment of the Cunard Line the transatlantic passenger and mail traffic had been carried by sailing packets, the fastest sailing ships in the world; but they were driven out of the field by the new means of transport. Practically the Cunard Company had no competitor for the first nine years. The Collins Line, heavily subsidised by the United States Government, commenced operations in 1849, the Inman Line in 1851. The former

met with serious disasters, and collapsed in 1858. The latter has been successful, and under another name is still actively employed. The White Star Line did not enter into the transatlantic steamship trade until 1870. In that year, their first steamship, the "Oceanic," was launched. She was speedily followed by other ships, in all of which many improvements were introduced conducive to the comfort of the passengers. The "Britannic" and "Germanic" were added in 1874-5; both ships soon became great favourites with Atlantic travellers. The "Teutonic" was launched in 1889, and the "Majestic" in 1890, both superb vessels, and it may be affirmed that the enterprise of the White Star Company, and the skill and foresight exercised in every department of their service, have done much to bring the comfort, speed, and safety of ocean travelling up to the high standard it has now reached.

I have merely referred to a few of the leading lines of ocean steamers plying regularly across the Atlantic. By the statistical returns there are no less than thirty-three regular lines in the transatlantic trade, comprising 105 steamships, ranging from 2,000 to 16,000 gross tonnage, and varying in speed from ten to twenty-two knots an hour.

Thirteen years were allowed to elapse after the sailing of the first Cunard ship before efforts were made to create an independent line for the St. Lawrence. In 1851 the Canadian Government called for tenders for the establishment of a line of screw steamers, the feasibility of the propeller being then fully established. The contract was given to a Glasgow firm, but as it failed to give satisfaction, the Canadian Executive again threw the contract open to competition. The firm of Mr. (afterwards Sir Hugh) Allan had two vessels, the "Canadian" and the "Indian," which had been engaged in the service of the British Government in the Crimean war. The contract was awarded to him. Two additional vessels, the "North American" and the "Anglo-Saxon," were immediately placed under construction. With these four vessels the line went into operation in 1856, to be supplemented as time advanced by the large fleet of ships of which it is to-day composed.

Since that date other Canadian lines have been formed which do not call for special mention. There are in all twelve different lines of steamers plying from the St. Lawrence regularly across the Atlantic, supplemented by steamers, known as "tramps," running at irregular periods. Thus the first essay of the "Royal William" has step by step led to the extensive development of ocean steamship navigation. We have now reached a

period when further advancement, so far as Canada is concerned, has to be considered, for it must be recognised that the ocean marine connecting the Dominion and the Mother Country is not up to date, and that it has made little or no advance since the SS. "Parisian" of the Allan line was launched fifteen years ago.

The addresses which from time to time have been delivered before the members of this Institute by distinguished writers on Colonial expansion and Imperial unity, all point to the claim which the development of ocean highways makes on the attention of the public on both sides of the ocean. In view of the interests affecting the whole Empire which have been dwelt upon in these addresses, the importance of improving the means of communication between the outlying parts of the British possessions and the seat of Empire in these islands is self-evident. The fullest inter-Colonial and Imperial relationship being recognised as a necessity, we may profitably consider the various attainable means which present themselves to our examination. From every direction we may be impressed with the great problem—the Unity of the Empire; but it is not possible to continue to entertain this feeling merely as a sentiment; we must leave the domain of theory for that of practice, and proceed to ascertain what is within our grasp. In considering the ocean highways, that across the Atlantic naturally comes to our attention first, and independently of the possibility of extending the connection to Australasia or to India, the transatlantic service rises in importance as we recognise the necessity of rendering the passage as satisfactory as possible, so that people of industrious habits in the congested districts of the United Kingdom may find relief by overflowing to another part of Her Majesty's wide domain, and with ease reach the wheat fields, mines, forests, and fisheries of the Dominion. It is incumbent upon us likewise to provide the means of conveying in the most perfect condition the surplus products of the pasture lands, the orchards, and gardens of Canada to the consumers who remain in the old land.

Great advance has been made during late years in the improvement of steamships, in their speed and safety, in the conveyance of passengers with comfort, and in the appliances for preserving perishable products. The finest steamships, with all modern improvements, run regularly between England and Australasia by way of the Suez Canal. Similar vessels are likewise to be found between Liverpool and New York. With regard to the Canadian route we are forced to admit that at present the ships engaged on it cannot

be rated in the highest class, and that the accommodation they furnish demands improvement.

It is a matter of pride for us in Canada that the physical obstacles which, until the last half century, impeded the navigation of the River St. Lawrence have been removed by art. At an immense cost a navigable channel has thus been obtained from the tide water of the Atlantic to the interior of the Continent. The distance to the terminus of our inland navigation on Lake Superior, from the Straits of Belle Isle, is over 2,000 miles. In this distance the height of 600 feet is overcome by 72 miles of canal and improved water channels, Lake Superior being at that elevation above the tide water of the Atlantic coast. These great canal works have been in progress for more than sixty years; they are now on the eve of completion, and will admit steamships drawing 28 feet as far as Montreal, and vessels having a draught of 14 feet to Lake Superior. The last lock completed, that between Lakes Huron and Superior, is perhaps the largest in the world, its dimensions being—length 900 feet, width 60 feet, depth 20 feet. The value of this important inland navigation for conveying cheaply the products of the farm, the forest, and the mine, is very great.

There are controlling circumstances which affect the northern portion of the American continent similar to those felt in Europe. There is, indeed, some resemblance between Canada and Russia. The climatic conditions of the two countries are in some particulars much the same, and their geographical characteristics are not widely dissimilar. In Canada we have an inland sea—the Gulf of St. Lawrence—like the Baltic, open in summer, but in winter more or less obstructed by ice so as to impede navigation. The shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence are everywhere British, while Sweden, Germany, and Denmark share with Russia the claim to the shores of the Baltic. Hudson Bay in one respect resembles the White Sea; its shores are wholly Canadian, as the shores of the White Sea are wholly Russian. During a short period in summer both seas are open to navigation; although, in this respect, Hudson Bay possesses advantages, the White Sea being but a southern extension of the Arctic Ocean, while Hudson Bay is an arm of the Atlantic. Both Canada and Russia experience extremes of climate. In some parts of Canada, as in Russia, summer heat is excessive, and a low temperature prevails in winter. The variation in the climatic conditions of localities is very much more marked in Canada than in Russia, owing to the moderating effect of the two oceans to the east and west of the Dominion, and the ameliorating influences

exercised by the immense lakes of fresh water in many localities in the interior of Canada—influences which are absent in Russia—and thus we have in Canada greater varieties of climate, and larger areas of country suitable for settlement and cultivation.

There is one especial feature in which Canada differs from Russia, which confers upon the Dominion great benefit, as will readily be acknowledged. Russia has no free outlet to the waters of the Atlantic to give access to the high seas. The navigation of the Baltic is closed in winter, and the ice-bound shores of the Arctic Ocean are seldom open. If the return of winter closes the Canadian ports on the St. Lawrence and its affluents, fortunately the open ports of the maritime provinces offer free access to the Atlantic at all times of the year. The best known of the Atlantic harbours connected by railway with the interior are St. Andrews, St. John, Halifax, Louisburg, and Sydney. The last-named are the nearest to Europe. There are few better harbours than Sydney; it is easy of access and egress, and capable of containing a large number of ships in safety, and, moreover, it is in the heart of the Cape Breton coal fields. Sydney has, however, its drawbacks; the adjacent sea is in the winter season at times laden with drift ice, which frequently remains until late in May; large masses of ice are sometimes driven into the harbour at this season.

Louisburg, once the principal seat of the French power in North America, is advantageously situated, but the harbour is small, the area of deep water suitable for large vessels limited, while the entrance is contracted, and is held by mariners to be open to other objections.

Halifax Harbour is described in nautical works as "one of the best in the world, affording space and depth of water sufficient for any number of the largest ships with safety. It is easier of access and egress than any other large harbour on the coast." There can be no doubt that with a sufficient number of automatic buoys, lights, and signals, Halifax may be approached in any weather at any time, day or night, with absolute safety. Unlike New York, Halifax has no intricate entrance channel such as that at "Sandy Hook," impassable by Atlantic liners at some conditions of the tide, especially in bad weather. This difficulty may not be generally known, as in reporting the passages of fast steamers on the New York route, the time of transit is usually given not from the pier at New York to the pier at Liverpool, but from a point outside of Sandy Hook to the most westerly light on the Irish coast. This is misleading, as the time of making the voyage is considerably increased.

by difficulty in getting into or out of port. The writer on one occasion spent along with other passengers two nights on board an Atlantic "greyhound" in New York Harbour owing to the impossibility of getting to sea through the cause assigned.

To be classed as summer routes are those followed by steamships to Quebec and Montreal, whether they enter the Gulf and River St. Lawrence by the passage known as Cabot's Strait, to the south-west of Newfoundland, or by the Straits of Belle Isle, between Newfoundland and Labrador. Two other lines which have been projected may be placed in the same category. (A) A route across the island of Newfoundland itself, the ocean steamships terminating their voyage from the east at St. John's, connecting with a railway across the island, and, by means of a ferry, completing the connection with the railways of the Dominion. (B) The project of terminating the ocean voyage at the most suitable point in the Straits of Belle Isle—probably Chateau Bay, on the Labrador coast—and following by a proposed railway the northern shore of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence to Quebec, so as to connect with the Grand Trunk and Canadian Pacific railways. While I mention these as possible routes, I am not insensible to doubts and difficulties involved in both projects. The latter, whatever the advantages claimed for it, would be in request only for the conveyance of passengers and mails, and available for not more than six months in the year. Who can, however, take upon himself to impose a limit to the requirements that the future will exact? Other routes have been suggested involving fewer difficulties. A connection may be formed between the Atlantic steamers and the railway systems of Canada at Gaspé or Campbeltown, at Dalhousie or Shippigan, at Mirimichi or at Pictou; but whatever the merits claimed for each of these localities, they all must be classed as summer routes; and whatever the development in future of the summer routes between Canada and the United Kingdom, it seems to me not simply expedient but most essential that a harbour open all the year round should be selected on the Atlantic seaboard as a permanent port of transshipment, and that to this port lines of the best and swiftest steamers should be run regularly all the year round. There are many advantages to be derived by the selection of Halifax (N.S.) as the Dominion terminus of a line of steamers to arrive and depart at regular intervals throughout the year, summer and winter. Halifax is in direct connection with the coal fields of Nova Scotia, it is the station of the British North Atlantic squadron, the capital of Nova Scotia, and the headquarters of Her Majesty's forces in

British North America. The British and Canadian Governments have invited tenders for a line of first class steamers of the "Teutonic" type, on the condition that they run once a week from Halifax in winter and once a week from Quebec in summer. I respectfully submit the view that in my humble judgment inconvenience will result from the enforced change of destination every half year, and that it will be more advantageous in many respects, in place of establishing a weekly line from Halifax during half the year, to place on the Halifax route a fortnightly line to run continuously throughout the year, and, as now proposed, to place in operation a weekly line of fast steamers from Quebec during the summer. This arrangement would extend to Quebec the same accommodation for passengers and mails as is now contemplated, *i.e.* it would give a weekly line during the open navigation of the St. Lawrence, and it would remove the inconvenience of suspending all direct connection between Halifax and Great Britain during half the year. There would, in the aggregate, be an equal number of passages in each year to and from Halifax, but they would be extended over twelve in place of six months. This fortnightly line of first class steamers from the port of Halifax would satisfy all present requirements. It is my belief that if the line were well established, traffic would so increase that more frequent steamers would at an early date be demanded, and before many years a weekly line from the Atlantic terminus would be required in addition to the weekly line from Quebec during the open season. These are merely my individual views, which I submit with all deference.

One of the national objects held in prominence in locating the Intercolonial Railway by the shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, was the influence it might hereafter exercise in developing the connection with Newfoundland. The theory was advanced that the waters of the Gulf between the mainland and Newfoundland could be crossed by ferry steamers, and the island itself traversed by railway from east to west, with the terminus at the harbour of St. John's, and that from St. John's swift steamers would ply across the narrow part of the Atlantic to make the quickest passage. It was hopefully considered that the establishment of this route for the conveyance of passengers and mails might, in the not distant future, command sufficient traffic to sustain a daily line of steamers across the ocean. The theory of including Newfoundland in the scheme of intercommunication by the construction of a railway across that island—a continuation as it were of the Intercolonial



line from Quebec—also embraced the prospect of Newfoundland becoming part of the Dominion. At this date the projected line will probably be regarded as less visionary than it appeared to many thirty years ago. Some advance has certainly been made in the direction indicated, Newfoundland has herself awakened to the spirit of progress, and has entered upon a policy of railway construction. A few more years may accomplish results not hitherto regarded as feasible except by a few hopeful minds.

As everything relating to the Atlantic steamship service and the establishment of an Imperial highway from the mother land to Canada, and through the Dominion to Australasia and India, is of interest, I ask permission to read a few paragraphs from the first report (1865) made by the writer when appointed by the Imperial and Provincial Governments to conduct the exploration and surveys for the Intercolonial Railway. They represent the thoughts and aspirations of that day:—

Newfoundland, a large island off the mainland of North America, and Ireland off the European coast, resemble each other in being similar outlying portions of the Continents to which they respectively belong. Possibly they may have a more important similarity and relationship through the remarkable geographical position which they hold the one to the other, and to the great centres of population and commerce in Europe and America.

A glance at the chart of the Atlantic will show that, between Ireland and Newfoundland, the ocean can be spanned by the shortest line.

Ireland is separated from England and Scotland by the Irish Channel; Newfoundland is separated from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia by the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Already railways have reached the western coast of Ireland, and brought it within sixteen hours of the British capital. Were it possible to introduce the locomotive into Newfoundland, and establish steam communication between it and the cities of America, a route would be created from Continent to Continent, having the ocean passage reduced to a minimum.

This route would not be open for traffic throughout the whole year. During certain months the direct course of steamers would be so impeded by floating ice that it could not with certainty or safety be traversed. It therefore remains to be seen whether the route has sufficient advantages whilst open, to recommend its establishment and use during probably not more than seven months of the year. . . .

The track of steamers from the British coast to New York, and to all points north of New York, passes Ireland and Newfoundland either to the north or to the south. The most usual course, however, is to the south of both islands. Vessels bound westerly make for Cape Race, on the south-easterly coast of Newfoundland, whilst those bound easterly make Cape

Clear. Near Cape Race is the harbour of St. John's, and near Cape Clear is the Harbour Valentia; the one is the most easterly port of America, the other is the most westerly port of Europe. They are distant from each other about 1,640 miles. . . .

At the present time ocean steamers generally carry both freight and passengers, and in this respect they are like what are termed mixed trains on railways. These mixed trains are employed to serve localities where there is not sufficient passenger and freight traffic to require the running of separate trains.

On railways doing a large business the traffic is properly classified—fast trains are run to carry passengers and mails only, whilst slow trains are used to convey heavy freight. A similar classification of ocean traffic may be suggested. Freight will naturally go by the cheapest mode of conveyance, while passengers and mails will seek the speediest.

It is well known that the shape of a steamship, other things being equal, governs her speed. The shape, again, depends on the load she may be constructed to carry. If the ship is required only for mails and passengers, and such voyages as need but a small quantity of fuel, she may be constructed on a model both sharp and light, and thus be capable of running more rapidly than if built to carry heavy and bulky loads. A steamship for heavy loads may be compared to a dray horse, whilst one made specially for passengers and rapid transit may resemble a race horse; and, like the latter, the less weight carried the more speed will be made.

If these views are correct, it is clear that the speed of ocean steamships might be considerably increased when constructed for a special purpose. The distance between St. John's (Newfoundland) and Valentia is not much more than half the distance between Liverpool and New York, and hence about half the quantity of coal and supplies would be required for the passage between the former points.

It is quite obvious, therefore, that a steamship constructed specially to run between St. John's and Valentia, and for the purpose of carrying passengers and mails, with such light express matter as usually goes by passenger trains, would attain a higher rate of speed than existing ocean steamers.

A rate of sixteen and a half miles per hour is thought to be quite possible; the distance between Valentia and St. John's is 1,640 miles. At the assumed rate the ocean passage might be accomplished in one hundred hours. . . .

Having shown that by shortening the ocean passage across the Atlantic to a *minimum*, the time of transit between the great centres of business in Europe and America can be very greatly reduced; so much so, indeed, that a reasonable hope may be entertained that the entire mail matter passing between the two Continents may eventually be attracted to the new route, it may be well now to inquire what portion of passengers may be expected to travel over it. . . .

It is obvious, then, that there is already abundance of passenger traffic

if the purely passenger route under discussion possesses sufficient attractions. To settle this point the advantages and disadvantages of the route must be fairly weighed.

The obstructions offered by floating ice during several months in the year are insuperable while they last. During this period Halifax, or some equally good port open in winter, will be available.

The frequent transshipments from railway to steamship, and *vice versa*, may be considered by some an objection to the route. For conveyance of freight they certainly would be objectionable; but most passengers would probably consider the transshipments agreeable changes, as they would relieve the tedium of the journey.

If, as it has been shown, this route would reduce the time between London and New York some three or four days, and bring Toronto one-third nearer Liverpool (in time) than New York is now; if it would give the merchant in Chicago his English letters four or five days earlier than he has ever yet received them; if it be possible by this proposed route to lift the mails in London and lay them down in New Orleans in less time than they have ever reached New York, then it surely possesses advantages which must eventually establish it, not simply as an Intercolonial, but rather as an Intercontinental, line of communication.

These are purely commercial considerations, and, however important they may be as such, the statesman will readily perceive in the project advantages of another kind. It may be of some consequence to extend to Newfoundland, as well as to the other provinces of British America, the benefits of rapid intercommunication. It will probably accord with Imperial policy to foster the shipping of the Gulf, and to encourage the building up of such a fleet of swift steamers as a daily line across the ocean would require. It must surely be important to the Empire to secure in perpetuity the control of the great highway between the two Continents. It must be equally her policy to develop the resources and promote the prosperity of these Colonies, and to bind more closely, by ties of mutual benefit, the friendly relationship which happily exists between the peoples on both sides of the Atlantic.

I will venture the remark that to-day the opinions expressed in those paragraphs will meet with less incredulity than in many quarters they were regarded thirty-one years back. It will be noticed that the writer was bold enough to express the opinion that a rate of sixteen and a half miles per hour for steamships specially constructed for speed might be assumed to be within the range of practicability. This view was at the time considered exceedingly sanguine and visionary. Now, the requirements of the present day demand a speed exceeding twenty miles an hour. The Government has advertised for tenders for a weekly steamship service between Canada and Great Britain for ten years to come, the tenders for

which are to be received to-morrow, June 10. Let me read **Clauses 10 and 11** of the conditions :—

10. The vessels employed to be built under Admiralty supervision and in compliance with the requirements of the Imperial authorities respecting armed cruisers, and shall be of not less tonnage than 8,500 gross register tons, and when on service to maintain on the round trip from port to port across the Atlantic an average speed of twenty knots an hour, and to be constructed of the best materials, and furnished and supplied with sufficient fuel, stores, and provisions, tackle and all things necessary to enable them to perform the voyage contracted for, and to secure the safety of the mails and passengers, and to be in all respects first-class mail and passenger steamers, and equal in equipment to the "Teutonic," of the White Star Line, and to be manned with legally qualified competent officers and engineers, and a sufficient crew of able seamen and other men, and competent surgeons.

11. The vessels shall each have accommodation for not less than 275 first class, 200 second class, and 1,000 steerage passengers, and seating accommodation in the dining saloon for at least 275 passengers. The accommodation, board, and attendance shall be equal to that given to passengers on the best vessels plying between New York and Great Britain.

I have referred to the division of ocean traffic into two classes. The first class would only include passengers, mails, and light express goods. Steamships would be specially constructed for speed, safety, and comfort. The second class would comprise heavy merchandise, for the transport of which great speed is not deemed essential. Within the last few weeks I have received from a merchant in Sydney, New South Wales, a letter which supports the principle of classification suggested, a principle already in part put in practice in some of the newest and finest steamships constructed for the passenger and mail service between Liverpool and New York. Allow me to submit the following extract from this letter :—

It is a fact acknowledged by steamboat owners throughout the world that the day is passed when a passenger and freighting service can be combined with the same ship (except with respect to what may be termed express freight). What is designated rough cargo merchandise will command tonnage without a subsidy under present conditions in every part of the world. From a national standpoint the Governments of the Empire, Home and Colonial, are warranted in aiding lines of steamships by annual subsidies, in order to establish national highways connecting the Colonies with each other, and each with the Imperial centre.

If my Australian correspondent be correct, and I can only say he is a clear-headed man of business, perfectly familiar with trade and shipping, we may look forward to another important change if not

a revolution in the economy of ocean steamships, and especially in the further development of the transatlantic ferry. Great progress has certainly been made since the Canadian "Royal William" led the way across the ocean in 1838. There has been a steady improvement in the construction of steam vessels. In 1843 iron began to be substituted for wood. Soon afterwards the screw displaced the paddle-wheel. Compound engines were introduced in 1856 and came into general use in 1870. Nine years later steel ships came into vogue, and in 1888 twin screws were first adopted in Atlantic liners. Steamships have now reached a degree of perfection little dreamed of half a century ago, and they make the passage with marvellous speed and comfort. But the ebb and flow of travellers between the two continents has now become so striking, that there is an ever increasing demand for shortening the time of transit from shore to shore. We are, therefore, called upon to consider the expediency of meeting the demand by every means in our power, by making provision for the rapid conveyance of passengers and mails precisely as has long been practised on railways, leaving ordinary merchandise to be carried by less speedy means of transit. It is, likewise, our duty to consider how far it would be practicable to reduce the time of transit by adopting new routes across the ocean. We have only to look at the growth of traffic, and the volume it has already attained, to satisfy us that the transatlantic ferry has not yet reached a finality. According to estimates furnished me by the Dominion Statistician, there cannot be less than 750,000 persons travelling yearly between Europe and America, giving an average of fully 14,000 every week for the whole year, but we all know that by far the greater number of persons cross the ocean during the summer months, so that the summer average must be much higher than 14,000 weekly. This enormous passenger traffic is not diminishing, it is steadily increasing as improved facilities are provided for it. We are warranted, therefore, in the reasonable conclusion that for the highest class of steamships, established on the shortest practicable ocean route, abundance of traffic will be forthcoming.

In the face of what has been accomplished in the transatlantic service, who will venture to predict that no further progress will be made in the near future? Sixty years ago our fathers did not rest satisfied with the dictum of the learned Dr. Lardner, who declared that a voyage by steamship to the American continent from Europe was perfectly chimerical, and people might as well talk of making a voyage to the moon. That opinion of one of the most eminent

men of the day was expressed at a public lecture in Liverpool in 1885.<sup>1</sup> It was, however, disregarded, the enterprise of British merchants triumphed, and the wildest dreams of the most sanguine have since been more than realised. There are men then born who have lived to see the arrivals and departures of transatlantic steamships at New York reach as high as fifty, and at the Canadian port of Montreal no less than forty-four, in a single month.

I have referred to several alternative routes between the Mother Country and Canada, and pointed out the high importance which should be attached to those which may with perfect safety be used all the year round. Halifax is some 600 miles nearer Great Britain than New York, and with the ordinary steamer the ocean passage to and from Halifax may be made in fully a day less than the voyage to or from New York. Of the summer routes which are in use, or have been suggested, that by Blacksod Bay and Chateau Bay will be found the shortest. Blacksod Bay is described in Hoskyn's sailing directions as "one of the finest bays on the west coast of Ireland, is easy of access, and affords anchorage with space sufficient for a large number of vessels; it has always been a principal resort of Her Majesty's ships stationed on this coast, and one for which they never hesitated to run in bad weather." Chateau Bay is not so well known; it is on the Labrador side of the Straits of Belle Isle, and the population in the neighbourhood is confined to a few fishermen. The Admiralty publications describe this Bay as having "within it Henley, Antelope, and Pitt harbours, the two latter of which are quite secure and fit for large vessels." To establish a line of communication by this route would involve the construction of a railway from Chateau Bay to Quebec, a distance of about 900 miles, at an expenditure of probably £6,000,000. There are other considerations involved. Man can overcome certain physical obstacles by artificial means, but nature has imposed climatic difficulties beyond human power to remove. As a consequence of the latter this route could only be used for six months in the year. This limitation will adversely affect the consideration of this route, and I refer to it merely as a possible summer line of travel, by which the Atlantic could be crossed on its shortest span. From Blacksod Bay to Chateau Bay the distance is but 1,554 miles, or about half the distance from Liverpool to New York. It is true that this route would only be open in summer, but the same may be said of every

<sup>1</sup> See remarks by Commissary-General Lardner (son of the distinguished scientist) and by the Author of the Paper in course of the discussion, pp. 428 and 433, in explanation of above statement.

line by the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, a fact which adds immensely to the importance of the route available every month in the year by way of the open port of Halifax. This much can be said in favour of the summer route *viâ* Blacksod and Chateau Bays—if established it would during the season it would be open to traffic render it possible to cross the Atlantic from port to port in three days, and it would bring the capital of the Dominion within about five days' travel of the capital of the Empire.

I have dwelt on the ocean highway between the Mother Country and Canada, and the extreme desirability of rendering the passage as short, as safe, and as convenient as it is possible to make it, not in summer only, but all the year round. If we recognise the central position occupied by Canada between the United Kingdom and Australasia and India, it is obvious that a fast service on the Atlantic is but the prelude to an Imperial service from the British Isles, by way of Canada, to the most distant possessions in both hemispheres. Already a beginning has been made in the development of the ocean highway of the Pacific by placing two excellent steamships on the route between Vancouver and Sydney forming a monthly line, a small subsidy being granted by the Governments of Canada and New South Wales.

Another route on the Pacific has been opened up by the establishment of what is popularly known as the Empress Line between Canada and Asia. This line consists of three magnificent steel steamships, each of nearly 6,000 tons gross, with twin screws and two sets of triple-expansion engines developing 10,000 horse-power. The speed attained is about 18 knots. These steamships are assisted by the Imperial and Canadian Governments, and are owned by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

Few whose opinions are of value fail to recognise that trade and commerce play a most important part in the expansion of the Empire, and that no policy, however consistently carried out, tends more to its consolidation than wise efforts to stimulate an increase of commerce by supplying the freest and best means of communication.

If the mail service on the several great ocean highways be properly developed and permanently established on a sound and liberal basis, I can see nothing to prevent the time of transit between London and Australia being reduced to twenty-five days, and between London and Yokohama to eighteen or nineteen days. Already by the existing partially improved means of communication *via* Canada the mails have been delivered in London from Yoko-

hama in twenty days nine hours, that is to say in less than half the time required by the old route *via* the Suez Canal, the prescribed official time of transit having been forty-three days.

I have not specially referred to the proposed Pacific Cable. I feel it unnecessary to add that a submarine telegraph connecting Canada with Australasia is an indispensable adjunct, and that, quite apart from its value to the Empire as a means of instantaneous communication, it is essential to the commercial success of steamship service.

The coming year will be memorable in Canadian history in connection with three remarkable events, each appealing to public attention, associated, as they are, with the subject I have imperfectly brought to your notice.

1. On July 1, 1897, the thirtieth anniversary of the day on which the Dominion attained its political being will be celebrated. During these thirty years the people of Canada, with the fullest faith in the principle of rapid and easy communication, have established railways from the shores of Nova Scotia on the Atlantic to British Columbia on the Pacific. This work has been accomplished in spite of difficulties of magnitude at an enormous expenditure, but it was felt to be indispensable in the national interest. The effect of the creation of the Dominion has been to bring into intimate political relationship provinces hitherto disconnected and separated by physical obstacles as well as by hostile tariffs, and to constitute these different communities of different origins into one people with common sentiments and national aims. The material effect has been to change the face of the wild continental wilderness of the central plains so that it may become the home of millions of happy and prosperous British subjects in place of being the haunts of the savage and wild animals.

2. If our gracious Sovereign be spared to us next year, and we all trust her reign may be long continued, we will celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the beginning of her sovereignty. Her Majesty's reign will then have extended over double the number of years of the political life of the Dominion of Canada, and she will have reigned a longer period than any other British monarch. The Victorian age has witnessed vast strides in the extension and unification of the Empire. It has been remarkable in every sense. In no other similar period in the history of the world has there been so much advance in material and moral progress. It has not been entirely free from war, but war has not been its prevailing feature.



It has to a large extent been an age of peace; science, thought, invention, and industry have had full sway, and their products are seen everywhere on sea and land. The sphere of trade has been extended and enlarged, education has been general, and missionary effort has gone forth to the remotest corners of the globe.

In the Queen's happy reign we can record countless reforms and applications of science to ameliorate the condition of the human family—postal improvement, telegraphy, photography, cheap printing, telephones, railways, ocean steamships, submarine cables, lighting and locomotion by electricity, and the thousand uses to which science is applied in every day life. They all, or nearly all, have had their origin—certainly their development—during the period the Queen has sat on the throne.

8. On the day following the sixtieth anniversary of Her Majesty's reign, June 21, 1897, the Royal Society of Canada will open its annual session in Halifax, Nova Scotia. The members will make a journey to the landfall of Cabot to lay the foundation of a monument to commemorate the discovery of the continent and celebrate the first planting of the flag of the English King (June 24, 1497) on territory now forming part of the Dominion of Canada.

In Canada we do not think in a light spirit of these historical events. The commemoration will not be confined to one place or limited to one day. The city of Toronto is making great preparations to commemorate them in a manner worthy of their importance. The general and local governments will co-operate with the citizens in various ways. It has been determined to open a great historical exposition during the summer. The Parliament Buildings and the halls of the several universities in Queen's Park have been granted for the purpose, and, what will add to the interest of the occasion, the British Association has resolved to meet next year in that city.

With permission, I will read the views of the President of the Royal Geographical Society, Sir Clements R. Markham, conveyed to the Royal Society of Canada in a letter to the secretary dated April 26, 1896 :—

It is fitting that the memorable achievement of that intrepid seaman, John Cabot, should be remembered on the 400th anniversary of his discovery, and it seems to me to be specially fitting that a commemoration should take place in the land which he was the first to discover. There is great significance in the voyage of Cabot. It was not the first British enterprise of the kind, for during the previous seven years expeditions had been annually despatched from Bristol to discover land to the westward.

But it was the first that was led by a man possessed of all the scientific knowledge of his time, and the first that was successful. John Cabot must therefore be considered to have been the founder of British maritime enterprise. It is unfortunate that nothing has been preserved that can give us a clear idea of the man, of his character, and his attainments. We can form a judgment of Columbus from his writings. We know something of his heroisms and of his failings. He is a living man to us, and therefore he has attained world-wide celebrity, and appeals to our sympathy and our reverence. John Cabot is little more than a name. The few facts we know concerning him are immortal facts ever to be had in remembrance. He made the third voyage across the Atlantic and returned. He discovered the mainland of America. He raised the beacon which showed Englishmen the way to the New World. He was the first to hoist the cross of St. George on the western side of the Atlantic Ocean. His fate is unknown. Scarcely anything is known of his companions. But the names of three Englishmen are preserved who certainly fitted out vessels, and probably went with Cabot in 1498. The names of Lancelot Thirhill, Thomas Bradley, and John Carter therefore should also be had in remembrance.

Having, I fear, greatly trespassed on your patience, it remains for me to thank you for the attention you have been good enough to give my imperfect attempts to discuss a very important subject. The ferry across the Atlantic is in my judgment one of the leading questions of the day, especially when considered in its relations to the Empire. I must ask you to kindly pardon any failure on my part in bringing the subject succinctly before you. It would not have been difficult to have sustained my views by statistics, but they are obviously out of place on an occasion like this. My effort has been simply to submit to you in its broad character the several aspects of an important Imperial project.

I will only add that this Institute is a magnificent proof of the spirit which so generally prevails on the subject of Imperial Unity, and the fervent desire to make closer and render permanent the relationship between several great divisions of the Empire. If this feeling is called forth in a British subject, it is especially as a Canadian British subject that I view the question. Let me repeat that in the Dominion we desire to have the closest connection with our fellow subjects—the kinsmen of many of us, in these islands. It is our desire so effectually to span the ocean that it will no longer be held to separate us, but will rather cement the Dominion to the Mother Country by rendering it a matter of ease for your surplus enterprising youth to occupy with us our land of fruitful valleys, of fertile plains, and spreading forests; our country of

stupendous cataracts, great flowing rivers, and inland seas of the freshest and purest water.

Like the people of the United Kingdom, we Canadians take our origin from the great historic races of Western Europe. We do not all profess the same form of creed, but we are all Christians. There is to be found among us a difference of language, as was at one time found in these sea-girt isles, but we dwell in peace and amity, for we are all blessed with the full enjoyment of British laws and British freedom. We live under the same flag as you do, we profess no mere mouth loyalty to the one Queen and Empress, whom may God long spare.

#### DISCUSSION.

Sir DONALD A. SMITH, G.C.M.G. (High Commissioner for Canada): It is a privilege, I consider, to be permitted to say a few words upon the most interesting and descriptive address to which we have just listened. The name of Mr. Fleming is a household word in Canada, and one known in many circles in this country. It is, wherever known, respected as that of a man who has done great and good work, not alone for Canada, but for the Empire as a whole. It was under his directions that the Intercolonial Railway, the first effort to connect the different Provinces of Canada, was constructed. So also with regard to the road going further into the interior and across to the Pacific. Mr. Fleming was the pioneer in this work, in all the preliminary surveys, and under his care a very considerable portion of the line was built. The address to which we have listened is indeed most instructive. Mr. Fleming has told us of Cabot having touched on Canadian soil in 1497. About 200 years after that a company was formed in England which sent its ships into Hudson Bay. At that time the whole of the eastern portion of Canada was a province of France, and I think we have cause for gratification that by the sending of these ships into Hudson Bay at that time, and taking possession of the country from that point to, I think I may say, the North Pole, we have conserved to us to-day what is a very important portion of Canada—I mean the whole of the great North-West, one of the most prolific of the whole continent of America, for that which concerns one of the chief wants of man, that is to say, wheat and other grain. It has, during this last year, produced in the hands of a very few farmers no less than 80,000,000 bushels of wheat alone. From these efforts I think we may look forward, in a very short time, seeing that we really only require population in that country, to producing ten times as much as was done this

last year, and that will, indeed, be a great factor in supplying food for the Mother Country. It was through the enterprise of Canadian merchants, we are told, that the ocean was first crossed by steam power. Passing on to 1838, we find that the "Great Western" and "Sirius" went to Quebec. I remember very well that year, and the rush made to the post-office to get the first letters brought out by those vessels, as I happened to be there myself at the time. We pass on to the Cunard steamers of 1840, and to the Allan steamers by the St. Lawrence somewhat later. It is a matter of some little pride to remember that the Allan Line was really the first to give comforts to passengers in crossing the Atlantic, beyond what they had by remaining down in the cabin. It was they who first gave covered decks. They met with some little opposition with regard to that, and incurred some loss, because by the regulations of the Board of Trade, these decks counted against them as to tonnage. Unfortunately, the "Parisian" of some fifteen years ago is perhaps at the present day the best, or one of the best of the steamers on the St. Lawrence route, and we in Canada certainly look forward with very great desire to a fast line of steamboats to Halifax, and Quebec, and Montreal. That, as has been said, we hope to see accomplished very soon, as I believe the tenders are to go in to-morrow. By means of this service we shall be able to send passengers to Chicago and to the great north-west of America. It is not, I would remind you, simply a scattered population you will find there. You will find cities in Minnesota which have some three or four hundred thousand people where, twenty-five years ago, there were not twenty or thirty thousand. This I say, not to show that that country has greater advantages than Canada, but to show that there is every prospect of success for these Atlantic steamers. You will have really a continuous route across the Atlantic, to the north-west of America under the auspices of British subjects. These steamers will also have another advantage, for I have observed in crossing the Atlantic (as I have done very often indeed, some 100 times or more—as well by the St. Lawrence as by New York), I have observed, I say, that a great many people meet together on board. There are hundreds on every ship during the summer months, and the acquaintance they make with each other under these circumstances has, I think, a most excellent influence. It is when we do not know each other, when we look upon other people as being so very different from ourselves, that suspicion and distrust arise; but when we are thrown together, as when crossing the Atlantic, and learn to know each other, and to see that our

neighbours are very much like ourselves, these prejudices are lost sight of altogether. This improved acquaintance is one of the best safeguards against any great differences between ourselves and our cousins in the United States. As Mr. Fleming has mentioned, you may leave here one Saturday, and in twelve days, even at the present time, you may be on the Pacific Coast. In a very short time with this fast service, you will be able to do the journey in nine, or at the outside ten days. In twelve days more you may be in Japan, so that twenty-one days from here you will be able to reach the Far East. Further, this is a route also to India. I think we all have reason to look forward with pleasure and satisfaction to this new highway from England to China and India, and the east by way of Canada ; and I am sure you will wish the project every success.

Sir MACKENZIE BOWELL, K.C.M.G. (late Premier of Canada) :— I need scarcely say that it is with unfeigned pleasure I am here to-night and see you, my Lord, occupying the position of Chairman. It was my good fortune to be one of the Cabinet during the whole period of your Governorship of Canada. I have no desire to be invidious, but I hesitate not to say that there has been no governor who has left behind him a name more revered than that of our honoured Chairman. I cannot say that in the governing of a country like ours we have not our difficulties and our differences of opinion, and his lordship will remember that on some occasions differences upon certain minor matters did arise, but there never was any difference of opinion between him and his advisers on the great interests affecting the British portion of the Continent of America and of the Empire to which we all belong. I have listened with great satisfaction and pleasure to the address of my friend, Mr. Fleming, a gentleman with whom I have been intimately associated for a number of years past. He and I travelled from Canada to Australia with a view to the promotion to the fullest possible extent of improved commercial intercourse between those portions of Her Majesty's Dominions, and to that visit we owe the meeting together of the Colonial delegates in Canada two years ago, out of which arose the mission on which we are now visiting our native land. It is a pride to me to know that though I went to Canada with my parents sixty-three years ago this summer, I am an Englishman by birth, and my friend Mr. Fleming, too, belongs to the northern part of these islands ; nevertheless, we have learned in our portion of Her Majesty's Dominion never to draw any distinction between the native-born Englishman, Scotchman, or

Irishman, and those born in other portions of the Empire. As his lordship has told you, until quite recently I had the honour of occupying the first place in the Government of the Dominion of Canada; after seventeen years and a half in the Cabinet of Canada, I retired; but though I have resigned I have no intention whatever of retiring from public duty so long as health will enable me to do what little service I can towards the advancement of the country to which I am proud to belong. Our visit to England upon this occasion is at the instance of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, acting upon the principles laid down by the resolutions passed at the Ottawa Conference, where we affirmed the principle of the desirability of closer cable connection between the different parts of the Empire, and in order to accomplish that object we proposed to establish additional means of communication; first, by a fast steamship service, and next by telegraphic communication connecting every portion of the Empire, without touching foreign soil. I hope I may be spared sufficiently long to see these great objects successfully accomplished. It only shows, I think, that where the Colonists act in unison with the Mother Country, and the latter is willing to accept suggestions even from the humble members of this great Empire, we can accomplish some of the great objects for which this Institute has been organised. I fear that in dealing with a question of this kind I should be wearying you were I to attempt to express my opinions fully on the subject. We have one great desire, and that is, I repeat, to unite as closely as we possibly can all portions of this Empire, and to create not only a feeling of kinship, which really and in fact does exist, but to create and build up in our midst a bond of union that in times of trouble will stand the test. As far as Canada is concerned her affection for the Mother Country was well exemplified when she offered aid if it were wanted in the time of need. It is but a little time since a war-cloud rose in the horizon, and some difficulties were feared. British subjects in the most distant parts of the Empire at once affirmed their loyalty to the Crown, and I think from these and other evidences that you must be convinced we feel ourselves to be part and parcel, as well as an integral part of the Empire, ready at any moment to lay down our lives in defence of our institutions, and of one whom we all love and revere, our Queen. Perhaps it may be considered a little boastful, but I ask you to remember the geographical position of Canada towards the United States, and to remember that you have there a people of five or six millions living alongside a country with over 8,000 miles of frontier, and knowing,

as every one of us does, that in case of difficulty we may be the great sufferers; hence when a people knowing the results that would follow to their homes, their families and their country, are willing to affirm their loyalty and readiness to assist in the defence of the Empire, and that too when the difficulties arise on questions which may not in any way affect their particular portion of the Empire, I think you must give them credit for sincerity in their devotion. We have one great hope and desire as Canadians—our statesmen have adopted it as a principle certainly during the last seventeen and a half years, not to be behind any portion of the world, and more particularly that portion of the American Continent not British. We see with regret that the means of communication between the old country and our own have been gradually falling into that state to which my friend Sir Donald Smith has alluded. I remember when I first crossed the ocean from Canada to England, the Allan Line of steamers was crowded with American tourists, because at that time it was the most comfortable. There are some five hundred miles of inland navigation before you strike the sea, and at that time the Allan Line was second to none on the ocean between England and the American Continent; but to-day we are in this position—almost everyone who desires to cross the Atlantic goes to New York. My friend Sir Donald Smith and I did the same thing the other day. What was the result—we left New York at 10.15 on the Saturday morning and at daylight next Saturday we were moored alongside the dock at Liverpool. When I went to Canada sixty-three years ago we had the pleasure of occupying just eight weeks and two days. I have been told by His Grace Archbishop Taché, who has spent a great portion of his life in the North-West, that he took six months in going from St. Paul and Minneapolis to Edmonton at the base of the Rocky Mountains. It takes six days now. That establishes the fact that we are advancing by means of science so rapidly that we need not be astonished at anything that may be accomplished by the ingenuity of man. When we talk of Imperial Federation and unity of the different sections of the Empire, I would remind you that older men used to look upon distance as insuperable. The United States extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific; it took at one time three or four or five weeks to get from the Capital to its western shore, and yet its people have formed themselves into one country. By means of electricity and steam the time is rapidly approaching when every acre of the world that is ruled by the Imperial authorities and under the British Crown will, by these means, be just as able to

govern its dominions as the United States with its thirty or forty States extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. These are our hopes and aspirations. We have no desire to be behind our neighbours in enterprise, but to emulate to the fullest extent their virtues and eclipse them if possible in their enterprise. I am glad to congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, on the fact that the Royal Society, which I believe you were the principal instrument in establishing, is taking part in the great demonstration to be held in Canada during the coming year to celebrate its discovery four hundred years ago by Cabot. It must be a gratifying fact to you to know that the efforts you put forth in order to spread the advantages of science throughout the country have been so successful, and that the Royal Society is to take so important a part in the commemoration. Let us look forward to the time when we shall know no distinction between the British subject born in the Colony and one who is born upon the old sod. I know when in Australia three years ago, somebody said that they had no particular history to which they could look back with pride. My answer was that the history of England is as much their glory as it is yours—that you only live on another part of one grand estate owned by the Queen. I am glad to think that the feeling to which I refer is dying out, and that we are cultivating but one feeling, and that is a unity of the Empire and a unity of sentiment, and a desire to have but one people bound together in the strongest possible bonds of interest and affection.

Mr. J. CASTELL HOPKINS : I may perhaps be allowed to express the pleasure which a Canadian like myself on his first visit to London experiences at being able to be present at the meeting of a society of which he has so often heard, whose Imperial activity is so widely known, and whose work for the welfare and unity of the Empire he so much admires. I need not dilate on the ability of the paper. This much I will say as to the past history of this country, that we in Canada have also a history, a history abounding in important and romantic episodes, and which during the last hundred years records the efforts of the Canadian people to build up a British Colonial Empire by the side of the great republic of the West. It is a history recording a work which, I believe, the people of England are beginning to appreciate, and which I believe they can help us to extend in the direction of the further unity and greatness of the Empire. There are few of us who do not look upon the changed aspect of Colonial affairs and the changed views of British statesmen with intense pleasure, views like those expressed by such men as Mr. Chamberlain, and which have been



voiced by this Institute upon so many occasions. One word about the Cabot Exhibition. The committee at Toronto are anxious to obtain the co-operation of their friends in England in extending the scope and increasing the value of that Exhibition by every means in their power. There are in England many records bearing upon Canadian interests—many valuable pictures and mementoes of our four hundred years of peace and war. What we ask, therefore, is that in the celebration which is to take place next year in Toronto, under the auspices of the Earl of Aberdeen as Governor-General, and with the active co-operation of many leading men in the Dominion, we may hope and expect to obtain the loan of such documents, pictures, and memorials as our friends in England may have in their possession. It is hoped that a British Committee will be formed to further the objects of this important Exhibition. There is one important point I desire you to remember. This Exhibition will help to dispel the notion that America and Canada are synonymous terms, a notion which of course does not exist to any extent amongst educated people, but which undoubtedly does obtain to a certain extent amongst the immense mass of the people of this country. This is one reason why I should like to see substantial assistance given to the Exhibition in Great Britain, and a practical, strong, united effort made to spread abroad a better knowledge of Canadian history, just as there has been for some time past an effort made to promote better knowledge of Canadian resources. There is much that can be done in many directions, but this is an immediate matter in which you may help us in a practical way.

COMMISSARY-GENERAL G. D. LARDNER: My object in rising is to give an explanation of a somewhat personal character in reference to an allusion made by Mr. Fleming to a gentleman deceased forty years ago, and whom I had the honour to call my father. In the course of his admirable paper, Mr. Fleming alludes to the general belief that Dr. Lardner, in lecturing at Liverpool in the year 1885, had declared that "a voyage by steamship to the American continent and Europe was perfectly chimerical, and that people might as well talk of making a voyage to the moon." Probably Mr. Fleming is not aware that this supposed declaration originated in an erroneous press report, and was at once and at the time contradicted by Dr. Lardner, who set forth in unanswerable language, not only what he meant to say, but what he actually did say. This disclaimer was published in the last edition of his work on the "Steam-Engine," eighth edition, 1851 (Walton and Maberley), as

the following extracts will show. In the preface to this work is the following passage :

In the third chapter of the second part will be found a review of the progress of steam navigation from its first establishment in 1812 to the present day. This chapter also contains the refutation of those absurd reports which have been generally circulated, imputing to the author opinions as to the impossibility of the Atlantic voyage, which are precisely the reverse of those he really expressed.

At page 295 of above work is a report of Dr. Lardner's speech from the "Times" of August 27, showing the falsehood of the report that he pronounced the project impracticable. The meeting (British Association) took place on the 25th at Bristol, and the report appeared in the "Times" of August 27, 1886. From that report I extract the following :

. . . He was aware that since the question had arisen, it had been stated that his own opinion was averse to it. *This statement was totally wrong, etc.* . . .

After some observations from Messrs Brunell and Field, Dr. Lardner in reply said :

that he *considered the voyage practicable*, but wished to point out that which would remove the possibility of a doubt, because if the first attempt failed it would cast a damp upon the enterprise and prevent a repetition of the attempt. What he did affirm and maintain in 1886-87 was that the long sea voyages by steam which were contemplated could not be maintained with the regularity and certainty which are indispensable to commercial success by any revenue which could be expected from traffic alone ; and that, without a Government subsidy of a considerable amount, such lines of steamers, although they might be started, could not be permanently maintained.

Nevertheless, the charge has been brought up again and again, and has been reproduced in public places for no other conceivable motive than perhaps to point an imaginary moral or adorn a sensational statement.

COL. J. HARRIS :—In the few remarks I propose to make I shall confine myself to the excellent paper. I observe that Mr. Fleming states that before the advent of the Cunard Line of steamers in 1840, there were some American liners. I am a living witness to the fact, for I have dined on board one of these sailing packets—there were only four—which went from St. Catherine's Docks to New York, and carried about thirty passengers each once a month. When we see the mighty strides in the matter of steam

navigation, we are astounded, and I wish Mr. Fleming in his paper had given us some information as to the prosperity—the increasing prosperity of Canada, showing the necessity not only for the line now proposed, but for other lines to follow. I recollect near fifty years ago, when I was in Nova Scotia, I opened the first gold mine at Sherbrooke. I notice that the Dominion in 1885 produced \$10,000,000 of mineral, and in 1895 \$22,000,000—a marvellous progress. At the present time we find there is a gold wave passing over the world, and I maintain from what I know of Canada, that there is not a richer country in the world for the precious and other metals. In the Mackenzie basin there is from 150 to 200,000 square miles of auriferous deposit, and 150,000 square miles of petroleum lands. On the Pacific Coast we find in British Columbia 1,900 miles of coast, 500 miles in breadth, that is also auriferous. Where is there a greater country in the world for minerals than Canada? That is why we should have more means of communication with Canada in the way of additional steamship lines, such will increase the country's greatness and riches. It has recently been argued that we should have stores of corn in this country to guard against famine during wars. I maintain that the greatest granary we can have is Canada within a few days' sail of England, and the Canadians are willing and able to supply us with all the food we require, not only in the matter of grain but also of cattle. A statement made in the paper I think is made in error. Mr. Fleming says :—

In Canada we have an inland sea—the Gulf of St. Lawrence—like the Baltic, open in summer, but in winter more or less obstructed by ice so as to impede navigation. The shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence are everywhere British, while Sweden, Germany, and Denmark share with Russia the claim to the shores of the Baltic. Hudson Bay in one respect resembles the White Sea; its shores are wholly Canadian, as the shores of the White Sea are wholly Russian. During a short period in summer both seas are open to navigation.

I think the evidence goes to the contrary of part of that statement. The White Sea is closed by ice for nine months of the year; whereas Hudson Bay has never been known to freeze over. The evidence shows that Hudson Bay for only a distance of 1,000 yards from the shore is ever frozen over. Dr. Bell, the Assistant Director of the Meteorological Survey of Canada, informs us that in the popular mind Hudson Bay is associated with the polar regions, yet that no part comes within the Arctic Circle, and the south part is south of the latitude of London. It never freezes

over. Mr. George A. Bain, C.E., said before the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba that the ice is never solid for more than 1,000 yards from the land, and there is little difficulty that could not be overcome to prevent the loading and unloading of steamers all the winter. Perhaps what is referred to in the paper is the Straits and not the Bay. If so, I think I can show that there is error there also. The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba appointed a commission of inquiry, and they wound up their report thus: "No evidence has been given that goes to prove that Hudson Strait and Bay proper ever freeze over, or that the ice met with is sufficient to prevent navigation at any time of the year." That report was made after the examination of witnesses upon oath. Capt. Hackett, for 39 years employed by the Hudson Bay Company, in his evidence stated that the Straits never freeze, and that there is no reason why steamships should not navigate them at any time; while Admiral Markham, whose authority as an Arctic explorer none will gainsay, said that a well-found steamship would have no difficulty at all times in navigating Hudson Strait and Hudson Bay. I will not go further to prove that there is some little mistake in the mind of Mr. Fleming, and I should not like it to go forth that the condition of Hudson Bay and Strait would prevent an additional route, which I trust will be opened shortly into the heart of Canada.

Dr. RANKINE DAWSON: I have very little claim to be heard to-night, and absolutely none to criticise the very full, able, and interesting paper to which we have listened. Like others, I have done my share of voyaging, perhaps more than my share. I have lived for some years on the ocean, and have averaged for several years in succession upwards of 60,000 miles a year of ocean travel. I can testify to the vast improvements in speed and equipment that have taken place, and of which we have been told to-night. "The prison, with a chance of being drowned," in Dr. Johnson's time, has been transformed into the floating hotel of our own. Mr. Sandford Fleming drew a very interesting parallel between Canada and Russia. I think, however, he made a slip in saying, "We have in Canada greater varieties of climate, and larger areas of country suitable for settlement and cultivation." The Russian Empire is one of the wonderful countries of the world, and with its 8,000,000 of square miles of very partially developed territory, and 125,000,000 of patriotic citizens, ranks second only to the British Empire as a whole in these respects. I was much interested in what Mr. Fleming has told us as to the differentiation of steamship business.

Undoubtedly the tendency is altogether in this direction, much as it is in the railroad world. As we have goods trains and passenger trains, so we already have passenger steamships and freight steamships. Ere long I do not doubt that we shall have fast steamship lines exclusively devoted to carrying mails, as we already have fast mail trains on the principal lines of railroad. In this connection it has occurred to me, as no doubt it has to others, that the Canadian Government is missing an opportunity of taking the initiative, and of making a new departure by establishing a fast line of weekly steamships running between the nearest ports, for mails only, with perhaps limited accommodation for a few passengers at double rates. Such a line might reduce the time for crossing the Atlantic by at least a day, and would give to Canada the control of the mail route between Europe and America, as she already has to a considerable extent that of the cable routes. Unlike Sir Mackenzie Bowell, who has told us that he was only an emigrant to Canada, I, sir, am Canadian born. My father and grandfather were Canadians before me, and I know of no reason to regret the fact. Whilst I yield to no one in my desire to see the interests and the welfare of Canada advanced in every way, I claim the privilege of holding my own opinion as to the means by which this desired result may be best brought about.

**THE CHAIRMAN :** I have now to move a vote of thanks to Mr. Fleming. I think we must congratulate him that we have in this audience no members of that class of objectors to rail and steam communication, who have been particularly prominent in the House of Commons of late when the subject of light railways was mooted. Any light railway was violently objected to if it could possibly be thought to benefit, in the most distant way, a landlord ; but, judging from the audience to-night, you seem to think there are no landlords in Canada, and if there are, it does not much matter if they are benefited ! Mr. Fleming has touched but little on the subject of the submarine cables, although a great part of the exertions he has made during the last few years has been given to the extension of telegraph communication between different parts of the Empire. It is very much to be desired that all communication between ourselves and the Colonies should go through British cables, so that messages may not be tampered with by any foreign hands. That is a great point. Mr. Fleming has been comparatively so little in England of late years, that he must excuse our tardiness in taking up his large and patriotic ideas, and he must remember that only in the last year have we begun to

connect by wire our own lighthouses around our coast! I believe the tenders now to be submitted for the new steamer service will probably very soon result in our having excellent steamship communication, both on the Atlantic and Pacific. In that matter also we have been extremely slow, some thinking, as Englishmen naturally do, that everything can be done by private effort, and that no Government subsidy is required. But when you see that almost every other Government gives these subsidies, the French Government giving £600,000 a year to the Messageries Company, the German Government, for instance, on the East Coast of Africa giving their line to Delagoa Bay a subsidy of £45,000, and when you consider also the great speed and high engine power absolutely requisite in order to have a successful passenger service, it is perfectly obvious that as regards Canada (a comparatively small country as far as population goes, though large in area, a country only possessing a population something like that of Sweden), it is obvious, I say, you must assist with a subsidy, at all events in the first instance, until that great country has been developed. Therefore we welcome the evidence that the Government mean to come forward and meet the Canadians half way in having a really good and fast service on the Atlantic. Nobody has contributed more to that result in a private capacity than has Mr. Fleming, and we must thank also Sir Mackenzie Bowell for the material assistance his Government have given to the project. I ask you to join in a vote of thanks to Mr. Fleming for bringing the subject again before us, and we wish him continued success, not only as regards the steamship lines, but also in the extension of telegraphic communication.

MR. SANDFORD FLEMING: I would have liked to say a few words, but the hour is too late. I regret very much if I have put unauthorised words into the mouth of the late Dr. Lardner. I only quoted words that were published in a work precisely as they are written, and I am very glad to learn that they were corrected by the distinguished scientist himself before he died. I ask you to join with me in giving a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman for his services.

## TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL CONVERSAZIONE.

The Twenty-Third Annual Conversazione of the Royal Colonial Institute (founded in 1868, and incorporated by Royal Charter in 1882) was held at the Natural History Museum, Cromwell Road, by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, on Wednesday, June 24, 1896, and was attended by about 2,000 guests, representing all parts of the British Empire. The string band of the Royal Marines (Chatham Division), conducted by Mr. J. Wright, performed in the Central Hall, and Mrs. Hunt's Ladies' Band in the Bird Gallery. The electric light was specially introduced into the building for the occasion. Refreshments were served throughout the evening in the Refreshment Room, the Bird Gallery, and the South Corridor. The Central Hall was decorated with choice flowers and palms, and the flags of the following Colonies:—Barbados, Bahamas, Bermuda, British Guiana, British Honduras, Canada (Ontario), Cape of Good Hope, Cyprus, Falkland Islands, Fiji, Gibraltar, Gold Coast, Jamaica (presented by C. Washington Eves, Esq., C.M.G.), Lagos, Leeward Islands, Malta, Mauritius, Natal, New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland (presented by General Sir Henry W. Norman, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.I.E.), Sierra Leone, Straits Settlements, Trinidad, Western Australia, Windward Islands.

The guests were received in the Central Hall by the following Vice-Presidents and Councillors:—

*Vice-Presidents.*—The Earl of Jersey, G.C.M.G.; Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.; Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G.; Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G.

*Councillors.*—W. J. Anderson, Esq.; F. H. Dangar, Esq.; Frederick Dutton, Esq.; Lieut.-General Sir J. Bevan Edwards, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.P.; C. Washington Eves, Esq., C.M.G.; Sir James Garrick, K.C.M.G.; Henry J. Jourdain, Esq., C.M.G.; Lieut.-General R. W. Lowry, C.B.; S. Vaughan Morgan, Esq.; Sir Westby B. Perceval, K.C.M.G.; Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, G.C.M.G.; Sir Francis Villeneuve Smith; Sir Charles E. F. Stirling, Bart.

## APPENDIX.

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### DEATH OF H.R.H. PRINCE HENRY OF BATTENBERG.

At a Meeting of the Council held on Tuesday, January 28, 1896, under the presidency of Mr. S. Vaughan Morgan, the following Address of Condolence was moved by Mr. Henry J. Jourdain, C.M.G., seconded by Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., and carried unanimously :

*To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.*

The Council of the Royal Colonial Institute desire to record the profound sorrow with which they received the mournful intelligence of the sad and much to be lamented death of Colonel His Royal Highness Prince Henry Maurice of Battenberg, K.G., &c., &c., from illness contracted whilst on active service with the troops of Your Majesty in West Africa.

The Council, for themselves and on behalf of the Fellows of the Institute, most humbly and respectfully tender to Your Most Gracious Majesty and to Her Royal Highness Princess Beatrice the assurance of their most heartfelt sympathy and sincere condolence on the occasion of the deep affliction which has befallen the Royal Family.

The expressions of sorrow and sympathy, which this melancholy event has evoked from the subjects of Your Majesty in all parts of the world, afford renewed testimony of their devotion and loyalty to their beloved Sovereign and to the Members of Her Family.

Given under the Common Seal of the Royal Colonial Institute this twenty-eighth day of January one thousand eight hundred and ninety-six.

In the presence of

S. VAUGHAN MORGAN, <i>Chairman of the day</i> ,	}	<i>Members of the Council.</i>
HENRY J. JOURDAIN,		
FREDERICK YOUNG, <i>Vice-President</i> ,		

J. S. O'HALLORAN,  
*Secretary.*

L.S.



THE PAYMENT OF INCOME TAX IN THE UNITED  
KINGDOM ON INCOME EARNED AND TAXED AS  
SUCH IN OTHER PARTS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

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To the RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH,  
BART., M.P., *Chancellor of the Exchequer*,

THE MEMORIAL OF THE ROYAL COLONIAL  
INSTITUTE

SHEWETH—

1. That your Memorialists are desirous of inviting the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the hardship resulting to a large number of Her Majesty's subjects, and especially those residing in the United Kingdom, from the operation of the law as at present existing in this country relative to the payment of Income Tax, in conjunction with the Acts recently passed by the Legislatures of many of the self-governing Colonies imposing an Income Tax.

2. The Income Tax payable in this country under the Provisions of the Act 16 and 17 Vict., c. 84, is apparently based upon two principles :

(a) It is charged upon all income derived in the different ways defined in the Schedules to that Act from property within the United Kingdom or business carried on in the United Kingdom by all persons whether residing in the United Kingdom or not, and

(b) It is also charged upon all income received by persons residing in the United Kingdom from property elsewhere than in the United Kingdom, thus including all Colonies and other portions of the Empire, as well as Foreign Countries.

3. No question is sought to be raised in regard to the justice and expediency of the principle (a) ; but the principle (b) has been the subject of complaint from time to time because of the probability, and in some cases the actuality, of such income being originally subject to a similar form of taxation in the country where it is earned.

4. It is only quite recently that taxation of Income has in any

general sense become part of the Statute Law of the large self-governing Colonies, and notably the Australasian Colonies.

The following Table shows approximately the number and date of, and reference to the Acts creating an income tax, or tax in the nature of an income tax, in many of these Colonies, and the dates in some instances of amending Acts.

Colony.	No. of Act and Year.	Date of same receiving Royal assent.
1. South Australia . {	No. 328. 1884	14 Nov. 1884
	" 572. 1893	23 Dec. 1893
	" 604. 1894	21 Dec. 1894
	" 18. 1891	8 Sept. 1891
	" 55. 1892	11 Oct. 1892
2. New Zealand . {	" 38. 1893	2 Oct. 1893
	" 57. 1893	6 Oct. 1893
	" 65. 1894	24 Oct. 1894
	" 66. 1894	" "
	" 70. 1895	18 Oct. 1895
3. Tasmania . {	" 71. 1895	26 Oct. 1895
	" 16. 1894	21 Aug. 1894
4. Victoria . {	" 20. 1895	21 Oct. 1895
	" 1874. 1895	29 Jan. 1895
5. New South Wales . {	" 15. 1895	12 Dec. 1895
	" 17. 1895	" "
6. Queensland <sup>1</sup> .	—	—

<sup>1</sup> There is no Income Tax in this Colony, but a Dividend Tax charged to Public Companies upon the dividends paid on capital employed in Queensland under the Dividend Duty Act, No. 10, of 1890.

No Income Tax appears to have been so far imposed in the Dominion of Canada or in any of the South African Colonies or in Western Australia.

5. Your Memorialists have referred to these Acts, from which it would appear that the general principle upon which the taxation thereby imposed is based, is to tax any income derived from property situate within, or business carried on within the territorial limits of the Colony imposing the same; income received by persons living in a particular Colony, derived from property outside that Colony, is not taxed, it being in the case of some Colonies expressly exempted and in others not within the operative words of their Acts. Illustrations of express exemptions are to be found (*inter alia*) in Clause 29 of Part II. of the Act 16, 1894 of the Colony of Tasmania.

Clause 9 of Part II. of the Act 328, 1884 of the Colony of South Australia.

The definitions to the Act No. 1874, 1895 of the Colony of Victoria.

Subsection III. of Clause 27 of Part IV of Act No. 15, 1895 of the Colony of New South Wales.

6. It follows from the foregoing statements that British subjects resident in any of the Australasian Colonies are not required to pay a double tax in respect of any Income derived from the United Kingdom, while those resident in the United Kingdom are required to pay a double tax in respect of any income derived from any of the Australasian Colonies. Consequently, no duplicated taxation would have resulted against persons living in the United Kingdom from the creation in those Colonies of an Income Tax, if the principle upon which the Income Tax was levied in the United Kingdom were similarly confined to income derived from property in the United Kingdom or business carried on therein; but the effect of the present law in this country, as previously stated, is that many persons who reside in the United Kingdom are now subjected to double taxation of the same income by different integral portions of the British Empire, and great dissatisfaction is thus being created.

7. Your Memorialists do not for one moment question either the right of the Imperial Parliament on the one hand, or of the Parliaments of the self-governing Colonies on the other, to impose such taxation as they may consider necessary for the purpose of raising the required revenues for carrying on the administration of that portion of the Empire which is under their respective jurisdiction and government, but they do venture to submit that the unqualified right of imposing taxation which every Government possesses, is, and always has been, governed by practical considerations of expediency and reasonableness, so that taxation should be free from objection on the ground that it is either unjust, oppressive, or universally unpopular. Many illustrations of taxation having been reconsidered, mitigated, and even abandoned altogether, owing to considerations of this nature, could if necessary be quoted, and are well known in all the departments of Her Majesty's Government.

These considerations, as your Memorialists respectfully submit, are especially applicable to taxation of income on account of its direct and inquisitorial character.

8. Your Memorialists would also venture respectfully to impress upon the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, as bearing upon this question of Income Tax, that the desire of the Governments and the people of this Empire is daily becoming more and more accentuated, that there should be a closer relationship between all parts of the Empire in regard to the many and important

questions that arise, and will arise, as between different parts of the Empire in reference to the raising and expenditure of revenues, whether by direct or indirect taxation, questions of trade and adjustment of customs, and it is on that account a question of the highest expediency that property, in whatever part of the Empire it may be, should not be subjected to the same form of taxation by more than one integral portion of the Empire.

9. Your Memorialists desire to point out that in accordance with, and recognition of this principle, provision was made by the late Government with the consent of Parliament, in the Finance Act of 1894, so as to avoid the same property being subjected to double death duties, a principle which is, as your Memorialists think, entirely applicable to the question of income tax to which attention is now drawn.

10. Your Memorialists would refer to a Memorial from the Royal Colonial Institute, dated 9 July, 1894, presented to Her Majesty's late Government on the subject of the Finance Bill, and which they believe materially helped to bring about the concession contained in Section 20 of that Act before referred to, and many of the arguments which were contained in such former Memorial are equally applicable to this question of Income Tax under the existing considerations.

11. The effect of double Income Tax will equally tend to cause capital to be withdrawn from its present condition of investment in our own Colonies, with the result that the development of such Colonies will be retarded and trade restricted, the effect of which will be indirectly to affect the revenues both of the United Kingdom and of such Colonies, and to drive British capital and British subjects to seek investments or to reside in foreign countries, where they and their income may be free from the vexations of a duplicate form of taxation.

12. Your Memorialists therefore fully believe that it will be of advantage to the United Kingdom, and to the Colonies generally, apart from the removal from individuals of what has now become a great hardship, that the law in the United Kingdom should in regard to Income Tax exempt altogether income earned in any other part of the Empire and remitted to the United Kingdom, on proof that such income has already prior to remittance been subjected to the deduction of Income Tax locally.

13. In presenting these arguments for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government your Memorialists are not unmindful of the argument contained in paragraph 18 of their previous Memorial on



Chancellor of the Exchequer,  
Treasury Chambers, Whitehall, S.W. :  
April 16, 1896.

## INCOME TAX.

Sir,

I am desired by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th inst. on the above subject, which shall have consideration.

Yours faithfully,  
L. N. GUILLEMARD.

The Secretary, Royal Colonial Institute,  
Northumberland Avenue.

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REPLY FROM THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER  
TO THE MEMORIAL OF THE ROYAL COLONIAL IN-  
STITUTE RESPECTING PAYMENT OF INCOME TAX  
IN THE UNITED KINGDOM ON INCOME EARNED AND  
TAXED AS SUCH IN OTHER PARTS OF THE BRITISH  
EMPIRE:—

Treasury Chambers, May 27, 1896.

Sir,—The Chancellor of the Exchequer has laid before the Board of Treasury the Memorial which you forwarded to him on the 15th ultimo from the Royal Colonial Institute praying for such an amendment of the law as will exempt from Income Tax in this country any income which has been remitted from other parts of the British Empire, and which has already paid income tax where it was earned : and their Lordships, after giving the matter their careful consideration, direct me to submit the following observations in reply.

(1.) My Lords are unable to reconcile the proposal before them with the leading principle of the income tax legislation in this country.

The income tax here is, as its name implies, a *tax upon income* received in the United Kingdom.

In this respect it appears (according to the statements in the Memorial) to differ from the income tax established in the Colonies, which extends only to incomes earned in the country where the tax is in force.

In the United Kingdom, however, it is levied without regard to distinctions based upon either the nature or the locality of the

property from which the income arises; though it has often been urged that such distinctions might reasonably be held to justify a different treatment.

For example, a person receiving income from realised property is taxed in the same way and at the same rate as a person receiving income from the exercise of a profession.

Similarly, a person receiving income from an industrial business in the Colonies or abroad is taxed in the same way and at the same rate as one receiving income from a similar business in this country.

In short, it is the *income* which is taxed, and not the property or other source from which the income is derived.

As the incomes to which the Memorialists refer are received (and, in most cases, spent) in this country, my Lords see no injustice in taxing them in the same way and to the same extent as other incomes subject to the same conditions.

(2.) Nor does it appear to them inequitable that a person who possesses property in one country and spends the income derived from it in another should be subject to taxation in both.

Owing to the circumstances of his position he is, *pro tanto*, a citizen of two countries; and requires the protection of two Governments.

My Lords cannot admit that such a person should be exempted from taxation in the country where he spends his income, because he has already been taxed in the country whence he derives it.

(3.) The contention of the Memorialists is limited to income derived from the Colonies; but the arguments advanced apply with equal force to incomes derived from foreign countries under similar circumstances.

If it is "oppressive and unjust" to tax income in the country where it is spent, when it has already been taxed in the country whence it is derived, the oppression and the injustice are the same, whether it is derived from a foreign country or a Colony.

(4.) My Lords do not wish it to be supposed that in their opinion the Colonies are on the same footing as foreign countries. They recognise with satisfaction the many ties which bind together the different portions of the Empire; but they must remind the Memorialists that those ties are not fiscal ties.

The system of taxation, both in this country and in the self-governing Colonies, has always been based on the principle of treating each area as distinct and independent for fiscal purposes; and Parliament has made no concession to the Colonies in such matters which is not equally applicable to foreign countries.

Concessions of this kind have usually been based upon the grant

of reciprocal advantages; and it is from this point of view alone that any such measure as that now in question could be justified.

But for this purpose it would be necessary to consider as a whole the fiscal relations, and the burdens of the different parts of the Empire.

The point now raised relates only to the income tax; and the Memorialists suggest that the principle of reciprocal exemption should be introduced in respect of that source of revenue alone.

But my Lords must point out that the concession is practically all on one side.

The amount of income enjoyed in the United Kingdom from property in the Colonies is far larger than the income enjoyed in the Colonies from property in the United Kingdom; and the loss to the Imperial Exchequer would be much greater than the aggregate gain to the individual taxpayers in this country.

(5.) The concession made under section 20 of the Finance Act of 1894, to which reference is made in the Memorial, does not in their Lordships' opinion present a true analogy to the proposal under discussion.

The relief from taxation accorded by that section extended only to the amount of duty which had already been paid under the Colonial law, whereas the Memorialists claim that the payment of income tax in the Colonies, at however low a rate, should exempt from payment here at however high a rate the tax may for the time being be fixed.

A further distinction may also be noted. The income which it is desired to relieve from taxation is received and spent in this country.

The Colonial property which (except for section 20) might be taxed under the Finance Act is actually situated in the Colonies, though it is constructively in this country through the operation of a rule of law.

(6.) The proposed exemption could not be limited to Colonists resident in this country; but must be extended to all persons drawing any part of their incomes from property in the Colonies.

The loss to the Imperial revenue which the proposal would involve is estimated at not less than £500,000. A loss of so large an amount to the Imperial revenue raises very serious practical considerations, which applied hardly at all to the case of the concession made in the Finance Act of 1894. The loss would have to be made good; and it could only be made good by the imposition of other taxes. But my Lords would feel great difficulty in asking



Parliament to increase the burden on the general body of the tax-payers in this country, merely because some of their number draw their incomes from property situated in the Colonies.

(7.) Finally, I am to point out that the benefits which would accrue from the proposed exemption would be very unequally distributed.

It would apply only to incomes coming from Colonies in which an income tax was levied.

It must, however, be assumed that in Colonies where there is no income tax the burden of taxation, both on property and on individuals, is substantially the same as in Colonies where there is such a tax.

But under the proposal it is the latter class alone which would benefit.

In the other Colonies the income remitted to this country, though not liable to Colonial income tax, would nevertheless have paid its due share of Colonial taxation in some other form; but would obtain no relief here. The injustice, if any, of the present system would only be replaced by another.

For the reasons above set forth my Lords regret that they are unable to accept the suggestion made by the Memorialists.

I am, Sir, Your obedient servant,

FRANCIS MOWATT.

The Secretary, Royal Colonial Institute,  
Northumberland Avenue.

## INTER-BRITISH TRADE.

The following despatch of the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the subject of trade between the United Kingdom and the Colonies is published by direction of the Council for the information of Fellows:—

*Despatch to Governors of Colonies on the Question of Trade with the United Kingdom.*

Downing Street, November 28, 1895.

I am impressed with the extreme importance of securing as large a share as possible of the mutual trade of the United Kingdom and the Colonies for British producers and manufacturers, whether located in the Colonies or in the United Kingdom.

2. In the first place, therefore, I wish to investigate thoroughly the

extent to which in each of the Colonies foreign imports of any kind have displaced, or are displacing, similar British goods, and the causes of such displacement.

8. With this object, I take this opportunity of inviting the assistance of your Government in obtaining a return which will show for the years 1884, 1889, and 1894—

(a.) The value (if any) of all articles, specified in the classification annexed, imported into the Colony under your Government from any foreign country, or countries, whenever (and only when) the value of any article so imported from any foreign country or countries was 5 per cent. or upwards of the total value of that article imported into the Colony from all sources, whether within or without the British Empire, and when the total value of that article imported was not less than 500*l.*

(b.) The reasons which may have in each case induced the Colonial importer to prefer a foreign article to similar goods of British manufacture.

4. These reasons (which should take the shape of a report on each article, separately, of which the foreign import exceeded 5 per cent. of the whole import, and of which the total value imported was not less than 500*l.* as defined above) should be classified and discussed under one or other of the following heads:—

(a.) Price (delivered in the Colony) of the foreign article as compared with the British.

The term "price" is not intended to include the duty (if any) levied in a Colony; it is the ordinary price in bond, and this should be clearly understood in making the report.

But where it is found impossible to give any except the wholesale price (duty paid), this should be stated, and the exact amount of duty entering into the price should be given.

In treating of price, regard should be had to cost of transport, facility of communication with any given country, subsidies to shipping, special railway rates, bounties on export, terms of credit or payment given by British or foreign exporters, rates of discount, &c.

(b.) Quality and finish, as to which full particulars should be given.

(c.) Suitability of the goods for the market, their style or pattern.

In connection with this, and in illustration of the reasons for the displacement of British goods of any class, it is important that patterns or specimens of the goods preferred should be sent home, unless the bulk is very great. This will be necessary chiefly in those cases where the difference cannot be fairly described in writing.

(d.) Difference of making up or packing, as to which full particulars should be given.

(e.) False marking, such as piracy of trade marks, false indications of origin, or false indications of weight, measure, size, or number.

(f.) Any other cause which may exist should, of course, be stated.

It sometimes happens that imports which actually come from foreign countries pass through Great Britain and are included in Colonial statistics as British. Where this is a matter of common knowledge I shall be obliged to you if you will treat of these imports under the headings embraced in this paragraph, notwithstanding the fact that they are not distinguished in the returns.

5. With a view to facilitating the return, I annex to this despatch a draft of the form under which the particulars above requested may be returned; a list of commodities which is intended, as far as possible, to secure uniformity in making the return; and a schedule of instructions as to filling up the return, which I would beg you to commend to the attention of those on whom the preparation of the return may fall.

6. To select the best classification to guide your advisers in their investigations has been a task of some difficulty. Most Colonies have classifications of their own, usually admirable of their kind; but as they have been mainly compiled for the special tariff purposes of each Colony they differ considerably from one another, and do not afford a basis of classification generally applicable to all Colonies. I have therefore, on the whole, thought it best to adopt the condensed classification used by the Board of Trade in the Annual Statistical Abstract for the exports of the United Kingdom. At the same time I suggest that those responsible in each Colony for furnishing the returns for which I am asking should expand their return under each chief heading by such detailed sub-heads as may be suggested either by the ordinary Colonial returns, or by the course of trade in the particular Colony; and in this connexion I append a schedule of subdivisions suggested by various Chambers of Commerce in this country.

7. I am further desirous of receiving from you a return of any products of the Colony under your Government which might advantageously be exported to the United Kingdom or other parts of the British Empire, but do not at present find a sufficient market there, with any information, in regard to quality, price, or freight, which may be useful to British importers. I mention the matter here that you may be prepared with information; but I am contemplating the preparation of a further and fuller despatch on this branch of the subject.

8. I am well aware how much has been, and is being, done in this direction by the self-governing Colonies through the High Commissioner for Canada and through the Agents-General, and also by the Imperial Institute, the Royal Colonial Institute, and other public bodies.

I am glad to have this opportunity of expressing my admiration for the excellence of this work; but in a matter of such importance no additional efforts or opportunities of acquiring information can be superfluous.

9. I shall be glad to have these returns as soon as possible, and shall greatly appreciate your expedition in the matter.

I have the honour to be, your most obedient humble servant,

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

ANNEXE I.  
*Form of Return.*

Commodity.	Total Value of Importation.	Value of Importations from Foreign Countries.
	£	£
		a. France . . .
		b. Germany . . .
		c. United States, &c., &c. . . . .
		Total . . .

*Numbered List of Commodities for use according to the Instructions  
(Annexe II.) in making the Return.*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Alkali.</li> <li>2. Animals, horses.</li> <li>3. Apparel and slops.</li> <li>4. Arms and ammunition :—             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Firearms (small).</li> <li>b. Gunpowder.</li> <li>c. Of all other kinds.</li> </ol> </li> <li>5. Bags, empty.</li> <li>6. Beer and ale.</li> <li>7. Biscuit and bread.</li> <li>8. Bleaching materials.</li> <li>9. Books, printed.</li> <li>10. Butter.</li> <li>11. Candles of all sorts.</li> <li>12. Caoutchouc, manufactures of.</li> <li>13. Carriages and waggons, railway.</li> <li>14. Cement.</li> <li>15. Cheese.</li> <li>16. Chemical products and dye-stuffs.</li> <li>17. Clay, unmanufactured.</li> <li>18. Clocks and watches.</li> <li>19. Coals, &amp;c. :—             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Coals, cinders, and fuel.</li> <li>b. Products of coal (except dyes).</li> </ol> </li> <li>20. Cordage and twine.</li> <li>21. Corn :—             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Wheat.</li> <li>b. Wheat flour.</li> <li>c. Of other kinds.</li> </ol> </li> <li>22. Cotton yarn.</li> <li>23. Cotton manufactures :—             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Piece goods, white or plain.</li> <li>    "     "     printed, checked,<br/>            or dyed.</li> <li>    "     "     of mixed mate-<br/>            rials.</li> <li>b. Stockings and socks.</li> <li>c. Thread for sewing.</li> </ol> </li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>d. Lace and patent net.</li> <li>e. Hosiery and small wares.</li> <li>24. Earthen and china ware, including manufactures of clay.</li> <li>25. Fish :—             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Herrings.</li> <li>b. Of other sorts.</li> </ol> </li> <li>26. Furniture, cabinet and upholstery wares.</li> <li>27. Glass :—             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Plate, rough, or silvered.</li> <li>b. Flint.</li> <li>c. Common bottles.</li> <li>d. Of other sorts.</li> </ol> </li> <li>28. Grease, tallow, and animal fat.</li> <li>29. Haberdashery and millinery.</li> <li>30. Hardware and cutlery.</li> <li>31. Hats of all sorts.</li> <li>32. Implements and tools of industry.</li> <li>33. Instruments and apparatus :—             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Surgical, anatomical, and scientific.</li> </ol> </li> <li>34. Leather :—             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Unwrought.</li> <li>b. Wrought, boots and shoes.</li> <li>c.     "     of other sorts.</li> <li>d. Saddlery and harness.</li> </ol> </li> <li>35. Linen and jute yarn :—             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Linen yarn.</li> <li>b. Jute yarn.</li> </ol> </li> <li>36. Linen and jute manufactures :—             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Linen manufactures :—                 <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a.) White or plain.</li> <li>(b.) Printed, checked, or dyed.</li> <li>(c.) Sailcloth and sails.</li> <li>(d.) Thread for sewing.</li> <li>(e.) Of other sorts.</li> </ol> </li> <li>b. Jute manufactures.</li> </ol> </li> </ol> |
|---|---|

## 37. Machinery :—

a. Steam engines.

b. Of other sorts.

## 38. Manure.

## 39. Medicines.

## 40. Metals :—

a. Iron :—

(a.) Old, for re-manufacture.

(b.) Pig and Puddled.

(c.) Bar, angle, bolt and rod.

(d.) Railroad, of all sorts.

(e.) Wire.

(f.) Hoops, sheets, and boiler plates.

(g.) Tinned plates

(h.) Cast or wrought, and all other iron manufactures.

(i.) Steel, unwrought.

(k.) Manufactures of steel, or of steel and iron combined.

b. Copper :—

(a.) Unwrought :—  
Ingots, cakes, or slabs.(b.) Wrought or partly wrought :—  
Mixed or yellow metal.  
Of other sorts.

c. Brass of all sorts.

d. Lead, pig, sheet, and pipe.

e. Tin, unwrought.

f. Zinc, wrought and unwrought.

## 41. Musical instruments.

## 42. Oil and floor cloth.

## 43. Oil, seed.

## 44. Painters' colours and materials.

## 45. Paper (other than hangings).

## 46. Pickles, vinegar, and sauces.

## 47. Pictures.

## 48. Plate and plated ware.

## 49. Provisions, not otherwise described.

## 50. Rags and other materials for paper.

## 51. Salt.

## 52. Seeds of all sorts.

## 53. Silk, thrown, twist, and yarn.

## 54. Silk manufactures :—

a. Broad piece goods.

b. Of other kinds.

## 55. Skins and furs :—

a. British.

b. Foreign, British dressed.

## 56. Soap.

## 57. Spirits.

## 58. Stationery, other than paper.

## 59. Stones and slates.

Slate by tale.

## 60. Grindstones, millstones, and other sorts of stones.

## 61. Sugar, refined.

## 62. Telegraphic wire and apparatus.

## 63. Umbrellas and parasols.

64. Wood and timber manufactured :—  
Staves and empty casks and unenumerated.

## 65. Wool :—

a. Sheep and lambs'.

b. Flocks and rag wool.

c. Foreign, dressed in the United Kingdom.

d. Noils.

e. Waste.

f. Combed or carded and tops.

## 66. Woollen and worsted yarn.

## 67. Worsted and woollen manufactures :—

a. Woollen tissues :—

Heavy broad, all wool.

" " mixed.

Heavy narrow, all wool.

" " mixed.

Light broad, all wool.

Light broad, mixed.

Light narrow, all wool.

" " mixed.

b. Worsted coatings, broad, all wool.

Worsted coatings, broad, mixed.

Worsted coatings, narrow, all wool.

Worsted coatings, narrow, mixed.

c. Flannels.

d. Blankets.

e. Worsted stuffs, &amp;c., all wool.

Worsted stuffs, &amp;c., mixed.

f. Carpets and druggets.

g. Of all other sorts.

## 68. Yarn, alpaca, and mohair, and other sorts unenumerated.

## ANNEXE II.

*Instructions for filling up the Returns.*

1. Each article in the classified list which comes within the description in the despatch, *i.e.* of which the importation from all foreign countries amounts to 5 per cent. of the total importation of the article (not being less than 500*l.*), should be included in the return.

Articles in the list which do not answer that description in the case of the returning Colony should be omitted.

It has been thought better to present the Board of Trade classification as a whole, although some of the articles enumerated in it are not likely to be part of the importations into many of the Colonies.

2. Each article returned should be returned with the number prefixed to it in the list.

3. The list is general in its headings, and in making up the returns under those headings the actual articles of trade coming under each heading should be distinguished by sub-heads (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), &c., and by the general trade name under which the articles are sold in the returning Colony. The sub-heads will often be obtainable from the tariff classifications of the returning Colony; but, wherever possible, the principal merchants should be consulted, and the returns of commodities with the reports upon each should be elaborated in the light of their experience of the actual articles in demand in the Colony which are properly included under the general headings set down in the list.

4. The return of reasons &c. should be made in respect of each commodity in order, with the "list" number and sub-head index-letter prefixed for facility of reference

5. The return of reasons &c. should deal with each of the headings mentioned in the despatch in respect of each article returned, that is to say:—

(*a*.) Price. (N.B.—In the case of textile goods the "width" in inches should be given for each pattern.)

(*b*.) Quality.

(*c*.) Suitability.

(*d*.) Packing.

(*e*.) Other causes, in so far as they affect the choice of the article &c. uses by the consumer.

6. In sending home patterns a large discretion is left to each Colony, but it is desirable to include everything within reason in which the foreign style and pattern are preferred, *e.g.* spades, knives, tools; yarn and textile goods of every description; writing paper, &c.

Where patterns are sent, the fact should be recorded in the return, more than one pattern should, where possible, be sent, and each pattern should bear the "list" number of the commodity it refers to, the name of the country of its origin, and of the Colony from which it is transmitted.

7. The packages containing patterns of all goods sent from the Colony under your Government in response to this despatch should be consigned to the Secretary, London Chamber of Commerce, Eastcheap, London, E.C., as that Chamber of Commerce has undertaken the duty of housing and distributing the samples in this country, and of carrying out any expressed wish of any Colony in regard to their subsequent distribution and ultimate disposition.

The cases containing these patterns should be marked

L.C.C.

### ANNEXE III.

#### *Schedules of Suggestions made by the Chambers of Commerce for the better Subdivision of the Headings in the List of Commodities.*

No. of Heading in List.	Suggestions.
3. Subdivide as—	
(a) Men's.	
(b) Women's.	
After No. 9 add brushes.	
16. Make a separate head.	
Dyes :—	
(a) Natural.	
(b) Artificial.	
19. Add sub-heads :—	
(c) Coke.	
(d) Block or patent fuel.	
23. Add sub-heads before (e) :—	
Curtains.	
And instead of (e) —	
Hosiery.	
Shirts.	
Pants.	
Socks.	
30. Remove "cutlery" to separate head.	
Subdivide "hardware" as—	
(a) Files.	
(b) Saws.	
(c) Edge tools.	
(d) Engineers' tools.	
(e) Hollow-ware.	
Or another suggestion, as—	
Brass-foundry.	
Chandeliers.	
Gas and water fittings.	
Bedsteads.	
Cycles.	
Needles.	
Fish-hooks.	
Pens.	
Buttons.	
Hollow-ware.	

No. of Heading in List.	Suggestions.
	Chains.
	Tubes.
	Nails.
	Screws.
	Tin-ware.
31. Hats :—	
(a) Straw.	
(b) Other.	
2. Subdivide—	
(a) Spades, shovels, and forks.	
(b) Miners' tools.	
(c) Other tools.	
Or another suggestion :—	
(a) Agricultural.	
(b) Mining.	
(c) All others.	
37. Substitute for (b) —	
(b) Textile machinery.	
(c) Agricultural machinery.	
(d) Mining machinery.	
(e) Hydraulic machinery.	
(f) Electric lighting machinery.	
(g) Gas engines.	
Or another suggestion to make the heading—	
No. 37 Machinery :—	
(a) Agricultural.	
(b) Mining.	
(c) Steam Engines —	
Locomotive.	
All others.	
(d) All other.	
0. Substitute for iron :—	
a. Iron or steel.	
(a) Old, for re-manufacture.	
(b) Pig and puddled bars.	

No. of Heading in List.	Suggestions.	No. of Heading in List.	Suggestions.
b.	Iron and steel—	48.	Substitute—
(a)	Bar, angle, bolt, and rod.		Plate and plated goods :
(b)	Rails.	(a)	Silver ware.
(c)	Wheels, tyres, axles, &c.	(b)	Plated ware.
(d)	Hoops, sheets, and plates.	(c)	Britannia-metal ware.
(e)	Galvanised corrugated sheets.	And add :—	
(f)	Tinned plates.	(d)	Jewellery and personal ornaments.
(g)	Castings.	51.	Subdivide into :—
(h)	Wire.	(a)	Refined.
(i)	Unwrought.	(b)	Rock.
c.	Manufactures of iron and steel combined.	54.	Add to subdivisions :—
	Another suggestion to distinguish "steel railroad" of all sorts.	(c)	Lace and nets.
	And after "tin, unwrought" add "tin alloys, such as solder, pewter," &c.	57.	Specify subheads :—
45.	Subdivide into—		Whisky, &c.
(a)	Printing.	62.	Amend by inserting "telephonic" after "telegraphic."
(b)	Hangings.		Between Add a head :—
(c)	Writing.	62 and 63.	Tiles—
		(a)	For flooring.
		(b)	Glazed and decorated.
		67.	Subdivide according to the rather fuller table in the "Annual Statement of Trade."

*Note.*—Suggestion made by Agent-General for South Australia to add (between 63 and 64) Wine.



## GRANT

UNTO THE

## ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE

*Her Majesty's Royal Charter of Incorporation,*

DATED 26<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER, 1882.

---

**Victoria**, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen Defender of the Faith, Empress of India, **To all to whom** these Presents shall come Greeting.

**Whereas** HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS ALBERT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES, K.G., and HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER, K.P., have by their Petition humbly represented to Us that they are respectively the President and Chairman of the Council of a Society established in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, and called by Our Royal Authority the

Royal Colonial Institute, the objects of which Society are in various ways, and in particular by means of a place of Meeting, Library and Museum, and by reading papers, holding discussions, and undertaking scientific and other inquiries, as in the said Petition mentioned, to promote the increase and diffusion of knowledge respecting as well Our Colonies, Dependencies and Possessions, as Our Indian Empire, and the preservation of a permanent union between the Mother Country and the various parts of the British Empire, and that it would enable the said objects to be more effectually attained, and would be for the public advantage if We granted to His Royal Highness ALBERT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES, K.G., WILLIAM DROGO MONTAGU, DUKE OF MANCHESTER, K.P., and the other Fellows of the said Society, Our Royal Charter of Incorporation.

~~And whereas~~ it has been represented to Us that the said Society has, since its establishment, sedulously pursued the objects for which it was founded by collecting and diffusing information ; by publishing a Journal of Transactions ; by collecting a Library of Works relating to the British Colonies, Dependencies and Possessions, and to India ; by forming a Museum of Colonial and Indian productions and manufactures, and by undertaking from time to time scientific, literary, statistical, and other inquiries relating to Colonial and Indian Matters, and publishing the results thereof.

~~Now know We~~ that We, being desirous of encouraging a design so laudable and salutary, of Our especial

grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, have willed, granted and declared, and ~~do~~ by these presents for Us, Our heirs and successors, will, grant and declare in manner following, that is to say :—

1. HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS ALBERT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES, and HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER, and such other of Our Loving Subjects as now are Fellows of the said Society, or shall from time to time be duly admitted Fellows thereof, and their successors, are hereby constituted, and shall for ever hereafter be by virtue of these presents one body politic and corporate by the name of the Royal Colonial Institute, and for the purposes aforesaid, and by the name aforesaid, shall have perpetual succession and a Common Seal, with full power and authority to alter, vary, break, and renew the same at their discretion, and by the same name to sue and be sued in every Court of Us, Our heirs and successors, and be for ever able and capable in the law to purchase, receive, possess, hold and enjoy to them and their successors, any goods and chattels whatsoever, and to act in all the concerns of the said body politic and corporate as effectually for all purposes as any other of Our liege subjects, or any other body politic or corporate in the United Kingdom, not being under any disability, might do in their respective concerns.

2. **The Royal Colonial Institute** (in this Charter hereinafter called the Institute) may, notwithstanding the statutes of mortmain, take, purchase, hold and enjoy to them and their successors a Hall, or House, and any

such messuages or hereditaments of any tenure as may be necessary for carrying out the purposes of the Institute, but so that the yearly value thereof to be computed at the rack rent which might be gotten for the same at the time of the purchase or other acquisition, and including the site of the said Hall, or House, do not exceed in the whole the sum of TEN THOUSAND POUNDS. **And We do** hereby grant Our especial Licence and authority unto all and every person and persons, bodies politic and corporate (otherwise competent), to grant, sell, alien and convey in mortmain unto and to the use of the Institute and their successors any messuages or hereditaments not exceeding the annual value aforesaid.

3. **There** shall be a Council of the Institute, and the said Council and General Meetings of the Fellows to be held in accordance with this Our Charter shall, subject to the provisions of this Our Charter, have the entire management and direction of the concerns of the Institute.

4. **There** shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, and a Secretary of the Institute. The Council shall consist of the President, Vice-Presidents, and not less than twenty Councillors; and the Secretary, if honorary.

5. HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS ALBERT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES, shall be the first President of the Institute, and the other persons now being Vice-Presidents and

Members of the Council of the Institute shall be the first Members of the Council, and shall continue such until an election of Officers is made under these presents.

6. ~~The~~ General Meeting of the Fellows of the Institute shall be held once in every year, or oftener, and may be adjourned from time to time, if necessary, for the following purposes, or any of them :—

(a) The election of the President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and other Members of the Council.

(b) The making, repeal, or amendment of rules and bye-laws for the Government of the Institute, for the regulation of its proceedings, for the admission or expulsion of Fellows, for the fixing of the number and functions of the Officers of the Institute, and for the management of its property and business generally.

(c) The passing of any other necessary or proper resolution or regulation concerning the affairs of the Institute.

7. ~~The~~ General Meetings and adjourned General Meetings of the Institute shall take place (subject to the rules of the Institute and to any power of convening or demanding a Special General Meeting thereby given) at such times as may be fixed by the Council.

8. ~~The~~ existing rules of the Institute, so far as not inconsistent with these presents, shall continue in force

until and except so far as they are altered by any General Meeting.

9. **The** Council shall have the sole management of the income, funds, and property of the Institute, and may manage and superintend all other affairs of the Institute, and appoint and dismiss at their pleasure all salaried and other officers, attendants and servants as they may think fit, and may, subject to these presents and the rules of the Institute, do all such things as shall appear to them necessary and expedient for giving effect to the objects of the Institute.

10. **The** Council shall once in every year present to a General Meeting a report of the proceedings of the Institute, together with a statement of the receipts and expenditure, and of the financial position of the Institute, and every Fellow of the Institute may, at reasonable times to be fixed by the Council, examine the accounts of the Institute.

11. **The** Council may, with the approval of a General Meeting, from time to time appoint fit persons to be Trustees of any part of the real or personal property of the Institute, and may make or direct any transfer of such property necessary for the purposes of the trust, or may at their discretion take in the corporate name of the Institute Conveyances or Transfers of any property capable of being held in that name. Provided that no sale, mortgage, incumbrance or other disposition of any hereditaments belonging to the Institute shall be made unless with the approval of a General Meeting.

12. **No Rule, Bye-law, Resolution** or other proceeding shall be made or had by the Institute, or any Meeting thereof, or by the Council, contrary to the General Scope or true intent and meaning of this Our Charter, or the laws or statutes of Our Realm, and anything done contrary to this present clause shall be void.

**In Witness** whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent.

**Witness** Ourself at Our Palace at Westminster, the Twenty-sixth of September in the Forty-sixth year of Our Reign.

**By Her Majesty's Command.**

L.S.

CARDEW.

# LIST OF FELLOWS.

(Those marked \* are Honorary Fellows.)  
(Those marked † have compounded for life.)

## RESIDENT FELLOWS.

Year of  
Election.

- 1872 ABRAHAM, AUGUSTUS B., *Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*  
1886 †ACLAND, CAPTAIN WILLIAM A.D., R.N., *Woodvale, Cowes, I.W. and Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W.*  
1886 †ADAM, SIR CHARLES E., BART., 3 *New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.*, and *Blair-Adam, Kinross-shire, N.B.*  
1893 ADAMS, GEORGE, *Crichton Club, Adelphi Terrace, W.C.*  
1889 ADAMS, JAMES, 9 *Gracechurch Street, E.C.*  
1874 ADDERLEY, SIR AUGUSTUS J., K.C.M.G., 4 *Douro Place, Kensington, W.*  
1896 AGAR, EDWARD LARFENT, *Hilly Mead, Wimbledon.*  
1887 AGIUS, EDWARD T., 101 *Leadenhall Street, E.C.*; and *Malta.*  
1879 AITCHISON, DAVID, 5 *Pembridge Square, Bayswater, W.*  
1879 AITKEN, ALEXANDER M., *Drumearn, Comrie, N.B.*  
1896 AKEROYD, JAMES B., *Chester Court, Wandsworth Common, S.W.*  
1886 ALCOCK, JOHN, 111 *Cambridge Gardens, North Kensington, W.*  
1885 †ALDENHOVEN, JOSEPH FRANK, *St. Dunstan's Buildings, St. Dunstan's Hill, E.C.*  
1882 ALGER, JOHN, 29 *Pennywern Road, Earl's Court, S.W.*, and *Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*  
1869 ALLEN, CHARLES H., 17 *Well Walk, Hampstead, N.W.*  
1896 ALLEN, RICHMOND R., F.R.C.S.I., 2 *West Hill, Dartford.*  
1880 †ALLEN, ROBERT, 19 *Lansdowne Road, Bedford.*  
1880 ALLPORT, W. M., 63 *St. James's Street, S.W.*  
1893 ALSOP, THOMAS W., *Falkirk Iron Co., 67 Upper Thames Street, E.C.*  
1896 AMES, EDWARD, 27 *Manor Park, Lee, S.E.*  
1879 ANDERSON, A. W., *Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*  
1875 †ANDERSON, EDWARD R., *care of Messrs. Murray, Roberts & Co., Dunedin, New Zealand.*  
1890 ANDERSON, JOHN KINGDON, 5 *Cleveland Square, Hyde Park, W.*; and 16 *St. Helen's Place, E.C.*  
1891 ANDERSON, W. HERBERT, *Rupert Lodge, Burnham, Maidenhead.*  
1875 ANDERSON, W. J., 34 *Westbourne Terrace, W.*  
1894 ANDREW, DONALD, 16 *Philpot Lane, E.C.*



Year of  
Election.

- 1887 ANDREWS, WILLIAM, M. Inst. C.E., 7 *Park Crescent, Tonbridge, Kent.*
- 1889 ANSDILL, CARROL W., *Farm Field, Horley, Surrey.*
- 1896 †APPLEYARD, CAPTAIN R. L., *Shepperton, Middlesex; and Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly, W.*
- 1873 ARBUTHNOT, COLONEL G., R.A., 5 *Belgrave Place, S.W.; and Carlton Club, S.W.*
- 1890 ARBUTHNOT, JAMES W., *Elderslie, Dorking.*
- 1894 ARBUTHNOT, WM. RIERSON, *Plaw Hatch, East Grinstead.*
- 1881 ARCHER, THOMAS, C.M.G., *Woodlands, Lawrie Park, Sydenham, S.E.*
- 1868 ARGYLL, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.G., K.T., *Argyll Lodge, Campden Hill, Kensington, W.; and Inveraray Castle, Argyleshire.*
- 1883 †ARMITAGE, JAMES ROBERTSON, 79 *St. George's Road, S.W.*
- 1891 ARMSTRONG, W. C. HEATON-, 4 *Portland Place, W.; and 34 Old Broad Street, E.C.*
- 1888 ARMYTAGE, GEORGE F., 33 *Campden House Road, Kensington, W.*
- 1888 †ARMYTAGE, OSCAR FERDINAND, M.A., 59 *Queen's Gate, S.W.; and New University Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*
- 1889 ARNOTT, DAVID T., *Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1891 ASHBY, CAPTAIN WILLIAM, 26 *Leadenhall Street, E.C.*
- 1895 †ASHCROFT, EDGAR A., A.M.I.E.E., *care of Messrs. A. Gibbs & Sons, 15 Bishopsgate Street, E.C.*
- 1874 ASHLEY, RIGHT HON. EVELYN, *Broadlands, Romsey, Hants.*
- 1891 †ASHMAN, REV. J. WILLIAMS, M.A., M.D., *National Club, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.*
- 1896 ASHTON, RALPH S., B.A., 10 *Lansdown Road, Lee, S.E.*
- 1879 ASHWOOD, JOHN, *care of Messrs. Cox & Co., 16 Charing Cross, S.W.*
- 1889 ASTLE, W. G. DEVON, 61 *Old Broad Street, E.C.*
- 1883 †ASTLEFORD, JOSEPH, *National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, S.W.*
- 1874 †ATKINSON, CHARLES E., *Algoa Lodge, Brackley Road, Beckenham, Kent.*
- 1892 ATTENBOROUGH, MARK, 141 *Alexandra Road, South Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1879 ATTLEE, HENRY, 10 *Billiter Square, E.C.*
- 1885 AUBERTIN, JOHN JAMES, 33 *Duke Street, St. James's, S.W.*
- 1887 AUSTIN, HUGH W., 50 *Crystal Palace Park Road, Sydenham, S.E.*
- 1893 AUSTIN, REV. W. G. GARDINER, M.A., *Stanway Rectory, Colchester.*
- 1894 BACKHOUSE, RICHARD ONIANS, *Bridgnorth, Salop.*
- 1880 BADCOCK, PHILIP, 4 *Aldridge Road Villas, Bayswater, W.*
- 1879 BADEN-POWELL, SIR GEORGE S., K.C.M.G., M.P., M.A., F.R.A.S., F.S.S., 114 *Eaton Square, S.W.*
- 1883 BAILEY, FRANK, 59 *Mark Lane, E.C.*
- 1888 BAILLIE, JAMES R., *Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*
- 1888 †BAILLIE, RICHARD H., *Royal Thames Yacht Club, Albemarle Street, W.*
- 1882 †BAILWARD, A. W., *Horsington Manor, Wincanton, Somerset.*
- 1894 BAKER, ALBERT POMEROY, 57 *Deansgate, Manchester.*
- 1885 †BALDWIN, ALFRED, M.P., 25 *Dover Street, W.; and Wilden House, near Stourport.*
- 1884 BALFOUR, B. R., *Townley Hall, Drogheda, Ireland; and Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly, W.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1886 BALME, CHARLES, 61 *Basinghall Street, E.C.*
- 1881 †BANKS, EDWIN HODGE, *High Moor, Wigton, Cumberland.*
- 1891 BANNERMAN, G. LESLIE, 3 *Pump Court, Temple, E.C.*
- 1892 BARBER, ALFRED J., *Castlemore, Hornsey Lane, N.; and Midland Railway Company of Western Australia, 38 New Broad Street, E.C.*
- 1895 BARBER, LUDWIG G., 2 *Drapers Gardens E.C.*
- 1894 BARCLAY, JOHN, *Junior Constitutional Club, Piccadilly, W.*
- 1889 †BARING-GOULD, F., *Marrow Grange, Guildford.*
- 1891 BARKER, WILLIAM HENRY, 8 *Finch Lane, E.C.*
- 1877 BARKLY, SIR HENRY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., 1 *Bina Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.*
- 1884 BARNARD, H. WYNDHAM, 2 *Terrace Houses, Richmond Hill, S.W.*
- 1895 BARNETT, ALFRED, *The White House, Telegraph Street, E.C.*
- 1868 BARR, E. G., 76 *Holland Park, Kensington, W.*
- 1883 BARRATT, WALTER, *Netley Abbey, Hants.*
- 1895 BARRON, THOMAS M., *Church Row, Darlington.*
- 1888 BARRY, JAMES H., *Ryecotes, Dulwich Common, S.E.; and 110 Cannon Street, E.C.*
- 1894 BARSORF, AUGUST, 32 *Pembridge Square, Bayswater, W.*
- 1894 BATLEY, SIDNEY T., 16 *Great George Street, S.W.; and St. Stephen's Club, Westminster, S.W.*
- 1887 BAXTER, ALEXANDER B., *Australian Joint Stock Bank, 2 King William Street, E.C.*
- 1884 BAXTER, CHARLES E., 15 *Blomfield Road, Maida Hill, W.*
- 1885 †BAZLEY, GARDNER SEBASTIAN, *Hatherop Castle, Fairford, Gloucestershire,*
- 1893 BEALEY, ADAM, M.D., *Filsham Lodge, St. Leonards-on-Sea.*
- 1879 BEALEY, SAMUEL, 23 *Lansdowne Road, Tunbridge Wells.*
- 1890 BEAN, EDWIN, M.A. Oxon., *Sir A. Brown's Grammar School, Brentwood, Esser.*
- 1890 BEARR, SAMUEL PRATER, *The Oaks, Thorpe, Norwich.*
- 1890 BEARE, PROF. T. HUDSON, B.Sc., *Park House, King's Road, Richmond, S.W.*
- 1885 BEATTIE, JOHN A. B., 4 *St. Andrew's Place, Regent's Park, N.W.*
- 1884 BEATTIE, WM. COPLAND, *Frendraught House, Forgeue, Huntly, N.B.*
- 1890 BEAUCHAMP, HENRY HERRON, 91 *Addison Road, W.*
- 1894 BEAUMONT, JOHN, *c/o New Zealand Loan & Agency Co., Portland House, Basinghall Street, E.C.*
- 1884 BEDWELL, COMMANDER E. P., R.N., 20 *Upper Westbourne Terrace, W.*
- 1876 BEETON, HENRY C., 2 *Adamson Road, South Hampstead, N.W.; and 33 Finsbury Circus, E.C.*
- 1889 BEGG, F. FAITHFULL, M.P., *Bartholomew House, E.C.*
- 1879 †BELL, D. W., J.P., 77 *Holland Park, W.*
- 1878 BELL, JOHN, 13 *Fenchurch Avenue, E.C.*
- 1885 BELL, MACKENZIE, F.R.S.L., *Elmstead, Carlton Road, Putney, S.W.*
- 1890 BELL, THOMAS, 47 *Belsize Avenue, N.W.*
- 1883 BELL, MAJOR WILLIAM MORRISON, *Hann, Birchington, Kent.*
- 1890 BENNETT, JAMES M., 1 *Northumberland Avenue, Putney, S.W.*
- 1886 †BENSON, ARTHUR H., 62 *Ludgate Hill, E.C.*
- 1891 BENSON, LIEUT.-COLONEL F. W., *Hyde Park Club, Albert Gate, S.W.*
- 1896 BEETRAM, ANTON, 1 *Temple Gardens, E.C.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1883 †BETHELL, CHARLES, *Ellesmere House, Templeton Place, Earl's Court, S.W. and 22 Billiter Street, E.C.*
- 1888 BETHELL, COMMANDER G. R., R.N., M.P., *43 Curson Street, Mayfair, W. and Rise, Holderness, Yorkshire.*
- 1884 BEVAN, FRANCIS AUGUSTUS, *59 Princess Gate, S.W.*
- 1881 BEVAN, WILLIAM ARMIN, *City of London Club, Old Broad Street, E.C.*
- 1894 BHUMGARA, JAMSITJEE S., *135 London Wall, E.C.*
- 1886 BIDDISCOMBE, J. R., *Elmington, Eltham Road, Lee, S.E.; and 101 Leadenhall Street, E.C.*
- 1889 BILLINGHURST, H. F., *London & Westminster Bank, Lothbury, E.C.*
- 1891 †BINNIE, GEORGE, *4D Station, Quirindi, New South Wales.*
- 1868 BIRCH, SIR ARTHUR N., K.C.M.G., *Bank of England, Burlington Gardens, W.*
- 1887 BLACK, SURGEON-MAJOR WM. GALT, *2 George Square, Edinburgh.*
- 1890 BLACKWOOD, GEORGE R., *Isthmian Club, Piccadilly, W.*
- 1883 BLACKWOOD, JOHN H., *16 Upper Grosvenor Street, W.*
- 1889 BLAKE, ARTHUR P., *Sunbury Park, Sunbury-on-Thames; and Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*
- 1895 BLANDFORD, JOSEPH J. G., B.A., M.R.C.S.E., *St. Luke's Asylum, Old Street, E.C.*
- 1883 BLECKLY, CHARLES ARNOLD, *61 King William Street, E.C.*
- 1889 BLISS, LEWIS H., *88 Philbeach Gardens, S.W.; and 6 Laurence Pountney Lane, E.C.*
- 1895 BLOFELD, FRANK, *13 Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.*
- 1886 BLYTH, WILLIAM, *8 Great Winchester Street, E.C.*
- 1886 BOHM, WILLIAM, *23 Old Jewry, E.C.*
- 1881 BOIS, HENRY, *5 Astwood Road, South Kensington, S.W.*
- 1882 BOLLING, FRANCIS, *2 Laurence Pountney Hill, E.C.*
- 1882 BOMPAS, HENRY MASON, Q.C., *145 Ashley Gardens, Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1890 BOND, FRANK WALTERS, *117 Leadenhall Street, E.C.*
- 1896 BOND, FREDERICK WILLIAM, *15 Dorset Square, N.W.*
- 1873 BONWICK, JAMES, *Yarra Yarra, South Vale, Upper Norwood, S.E.*
- 1887 BOOKER, GEORGE W., *Avonrath, Magherafelt, Ireland.*
- 1891 BOOKER, J. DAWSON, *care of National Bank of Australasia, 123 Bishopsgate Street, E.C.*
- 1895 BORROW, REV. HENRY J., B.A., *The Old Palace, Bekesbourne, Canterbury.*
- 1883 †BORTON, REV. N. A. B., M.A., *Burwell Vicarage, Cambridge.*
- 1894 BOSANQUET, RICHARD A., *Mardens, Hildenborough, Kent.*
- 1886 †BOSTOCK, HEWITT, *The Hermitage, Walton Heath, Epsom.*
- 1889 †BOSTOCK, SAMUEL, *The Cottage, Walton Heath, Epsom.*
- 1890 BOSWELL, W. A., *34 Walpole Street, Chelsea, S.W.*
- 1886 BOULT, WM. HOLKER, *15 Queen Street, Cheapside, E.C.*
- 1882 †BOULTON, HAROLD E., M.A., *12 Evelyn Mansions, Cartisle Place, Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1882 †BOULTON, S. B., *Copped Hall, Totteridge, Herts.*
- 1881 BOURNE, HENRY, *Hollbrook, London Road, Redhill, Surrey.*
- 1889 BOURNE, H. R. FOX, *41 Priory Road, Bedford Park, Chiswick.*
- 1892 BOURNE, ROBERT WILLIAM, C.E., *18 Hereford Square, S.W.*
- 1878 BOURNE, STEPHEN, F.S.S., *5 Lansdown Road, Lee, S.E.*
- 1881 BOWEN, RIGHT HON. SIR GEORGE F., G.C.M.G., *75 Cadogan Square, S.W.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1893 BOWLEY, EDWIN, F.S.S., 78 *South Hill Park, Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1881 BOYD, JAMES R., *Devonshire Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*
- 1893 BOYD-CARPENTER, H., M.A., *The Palace, Ripon; and King's College, Cambridge.*
- 1881 BOYLE, LIONEL R. C., *Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1887 †BRADBERRY, THOMAS R., *Melfont, Shootup Hill, Cricklewood, N.W.*
- 1884 BRADFORD, FRANCIS RICHARD, *care of County of Gloucester Bank, Swindon.*
- 1885 BRANDON, HENRY, 4 *Kent Gardens, Castle Hill Park, Ealing, W.*
- 1889 BRASSEY, THE HON. THOMAS ALLNUTT, 23 *Park Lane, W.; and Park Gates, Battle.*
- 1888 BREITMEYER, LUDWIG, 29 & 30 *Holborn Viaduct, E.C.*
- 1881 BREX, JOHN GEORGE, 59 *Gresham Street, E.C.*
- 1884 BRIGHT, CHARLES E., C.M.G., 12 *Queen's Gate Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.; and Wyndham Club, S.W.*
- 1882 BRIGHT, SAMUEL, 5 *Huskiasson Street, Liverpool; and Raleigh Club, Regent Street, S.W.*
- 1886 BRISCOM, WILLIAM ARTHUR, *Somerford Hall, Brewood, Stafford.*
- 1884 BRISTOW, H. J., *The Mount, Upton, Bexley Heath, Kent.*
- 1889 BROCKLEHURST, EDWARD, J.P., *Kinnersley Manor, Reigate.*
- 1878 BRODRIBB, KENRIC E., *care of Bank of Australasia, 4 Threadneedle St., E.C.*
- 1890 BRODZIAK, A., 27 *Randolph Crescent, Maida Vale, W.; and 8 Wool Exchange, E.C.*
- 1881 †BROOKES, T. W. (late M.L.C., Bengal), 120 *Ashley Gardens, S.W.*
- 1895 BROOKMAN, WILLIAM GORDON, 44 *Holland Park Terrace, W.*
- 1879 †BROOKS, HERBERT, 9 *Hyde Park Square, W.; and St. Peter's Chambers, Cornhill, E.C.*
- 1886 BROOKS, H. TABOR, *St. Peter's Chambers, Cornhill, E.C.*
- 1887 BROOKS, SIR WILLIAM CUNLIFFE, BART., 5 *Grosvenor Square, W.; and 1 Forest of Glen-Tuna, Aboyne, N.B.*
- 1882 BROWN, ALEXANDER M., M.D., 73 *Bessborough Street, St. George's Square S.W.*
- 1881 BROWN, ALFRED H., *St. Elmo, Calverley Park Gardens, Tunbridge Wells.*
- 1885 BROWN, OSWALD, M.Inst.C.E., 32 *Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1881 BROWN, THOMAS, 57 *Cochrane Street, Glasgow.*
- 1884 BROWN, THOMAS, 1 *Palace Houses, Kensington Gardens, W.*
- 1892 BROWNE, ARTHUR SCOTT, *Buckland Filleigh, Highampton, North Devon.*
- 1894 BROWNE, EDWARD WM., F.S.S., *Colonial Mutual Life Assurance Co., 33 Poultry, E.C.*
- 1883 BROWNE, JOHN HARRIS, *Adelaide Club, South Australia.*
- 1883 BROWNING, ARTHUR GIRAUD, Assoc.Inst.C.E., 16 *Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1877 BROWNING, S. B., 125 *Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.*
- 1895 BRUCE-JOY, ALBERT, R.H.A., *care of Messrs. T. Agnew & Sons, 39B Old Bond Street, W.*
- 1892 BRUNING, CONRAD, 101 *Priory Road, West Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1884 BUCHANAN, BENJAMIN, Messrs. *Goldsbrough, Mort, & Co., 149 Leadenhall Street, E.C.*
- 1889 BUCHANAN, JAMES, 20 *Bucklersbury, E.C.*
- 1896 BUCKLAND, JAMES, 22 *Cavendish Square, W.*
- 1886 BULL, HENRY, 28 *Milton Street, E.C.; and Drove, Chichester.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1869 BULWER, SIR HENRY E. G., G.C.M.G., 17A South Audley Street, W.; and  
*Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1894 BURKE, ASHWORTH P., 121 Victoria Street, S.W.
- 1890 BURKE, H. FARNHAM, *College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.*
- 1890 BURNIE, ALFRED, 12 Holly Village, Highgate, N.
- 1889 BURT, FREDERICK N., *Sloe House, Halstead, Essex.*
- 1894 BUSHBY, HENRY NORTH G., J.P., *Walsingham House, 153 Piccadilly,  
W.; and Wormsleybury, Broxbourne, Herts.*
- 1882 BUTCHART, ROBERT G., 26 Fawcett Street, Redcliffe Gardens, S.W.
- 1887 BUTT, JOHN H., 1 Bank Buildings, Lothbury, E.C.
- 1894 †BUXTON, NOEL E., *Woodredon, Waltham Abbey, Essex.*
- 1881 CADDY, PASCOE, *Holly Lodge, Elmer's End, Kent.*
- 1894 CAINE, WM. SPROSTON, 33 North Side, Clapham Common, S.W.
- 1886 †CALDECOTT, REV. PROFESSOR ALFRED, B.D., *Lopham Rectory, Thetford.*
- 1889 CALVERT, JAMES, 22 Throgmorton Street, E.C.
- 1896 CAMERON, ALLAN GORDON, *Barcaldine, Ledaig, Argyllshire, N.B.*
- 1896 CAMERON, EWEN, *Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, 31 Lombard Street,  
E.C.*
- 1895 †CAMERON, MAJOR MAURICE A., R.E., 27 Brunswick Gardens, W.
- 1881 †CAMPBELL, ALLAN, 21 Upper Brook Street, W.
- 1880 CAMPBELL, FINLAY, *Brantridge Park, Balcombe, Sussex.*
- 1883 CAMPBELL, SIR GEORGE W. R., K.C.M.G., 50 Cornwall Gardens, S.W.
- 1894 CAMPBELL, GORDON H., *Hyde Park Court, S.W.*
- 1887 CAMPBELL, MORTON, *Stracathro House, Brechin, Forfarshire.*
- 1882 †CAMPBELL, HON. WILLIAM, 19 Portman Square, W.
- 1884 †CAMPBELL, W. MIDDLETON, 23 Rood Lane, E.C.
- 1893 CAMPBELL-JOHNSTON, CONWAY S., 3 Morpeth Terrace, Victoria Street, S.W.
- 1892 CANTLON, COLONEL LOUIS M., *Ivor House, Barnet Gate, Barnet.*
- 1868 †CARLINGFORD, RIGHT HON. LORD, K.P., *Athenæum Club, Pall Mall,  
S.W.*
- 1891 CARRINGTON, RIGHT HON. EARL, G.C.M.G., 50 Grosvenor Street, W.
- 1888 CARRUTHERS, JOHN, M.Inst.C.E., 19 Kensington Park Gardens, W.
- 1894 CARTER, FREDERIC, *Marden Ash, Ongar, Essex.*
- 1880 †CARTER, WILLIAM H., B.A., 9 Bush Lane, Cannon Street, E.C.
- 1894 CASELLA, LOUIS MARINO, 47 Fitzjohn's Avenue, N.W.; and *Vachery,  
Cranleigh, Surrey.*
- 1885 CAUTLEY, COLONEL HENRY, R.E., 55 Albert Hall Mansions; and *Junior  
United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W.*
- 1893 CAWSTON, GEORGE, 56 Upper Brook Street, W.
- 1884 CAYFORD, EBENEZER, 146 Leadenhall Street, E.C.
- 1879 CHADWICK, OSBERT, C.E., C.M.G., 11 Airlie Gardens, Campden Hill, W.
- 1885 CHALLINOR, E. J., 7F Cornwall Residences, Clarence Gate, N.W.
- 1889 CHAMBERS ARTHUR, *Briar Lea, Mortimer, Berks.*
- 1889 †CHAMBERS, FREDERICK D., 1 Port Vale Terrace, Hertford.
- 1895 CHANDLER, JOHN E., F.R.G.S., *Frenches Park, Crawley Down, Sussex.*
- 1892 CHAPLIN, HOLROYD, B.A., 19 Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.
- 1892 CHAPMAN, EDWARD, *Wynnestay, Bedford Park, Croydon.*
- 1884 CHAPPELL, JOHN, 24 Basinghall Street, E.C.
- 1892 CHARLESWORTH, HENRY E., *c/o British Consul, Seoul, Corea.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1883 †CHARRINGTON, ARTHUR F., *Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*  
 1885 †CHARRINGTON, HUGH SPENCER, *Dove Cliff, Burton-on-Trent.*  
 1894 †CHADLE, FRANK M., *Sandringham House, 139A Alexandra Road, N.W.*  
 1886 CHADLE, WALTER BUTLER, M.D., *19 Portman Street, Portman Square, W.*  
 1893 CHISHOLM, JAMES, *Addiscombe Lodge, East Croydon.*  
 1873 CHOWN, T. C., *Glenmore, Silverhill, St. Leonards-on-Sea; and Thatched House Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*  
 1868 CHRISTIAN, H.R.H. PRINCE, K.G., *Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park.*  
 1892 CHRISTIE, D. A. TRAILL, *7 Holland Villas Road, Kensington, W.; and Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*  
 1884 CHRISTMAS, HARRY WILLIAM, *42A Bloomsbury Square, W.C.*  
 1885 CHUMLEY, JOHN, *Standard Bank of South Africa, 10 Clement's Lane, E.C.*  
 1894 CHURCH, WALTER, *19 Nevern Mansions, Earls Court, S.W.*  
 1895 †CHURCHILL, COLONEL MACKENZIE, *Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*  
 1881 CHURCHILL, CHARLES, *Weybridge Park, Surrey; and 37 Portman Square, W.*  
 1895 CIANTAR, UMBERTO, *Park House, Maitland Park Road, N.W.*  
 1883 CLARENCE, LOVELL BURCHETT, *Coaxden, Arminster.*  
 1888 CLARK, ALFRED A., *Ladye Place, Hurley, Great Marlow.*  
 1872 CLARK, CHARLES, *45 Lee Road, Blackheath, S.E.*  
 1877 CLARK, JAMES MCCOSH, *Wentworth House, John Street, Hampstead, N.W.*  
 1891 CLARK, JONATHAN, *1 Devonshire Terrace, Portland Place, W.*  
 1868 CLARKE, LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR ANDREW, R.E., G.C.M.G., C.B., C.I.E., *42 Portland Place, W.; and United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*  
 1890 CLARKE, LT.-COLONEL SIR GEORGE SYDENHAM, R.E., K.C.M.G., *24 Cheniston Gardens, Kensington, W.*  
 1884 †CLARKE, HENRY, *Cannon Hall, Hampstead, N.W.; and 17 Gracechurch Street, E.C.*  
 1886 CLARKE, PERCY, LL.B., *College Hill Chambers, E.C.*  
 1889 †CLARKE, STRACHAN C., *Messrs. J. Morrison & Co., 4 Fenchurch St., E.C.*  
 1882 †CLARKSON, J. STEWART, *Croydon, Queensland.*  
 1880 CLAYDEN, ARTHUR, *Holmedale, Dudley Road, Clive Vale, Hastings.*  
 1886 †CLAYTON, REGINALD B. B., *88 Bishopsgate Street, E.C.*  
 1891 †CLAYTON, WM. WIKLEY, C.E., *Gipton Lodge, Leeds.*  
 1896 CLEAVER, WILLIAM, *The Rock, Reigate.*  
 1893 CLEGHORN, ROBERT C., *14 St. Mary Axe, E.C.*  
 1877 CLENCH, FREDERICK, M.I.M.E., *The Shrubberies, Chesterfield.*  
 1885 CLOWES, W. C. KNIGHT, *Duke Street, Stamford Street, S.E.*  
 1896 †COATES, MAJOR EDWARD F., *99 Gresham Street, E.C.*  
 1881 COBB, ALFRED B., *99 Guilford Street, W.C.*  
 1877 COCHRAN, JAMES, *38 Hyde Park Gate, S.W.*  
 1895 COCHRANE, HON. THOMAS H., M.P., *12 Queen's Gate, S.W., and Crawford Priory, Cupar, Fife, N.B.*  
 1895 COHEN, HIRSCHEL, *23 Streatley Road, Brondesbury, N.W.*  
 1886 †COHEN, NATHANIEL L., *3 Devonshire Place, W.; and Round Oak, Englefield Green, Surrey.*  
 1885 COLES, WILLIAM R. E., *1 Adelaide Buildings, London Bridge, E.C.*  
 1887 COLLISON, HENRY CLERKE, *17B Great Cumberland Place, W.; and National Club, 1 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.*  
 1882 †COLLUM, REV. HUGH ROBERT, M.R.I.A., F.S.S., *The Vicarage, Leigh, Tonbridge, Kent.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1882 COLMER, JOSEPH G., C.M.G. (Secretary to High Commissioner for Canada),  
17 *Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1872 COLOMB, SIR JOHN C.B., K.C.M.G., M.P., *Dromquinna, Kenmare, Co. Kerry,  
Ireland*; 75 *Belgrave Road, S.W.*; and *Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1896 COMBE, RICHARD, 33 *Lennox Gardens, S.W.*
- 1890 CONYBEARE, CHARLES A. V., 47 *Halsey Street, S.W.*, and *National Liberal  
Club, Whitehall Place, S.W.*
- 1880 COODE, J. CHARLES, C.E., 19 *Fredland Road, Ealing, W.*
- 1874 †COODE, M. P., 13 *Penlee, Devonport.*
- 1886 †COOKE, HENRY M., 12 *Friday Street, E.C.*
- 1882 COOPER, REV. CHARLES J., *The Rectory, Mundford, Norfolk.*
- 1874 COOPER, SIR DANIEL, BART., G.C.M.G., 6 *De Vere Gardens, Kensington  
Palace, W.*
- 1882 COOPER, JOHN ASTLEY, *St. Stephen's Club, Westminster, S.W.*
- 1884 COOPER, ROBERT ELLIOTT, C.E., 81 *Lancaster Gate, W.*; and 8 *The  
Sanctuary, Westminster, S.W.*
- 1891 COOPER, WILLIAM C., 21 *Upper Grosvenor Street, W.*
- 1895 CORDING, GEORGE, 304 *Camden Road, N.W.*
- 1882 CORK, NATHANIEL, *Commercial Bank of Sydney, 18 Birchin Lane, E.C.*
- 1887 COTTON, SYDNEY H., 27 *St. Mary Axe, E.C.*; and *Devonshire Club, St.  
James's Street, S.W.*
- 1892 COURTHOPE, WILLIAM F., *National Club, 1 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.*
- 1886 COWIE, GEORGE, 81 *Philbeach Gardens, S.W.* and 113 *Cannon Street, E.C.*
- 1886 COX, ALFRED W., 30 *St. James's Place, S.W.*
- 1889 COX, FRANK L., 107 *Temple Chambers, E.C.*
- 1888 COX, NICHOLAS, 69 *Tulgarth Road, West Kensington, W.*
- 1888 COXHEAD, MAJOR J. A., R.A., *Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly, W.*
- 1892 †CRAIG, GEORGE A., 66 *Edge Lane, Liverpool.*
- 1872 CRANBROOK, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, G.C.S.I., *Hemsted Park, Cranbrook.*
- 1889 CRANE, S. LEONARD, M.D., C.M.G., 12 *Kensington Court Gardens, W.*
- 1887 †CRAWLEY-BOVEY, ANTHONY P., *Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*
- 1896 CRESSY, GEORGE H., M.R.C.S., *Holstead Lodge, Tunbridge Wells.*
- 1895 CREW, JOSIAH, *Tavistock Hotel, Covent Garden, W.C.*
- 1885 CREIGHTON, ROBERT, *The Mardens, Caterham Valley.*
- 1886 CRITCHELL, J. TROUBRIDGE, 9 *Cardigan Road, Richmond Hill, S.W.*
- 1896 CROMBIE, F. E. N., *Messrs. W. Ashby & Co., 26 Leadenhall Street, E.C.*
- 1889 CROW, DAVID REID, *Ardrishaig, Argyleshire.*
- 1889 CROW, JAMES N. HARVEY, M.B., C.M., *Ardrishaig, Argyleshire.*
- 1886 CRUMP, G. CRESSWELL, *St. Stephen's Club, Westminster, S.W.*
- 1890 CUFF, WILLIAM SYMES, *Upton House, 2 Rosslyn Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1896 CUNLIFFE, WM. GILL, *Heathlands, Kew Gardens, S.W.*
- 1888 CUNNINGHAM, FRANCIS G., *Willey Park, Farnham, Surrey.*
- 1883 †CUNNINGHAM, PETER, *Christchurch Club, New Zealand.*
- 1882 CURLING, REV. JOSEPH J., B.A., *Hamble House, Hamble, Southampton.*
- 1892 †CURLING, ROBERT SUMNER, *Southlea, Datchet, Bucks.*
- 1874 CURRIE, SIR DONALD, K.C.M.G., M.P., 4 *Hyde Park Place, W.*
- 1882 †CURTIS, SPENCER H., 171 *Cromwell Road, S.W.*
- 1890 CUVILLE, OSWALD B., F.C.A., 2 *Stuart Street, Cardiff*; and 4 *Bishopsgate  
Street, E.C.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1884 DALTON, REV. CANON JOHN NEALE, M.A., C.M.G., *The Cloisters, Windsor.*
- 1881 DALY, JAMES E. O., 8 *Riverdale Road, Twickenham Park; and 2 Little Love Lane, Wood Street, E.C.*
- 1894 DANGAR, D. R., *Lyndhurst, Cleveland Road, Ealing, W.*
- 1880 DANGAR, F. H., *Lyndhurst, Cleveland Road, Ealing, W.*
- 1883 DANIELL, COLONEL JAMES LEGGETT, *United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1881 DABBY, H. J. B., *Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*
- 1887 D'ARCY, WILLIAM KNOX, *Stanmore Hall, Stanmore.*
- 1872 DAUBENET, GENERAL SIR H. C. B., G.C.B., *Osterley Lodge, Spring Grove, Isleworth.*
- 1891 DAUBENET, MAJOR EDWARD, 6 *Grosvenor Hill, Wimbledon; and Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1888 DAVIES, THEO. H., *Sundown, Hesketh Park, Southport; 49 The Albany, Liverpool; and Honolulu.*
- 1889 DAVIES, T. WATKIN, 58 *Broad Street Avenue, E.C.*
- 1884 DAVIS, CHARLES PERCY, 16 *Beaufort Gardens, S.W.; and Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*
- 1873 DAVIS, STEUART S., *Spencer House, Knyveton Road, Bournemouth.*
- 1892 DAVIS, T. HARRISON, *Princes Mansions, 70 Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1878 †DAVSON, HENRY K., 31 *Porchester Square, W.*
- 1880 DAVSON, JAMES W., *Parthurst, 59 Bouverie Road West, Folkestone.*
- 1892 DAWES, SIR EDWYN S., K.C.M.G., 3 *Tenterden Street, Hanover Square, W.; and 23 Great Winchester Street, E.C.*
- 1884 DAWSON, JOHN DUFF, *Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*
- 1891 †DEBENHAM, ERNEST R., 8 *Kensington Court Mansions, W.*
- 1883 DEBENHAM, FRANK, F.S.S., 1 *Fitzjohn's Avenue, N.W.*
- 1880 †DE COLYAR, HENRY A., 24 *Palace Gardens Terrace, W.*
- 1885 DE LISSA, SAMUEL, 4 *Bishopsgate Street Within, E.C.; and Maidenhead Court, Maidenhead.*
- 1881 DELMEGE, EDWARD T., 17 *St. Helen's Place, E.C.*
- 1885 †DENT, SIR ALFRED, K.C.M.G., 11 *Old Broad Street, E.C.; and Ravensworth, Eastbourne.*
- 1894 DEPREE, CHARLES FYNNEY, 3 *Morley Road, Southport.*
- 1884 DE SATOÉ, HENRY, *Hartfield, Malvern Wells; and Reform Club, S.W.*
- 1883 DE SATOÉ, OSCAR, *Bridge Place, Canterbury; and Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1896 DES VŒUX, SIR G. WILLIAM, G.C.M.G., 20 *Lennox Gardens, S.W.; and Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1882 D'ESTERRE, J. C. E., *Elmfild, Hill, Southampton.*
- 1895 DEVITT, THOMAS LANE, 13 *Fenchurch Avenue, E.C.*
- 1879 DEVONSHIRE, HIS GRACE THE DUKHOE, K.G., *Devonshire House, Piccadilly, W.*
- 1887 DE WINTON, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR FRANCIS W., R.A., G.C.M.G., C.B., *York House, St. James's Palace, S.W.; and United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1882 †DICK, GAVIN GEMMELL, *Queensland Government Office, 1 Victoria St., S.W.*
- 1895 DICK, GEORGE ABERCROMBY, 10 *Kildare Gardens, Bayswater, W.; and Junior Constitutional Club, Piccadilly, W.*
- 1881 DICKEN, CHARLES S., C.M.G., *Queensland Government Office, 1 Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1896 DICKINSON, JAMES W., *Queensland National Bank, 8 Princes Street, E.C.*



Year of  
Election.

- 1891 DISMORE, JOHN STEWART, 16 *Claremont Road, Cricklewood, N.W.*
- 1889 DOBBIE, HARRY HANKEY, 6 *Tokenhouse Yard, E.C.*
- 1882 DONNE, WILLIAM, 18 *Wood Street, E.C.*
- 1895 DONOUGHMORE, RT. HON. THE EARL OF, K.C.M.G., 6 *Collingham Place, S.W.*
- 1894 DOUGLAS, ALEXANDER, 99 *Elgin Crescent, Notting Hill, W.*
- 1894 DOUGLAS, JOHN A., *Muirsk, Turriff, N.B.*
- 1893 DOUGLAS OF HAWICK, LORD, *Army & Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1883 DOUGLAS, THOMAS, 16 *Gwendur Road, West Kensington, W.*
- 1889 DRAGE, GEOFFREY, M.P., *United University Club, Pall Mall East, S.W.*
- 1884 DRAFER, GEORGE *Eastern Telegraph Company, Limited, Winchester House, 50 Old Broad Street, E.C.*
- 1890 DRAYSON, WALTER B. H., *Tudor House, High Barnet.*
- 1868 †DUCIE, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, *Tortworth Court, Falfield, Glos.*
- 1868 DUCROZ, FREDERICK A., 52 *Lombard Street, E.C.*
- 1889 †DUDGEON, ARTHUR, 27 *Rutland Square, Dublin.*
- 1889 †DUDGEON, WILLIAM, 43 *Craven Road, W.*
- 1894 †DUDLEY, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, 22 *St. James's Place, S.W.*
- 1888 DUFF, G. SMYTTAN, 58 *Queen's Gate, S.W.*
- 1884 DUNCAN, DAVID J. RUSSELL, *care of Messrs. Neish, Howell & Macfarlane, 66 Walling Street, E.C.*
- 1889 DUNCAN, JOHN S., *Natal Bank, 156 Leadenhall Street, E.C.*
- 1895 †DUNCAN, ROBERT, *Whitefield, Govan, N.B.*
- 1886 DUNDONALD, THE EARL OF, C.B., 34 *Portman Square, W.*
- 1894 †DUNELL, OWEN R., *Brookwood Park, Alresford, Hants; and Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1885 †DUNN, H. W., C.E., *Charlcombe Grove, Lansdown, Bath.*
- 1895 DUNN, SIR WILLIAM, BART, M.P., *Broad Street Avenue, E.C.*
- 1878 †DUNRAVEN, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, K.P., 27 *Norfolk Street, Park Lane, W.; Kenry House, Putney Vale, S.W.; and Carlton Club, S.W.*
- 1876 DURHAM, JOHN HENRY, 43 *Threadneedle Street, E.C.*
- 1896 DURRANT, WM. HOWARD, *Ellery Court, Beulah Hill, S.E.; and 26 Milton Street, E.C.*
- 1884 DUTHIE, LIEUT.-COLONEL W. H. M., R.A., *Row House, Douns, Perthshire; and Junior United Service Club, S.W.*
- 1892 DUTHOIT, ALBERT, 1 *Fenchurch Street, E.C.*
- 1880 †DUTTON, FRANK M., 74 *Lancaster Gate, W.; and St. George's Club, Hanover Square, W.*
- 1880 DUTTON, FREDERICK, 112 *Gresham House, Old Broad Street, E.C.; and 79 Cromwell Houses, S.W.*
- 1887 DYER, CHARLES, 47 *Cromwell Road, West Brighton.*
- 1880 EAST, REV. D. J., *Calabar Cottage, Watford, Herts.*
- 1887 ECCLES, YVON R., *Scottish Amicable Life Assurance Society, 1 Threadneedle Street, E.C.*
- 1895 ECKERSLEY, JAMES C., M.A., *Ashfield, Wigan; Carlton Manor, Yeadon, Leeds; and United University Club, Pall Mall East, S.W.*
- 1887 †EDWARDES, T. DYER, 5 *Hyde Park Gate, S.W.*
- 1890 EDWARDS, LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR J. BEVAN, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.P., *West Lodge, Folkestone,*

Year of  
Election.

- 1876 †EDWARDS, S.  
1882 †ELDER, FREDERICK, 7 *St. Helen's Place, E.C.*  
1883 †ELDER, THOMAS EDWARD, *Wedmore Lodge, Remenham Hill, Henley-on-Thames.*  
1882 †ELDER, WM. GEORGE, 7 *St. Helen's Place, E.C.*  
1889 ELIAS, LIEUT.-COLONEL ROBERT, *Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*  
1885 ELLIOTT, GEORGE ROBINSON, M.R.C.S.E., *Pendennis, Beulah Hill, Upper Norwood, S.E.*  
1894 ELLIOTT, JOSEPH J., *Hadley House, Barnet.*  
1894 ELLIOTT, THOMAS, C.M.G., 15 *Grange Road, Ealing, W.*  
1893 ELMSLIE, CAPTAIN JAMES ABERDOUR, R.N.R., *Dapooli, Linden Road, Bedford.*  
1895 EMMETT, FREDERICK W., *Langeside, Acton Lane, Harlesden, N.W.*  
1892 ENGLEDER, COLONEL WILLIAM J., R.E., *Petersham Place, Byfleet, Surrey.*  
1874 ENGLEHEART, SIR J. GARDNER D., C.B., *Duchy of Lancaster, Lancaster Place, W.C.*  
1886 †ENGLISH, FREDERICK A., *Warnford Court, E.C.*  
1891 ENYS, JOHN DAVIES, *Enys, Penryn, Cornwall.*  
1885 ERSLOH, E. C., *Ye Olde Cottage, Walton-on-Thames.*  
1886 EVANS, J. CABBERT, M.A. (OXON), *Hatley Park, Gamlingay, Cambridgeshire*  
1883 †EVES, CHARLES WASHINGTON, C.M.G., 1 *Fen Court, E.C.*  
1894 EVILL, JOHN PERCY, 10 *Hillside, Wimbledon.*  
1881 EVISON, EDWARD, *Blizewood Park, Caterham, Warlingham Station, Surrey.*  
1885 EWART, JOHN, *Messrs. James Morrison & Co., 4 Fenchurch Street, E.C.*  
1879 EWEN, JOHN ALEXANDER, 11 *Bunhill Row, E.C.*
- 1883 FAIRCLOUGH, R. A., *Messrs. B. G. Lennon & Co., 75 Leadenhall Street, E.C.*  
1890 FAIRCLOUGH, WILLIAM, *Bank of Victoria, 28 Clement's Lane, E.C.*  
1885 †FAIRFAX, E. ROSE, 5 *Princes Gate, S.W.*  
1889 †FAIRFAX, VICE-ADMIRAL SIR HENRY, K.C.B., 5 *Cranley Place, S.W.*  
1889 †FAIRFAX, J. MACKENZIE, 5 *Princes Gate, S.W.*  
1877 †FARMER, W. MAYNARD, 18 *Bina Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.*  
1895 FARQUHAR, SIR HORACE B. T., BART., M.P., 7 *Grosvenor Square, W.*  
1883 FARNS, REV. J. A., *c/o Messrs. H. Meade-King & Biggs, Bristol.*  
1895 FEARNSIDES, JOHN WM., 2 *Paper Buildings, Temple, E.C.*  
1873 †FEARON, FREDERICK, *The Cottage, Taplow.*  
1879 FELL, ARTHUR, 46 *Queen Victoria Street, E.C.*  
1895 FENN, HENRY, F.R.H.S., *Rossmore, Josephine Avenue, Brixton Hill, S.W.*  
1876 FERRARD, B. A., 67 *Pecvensey Road, St. Leonards-on-Sea.*  
1893 FERGUSON, A. M., *Nanuoya, 14 Ellerdale Road, Hampstead, N.W.*  
1891 FERGUSON, JOHN A., *Green Bank, Tunbridge Wells.*  
1875 FERGUSON, RIGHT HON. SIR JAMES, BART., M.P., G.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., 80 *Cornwall Gardens, S.W.; Carlton Club; and Kilkerran, N.B.*  
1883 FERGUSON, LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN A., *Royal Military College, Camberley, Surrey; and Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*  
1889 FERNAU, HENRY S., 21 *Wool Exchange, E.C.*  
1881 FINCH-HATTON, THE HON. STORMONT, 6 *Bedford Square, W.C.; and Whit's Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1882 FINDLAY, GEORGE JAMES, 43 *Threadneedle Street, E.C.*
- 1883 FINLAY, COLIN CAMPBELL, *Castle Toward, Argyllshire, N.B.*
- 1884 FIREBRACE, ROBERT TAYLER, *Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*
- 1892 FITCH, ARTHUR WELLINGTON, 10 *Wilson Street, Finsbury, E.C.; and 4 Grange Road, Canonbury, N.*
- 1895 †FITZGERALD, WILLIAM W. A., *Carrigorm, Newmarket-on-Fergus, Clare, Ireland.*
- 1888 FLACK, T. SUTTON, *Inanda House, 65 Alleyn Park, West Dulwich, S.E.; and 2 Royal Exchange Buildings, E.C.*
- 1891 FLEMING, ALBIN, *Brook House, Chislehurst; and Messrs. J. W. Jagger & Co., 34 Gresham Street, E.C.*
- 1883 FLETCHER, H., 14 *The Paragon, Blackheath, S.E.*
- 1883 FLOOD-PAGE, MAJOR S., 102 *St. George's Square, S.W.*
- 1892 \*FLOWER, SIR WILLIAM H., K.C.B., F.R.S., *Natural History Museum, Cromwell Road, S.W.*
- 1892 FLUX, C. W. LANGLEY, *The Cedars, Warlingham, Surrey.*
- 1884 FLUX, WILLIAM, 39 *Warrington Crescent, W.*
- 1878 FOLKARD, ARTHUR, *Thatched House Club, 86 St. James's Street, S.W.*
- 1889 FORD, LEWIS PETER, *Shortlands House, Shortlands, Kent.*
- 1896 FORD, SYDNEY, *St. Johns, The Avenue, Kew Road, Richmond, S.W.*
- 1889 FORLONG, COMMANDER CHARLES A., R.N., *H.M.S. "Tyne," Chatham.*
- 1876 FORSTER, ANTHONY, 6 *Anglesea Terrace, Gensing Gardens, St. Leonards-on-Sea.*
- 1868 FORTESCUE, THE HON. DUDLEY F., 9 *Hertford Street, Mayfair, W.*
- 1883 FOSBERY, MAJOR WILLIAM T. E., *The Castle Park, Warwick.*
- 1894 FOWLER, DAVID, 6 *East India Avenue, E.C.*
- 1892 FOWLER, WILLIAM, 43 *Grosvenor Square, W.; and Moor Hall, Harlow.*
- 1890 FOWLER, WILLIAM, 15 *Coleman Street, E.C.*
- 1888 FRANCIS, DANIEL, 191, *Gresham House, E.C.*
- 1886 FRANKHUISS, JOHN F., *Constitutional Club, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.*
- 1881 FRASER, DONALD, *Tickford Park, Newport Pagnell, Bucks; and Orchard Street, Ipswich.*
- 1878 FRASER, SIR MALCOLM, K.C.M.G. (Agent General for Western Australia), 15 *Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1890 †FRASER, WILLIAM, *Millburn House, Inverness, N.B.*
- 1868 FRESHFIELD, WILLIAM D., 5 *Bank Buildings, E.C.*
- 1893 FRIEDLAENDER, WALDEMAR, 60 *Fenchurch Street, E.C.; and Junior Constitutional Club, Piccadilly, W.*
- 1894 FRY, FREDERICK WM., *Adkins, Ingatestone, Essex.*
- 1883 FULLER, W. W., 24 *Burlington Road, Bayswater, W.*
- 1881 FULTON, JOHN, 26 *Upper Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, W.*
- 1882 †GALERAITE, DAVID STEWART, *Paris.*
- 1891 GALE, HENRY, M.Inst.C.E., F.R.G.S., 45 *Elvaston Place, Queen's Gate, S.W.*
- 1888 GALSORTHY, JOHN, 8 *Cambridge Gate, Regent's Park, N.W.*
- 1869 †GALTON, SIR DOUGLAS, K.C.B., F.R.S., 12 *Chester Street, Grosvenor Place, S.W.*
- 1895 GAME, JAMES ATLYWARD, *Yeoda Grange, Trent, New Barnet, Herts; and 3 Eastcheap, E.C.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1869 GAMMIDGE, HENRY, *Standard Bank of South Africa, 10 Clement's Lane E.C.*
- 1882 †GARDINER, WILLIAM, *Rockshaw, Merstham, Surrey.*
- 1879 †GARDNER, STEWART, *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1889 GARDYNE, JAMES W. BRUCE, *Middleton, Arbroath, N.B.*
- 1887 GARRICK ALFRED C., *21 Upper Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, W.*
- 1884 GARRICK, SIR JAMES FRANCIS, K.C.M.G., *207 Cromwell Mansions, S.W.*
- 1889 GAWTHROP, ARNOLD E., *Reuter's Telegram Company, 24 Old Jewry, E.C.*
- 1884 †GEDYE, C. TOWNSEND, *17 Craven Hill Gardens, Hyde Park, W.*
- 1891 GEORGE, DAVID, *Bank of New South Wales, 64 Old Broad Street, E.C.*
- 1883 GIBBERD, JAMES, *Portland House, Basinghall Street, E.C.*
- 1895 GIBBS HENRY J., *Tentercroft, Aldrington Road, Streatham Park, S.W.; and 9 New Broad Street, E.C.*
- 1891 GIBSON, FRANK WM., *13 Adamson Road, Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1891 GIBSON, JAMES T., W.S., *28 St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.*
- 1882 †GIFFEN, SIR ROBERT, K.C.B., *44 Pembroke Road, Kensington, W.*
- 1882 †GILCHRIST, WILLIAM OSWALD, *200 Queen's Gate, S.W.*
- 1881 GILLESPIE, COLIN M., *23 Crutched Friars, E.C.*
- 1875 †GILLESPIE, SIR ROBERT, *13 Lansdowne Place, Brighton.*
- 1894 GILLIES, HON. DUNCAN (*Agent-General for Victoria*) *15 Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1891 GILLING, HENRY R., *Oaklands, Arkley, Barnet.*
- 1889 GIRDWOOD, JOHN, J.P., *Grove House, Pembroke Square, W.*
- 1894 GISBORNE, HON. WILLIAM, *Allestree Hall, Derby.*
- 1883 GLANFIELD, GEORGE, *Hale End, Woodford, Essex.*
- 1883 GLENESK, RIGHT HON. LORD, *139, Piccadilly, W.*
- 1888 GODBY, MICHAEL J., *c/o Union Bank of Australia, 71 Cornhill, E.C.*
- 1888 †GODFREY, RAYMOND, F.R.G.S., F.R.A.S. (*late of Ceylon*), *Firview, Claygate, Esher; and 79 Cornhill, E.C.*
- 1894 GODSAL, CAPTAIN WILLIAM, R.E., *Iscoyd Park, Whitchurch, Salop.*
- 1894 GODSON, EDMUND P., *Castlewood, Shooters Hill, Kent.*
- 1869 GODSON, GEORGE R., *Kensington Palace Mansions, Kensington, W.*
- 1882 GOLDSWORTHY, MAJOR-GENERAL WALTER T., M.P., *22 Hertford Street, Mayfair, W.*
- 1893 GOODSIE, GEORGE, *Messrs. W. Weddel & Co., 16 St. Helens Place, E.C.*
- 1876 GOODWIN, REV. R., *Hildersham Rectory, Cambridge.*
- 1885 †GORDON, GEORGE W., *The Brewery, Caledonian Road, N.*
- 1893 †GORDON, JOHN WILTON, *9 New Broad Street, E.C.*
- 1869 GOSCHEN, RIGHT HON. G. J., M.P., *69 Portland Place, W.*
- 1892 GOW, WILLIAM, *13 Rood Lane, E.C.*
- 1886 GRAHAM, FREDERICK, *Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W.*
- 1881 GRAHAM, JOSEPH, *167 Maida Vale, W.*
- 1868 GRAIN, WILLIAM, *Lancaster House, Beckenham, Kent.*
- 1885 †GRANT, CARDBOSS, *Bruntsfield, Beckenham, Kent.*
- 1884 GRANT, HENRY, *Sydney Hyrst, Chichester Road, Croydon.*
- 1882 GRANT, J. MACDONALD, *Queensland Government Office, 1 Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1876 GRAVES, JOHN BELLEW, *Deer Park, Tenby, South Wales.*
- 1880 GRAY, AMBROSE G. WENTWORTH, *31 Great St. Helen's, E.C.*
- 1891 GRAY, BENJAMIN G., *4 Inverness Gardens, Kensington, W.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1883 GRAY, HENRY F., *The Mansion, Frogmal, Hampstead, N.W.*  
 1881 GRAY, ROBERT J., 27 *Milton Street, E.C.*  
 1877 †GREATHHEAD, JAS. H., M.Inst.C.E., 15 *Victoria Street, S.W.*  
 1888 GREEN, MAJOR-GEN. SIR HENRY, K.C.S.I., C.B., 93 *Belgrave Road, S.W.*  
 1881 †GREEN, MORTON, J.P., *The Firs, Maritzburg, Natal.*  
 1888 GREEN, W. S. SEBRIGHT, 11 *Charing Cross, S.W.*  
 1868 GREGORY, SIR CHAS. HUTTON, K.C.M.G., 2 *Delahay Street, Westminster, S.W.*  
 1879 GREIG, HENRY ALFRED, 12 *Lansdowne Place, Blackheath Hill, S.E.*  
 1892 GRESWELL, ARTHUR E., M.A., *Broomhill, 29 Southend Road, Beckenham, Kent.*  
 1892 GRESWELL, CHARLES H., C.E., *Quantock House, Holford, Bridgwater.*  
 1882 GRESWELL, REV. WILLIAM H. P., M.A., *Dodington Rectory, near Bridgwater, Somerset.*  
 1882 GRETTON, MAJOR GEORGE LE M., 64 *Perham Road, West Kensington, W.*  
 1889 †GREY, RT. HON. EARL, *Howick Hall, Alnwick, Northumberland.*  
 1884 GRIBBLE, GEORGE J., 22 *St. Paul's Churchyard, E.C.*  
 1876 GRIFFITH, HIS HONOUR JUDGE W. DOWNES, 4 *Bramham Gardens, Wetherby Road, S.W.*  
 1887 †GRIFFITHS, WILLIAM, 42, *The Parade, Cardiff.*  
 1886 GRIMALDI, WYNFORD B., *Hathewolden, High Halden, Ashford, Kent.*  
 1879 GUILLERMARD, ARTHUR G., *Eltham, Kent.*  
 1892 GULL, SIR WILLIAM CAMERON, BART., M.P., 10 *Hyde Park Gardens, W.*  
 1886 GWILLIAM, REV. S. THORN, 32 *College Road, Reading; and National Conservative Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*  
 1885 GWYN, WALTER J., 22 *Billiter Street, E.C.; and 51 Belsize Road, N.W.*  
 1874 GWYNNE, FRANCIS A., *Constitutional Club, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.*  
 1885 GWYNNE, JOHN, *Kenton Grange, The Hyde, N.W.; and 89 Cannon Street, E.C.*  
 1887 GWYTHER, J. HOWARD, 34 *Belsize Park Gardens, N.W.*
- 1891 †HAGGARD, EDWARD, 7 *New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.*  
 1876 HALIBURTON, SIR ARTHUR L., K.C.B., 57 *Lowndes Square, S.W.*  
 1882 HALSWELL, HUGH B., J.P., 26 *Kensington Gate, Hyde Park, W.*  
 1885 †HAMILTON, JAMES,  
 1883 HAMILTON, JOHN JAMES, 1 *Barkston Gardens, Earl's Court, S.W.; and 17 St. Helen's Place, E.C.*  
 1876 HAMILTON, THOMAS, J.P., 90 *Cannon Street, E.C.*  
 1889 HANHAM, SIR JOHN A., BART., *St. Stephen's Club, Westminster, S.W.*  
 1884 HANKEY, ERNEST ALERS, *Hinxton Hall, Saffron Walden.*  
 1891 HANLEY, THOMAS J., 66 *Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.*  
 1891 HANSON, CHARLES AUGUSTUS, 49 *Holland Park, W.; and 99 Gresham Street, E.C.*  
 1888 HARDIE, GEORGE, *Ravenscroft Park, High Barnet.*  
 1888 HARDING, EDWARD E., 66 *Cannon Street, E.C.*  
 1886 HARDWICKE, EDWARD ARTHUR, L.R.C.P., &c. (Surgeon Superintendent, Indian Emigration Service), 39 *Palliser Road, Barons Court, W.*  
 1892 HARE, REGINALD C., *Western Australian Government Office, 15 Victoria Street, S.W.*  
 1891 HARKER, JAMES, 36 *Basinghall Street, E.C.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1894 HARMSWORTH, ALFRED C., *Elmwood, St. Peter's, Kent.*
- 1885 HARRIS, SIR GEORGE D., 32 *Inverness Terrace, Hyde Park, W.*
- 1894 HARRIS, GEORGE STANLEY, *Grosvenor Club, New Bond Street, W.*
- 1896 HARRIS, COLONEL JOSIAH, F.R.G.S., *Crofton Lodge, Sydenham, S.E.*
- 1805 HARRIS, WALTER H., C.M.G., 12 *Kensington Gore, S.W.*; and *Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1877 †HARRIS, WOLF, 197 *Queen's Gate, S.W.*
- 1889 HARRISON, ARTHUR, L.R.C.P. (Surgeon Superintendent, Indian Emigration Service), 52 *Coombe Road, Teignmouth.*
- 1886 †HARRISON, GENERAL SIR RICHARD, R.E., K.C.B., C.M.G., *Hewley Hill, Blackwater, Hants.*
- 1892 HARROLD, LEONARD FREDERICK, 29 *Great St. Helen's, E.C.*
- 1893 HARROWER, G. CARNABY, *College Hill Chambers, E.C.*
- 1889 HARRY, CAPTAIN THOMAS ROW, 10 *Barworn Terrace, St. Ives, Cornwall.*
- 1884 HARVEY, T. MORGAN, *Portland House, Basinghall Street, E.C.*
- 1884 HARWOOD, JOSEPH, 90 *Cannon Street, E.C.*
- 1886 †HASLAM, RALPH E., *Park Lodge, Church Street, Chelsea, S.W.*
- 1881 HATHERTON, RIGHT HON. LORD, C.M.G., 55 *Warwick Square, S.W.*; and *Teddesley, Penkridge, Staffordshire.*
- 1883 †HAWTHORN, JAMES KENTON, *Afton Lodge, Strawberry Hill Road, Twickenham.*
- 1893 †HAWTHORN, REGINALD W. E., *care of Standard Bank, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1892 HAYMAN, HENRY, 18 *Pembridge Square, W.*; and 3 *Coleman Street, F.C.*
- 1890 HAYNES, T. H., 20 *Billiter Square Buildings, E.C.*; and 44 *Parliament Hill Road, Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1882 HAYWARD, J. F., *Aroona, Freshford, Bath.*
- 1894 HAYZEN, GEORGE TAYLOR, *Belle Vue House, Blythe Hill, Catford, S.E.*; and 9 *St. Mildred's Court, Poultry, E.C.*
- 1880 HEALEY, EDWARD C., 86 *St. James's Street, S.W.*
- 1886 †HEAP, RALPH, 1 *Brick Court, Temple, E.C.*
- 1890 HEATH, COMMANDER GEORGE P., R.N., 10 *Barkston Gardens, Earl's Court, S.W.*
- 1878 HEATON, J. HENNIKER, M.P., 36 *Eaton Square, S.W.*; and *Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1892 HEATON, WILLIAM H., 21 *Fairfield Road, Croydon.*
- 1891 HECTOR, CAPTAIN G. NELSON, R.N.R., *Thatched House Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*
- 1886 HEDGMAN, W. JAMES, *The Firs, Upper Richmond Road, Putney, S.W.*
- 1887 HEGAN, CHARLES J., *Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1893 HEINKEKEY, ROBERT B., 9 *Cresswell Gardens, S.W.*; and *Messrs. Vavasour & Co., 13 St. Swithin's Lane, E.C.*
- 1877 HEMMANT, WILLIAM, *Bulimba, Sevenoaks*; and 32 *Whitecross Street, E.C.*
- 1895 HENRAGE, CHARLES, *Sussex Club, Eastbourne*; 28 *Grand Parade, Eastbourne*; and *Royal Institution, W.*
- 1886 HENRIQUES, FREDK. G., 19 *Hyde Park Square, W.*
- 1889 HENWOOD, PAUL, *Moorgate Court, Moorgate Street, E.C.*
- 1886 HEPBURN, ANDREW, 10 *Broad Street Avenue, E.C.*
- 1893 HERBERT, SIR ROBERT G. W., G.C.B., *Ichleton, Great Chesterford, Essex.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1884 HERRIOT, MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES A. MACKAY, R.M.L.I., c/o *Messrs. Stilwell & Sons, 21 Great George Street, S.W.*
- 1883 HERVEY, DUDLEY F. A., C.M.G., *Buckhold Hill, Pangbourne, Berks.*
- 1895 HERVEY, MATTHEW W., C.E., *Beavor House, St. Peter's Road, Hammer-smith, W.*
- 1895 HERVEY, VALENTINE S., 15, *Dowgate Hill, E.C.*
- 1891 HERVEY, W. B., *Messrs. Goldsbrough, Mort, & Co., 149 Leadenhall St., E.C.*
- 1884 HESSE, F. E., *Eastern Extension, &c. Telegraph Co., Limited, Winchester House, 50 Old Broad Street, E.C.*
- 1884 HEWISON, CAPTAIN WM. FREDERICK, *Eastnor, Exmouth.*
- 1885 HILL, CHARLES FITZHENRY, *Ebrapah, Park Road, Portswood, Southampton.*
- 1880 †HILL, JAMES A., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1884 †HILL, PEARSON, 6 *Pembroke Square, Bayswater, W.*
- 1885 †HILL, SIDNEY, *Langford House, Langford, near Bristol.*
- 1887 †HILL, STANLEY G. GRANTHAM, *The Gables, Swanage, Dorset.*
- 1895 HILLMAN, VALENTINE A., C.E., 14, *Clive Place, Penarth, South Wales.*
- 1886 †HILTON, C. SHIRREFF B., *Leyton House, Cuckfield, Sussex.*
- 1880 HIND, T. ALMOND, *Goldsmith Building, Temple, E.C.*
- 1883 HINDSON, ELDRED GRAVE, *Glenmalure, West Cliff Gardens, Bournemouth.*
- 1882 HINDSON, LAWRENCE, *The Elms, Strawberry Hill, Twickenham.*
- 1883 HINGLEY, GEORGE B., *Haywood House, Hales Owen.*
- 1891 HITCHINS, E. LYTTON, 36 *St. Leonard's Road, Exeter.*
- 1896 HOARE, EDWARD BRODIE, M.P., 109 *St. George's Square, S.W.; and St. Bernards, Caterham.*
- 1886 HODGKIN, THOMAS, D.C.L., *Newcastle-on-Tyne; and Tredouva, Falmouth.*
- 1872 HODGSON, SIR ARTHUR, K.C.M.G., *Clopton, Stratford-on-Avon; and Windham Club, St. James's Square, S.W.*
- 1879 †HODGSON, H. TYLSTON, M.A., *Harpenden, Hertfordshire.*
- 1879 HOFFKUNG, S., 21 *Queen's Gate, S.W.*
- 1895 HOGAN, JAMES F., M.P., 52, *Great Russell Street, W.C.*
- 1887 †HOGARTH, FRANCIS, *Sackville House, Sevenoaks.*
- 1874 †HOGG, QUINTIN, 5 *Cavendish Square, W.*
- 1882 HOLDSWORTH, JOHN, *Barclay House, Eccles, Manchester.*
- 1885 †HOLGATE, CLIFFORD WYNDEAM, *The Close, Salisbury.*
- 1880 HOLMSTED, ERNEST A., *Daylesford, Linden Road, Bedford.*
- 1888 HOOPER, GEORGE N., F.R.G.S., F.S.S., *Elmleigh, Hayne Road, Beckenham.*
- 1889 †HOPETOUN, RT. HON. THE EARL OF, G.C.M.G., *Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.; and Hopetoun House, South Queensferry, N.B.*
- 1884 HOPKINS, EDWARD, 79 *Mark Lane, E.C.*
- 1884 HOPKINS, JOHN, *Little Boundes, Southborough, Kent; and 79 Mark Lane, E.C.*
- 1894 HOPWOOD, FRANCIS J. S., C.B., C.M.G., *Board of Trade, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.*
- 1879 HORA, JAMES, 123 *Victoria Street, S.W.; and 147 Cannon Street, E.C.*
- 1895 HORN, WM. AUSTIN, *Wimbledon Park House, Wimbledon; and New University Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*
- 1882 HOSKINS, ADMIRAL SIR ANTHONY H., G.C.B., 17 *Montagu Square, W.*
- 1876 †HOUSTOUN, GEORGE L., *Johnstone Castle, Johnstone, Renfrewshire, N.B.*
- 1889 HOVENDEN, FREDERICK, *Glenlea, West Dulwich, S.E.*

Year of Election.	
1892	HUDSON, JOHN, <i>Kensington Palace Mansions, De Vere Gardens, W.</i>
1886	HUGHES, GEORGE, F.C.S., <i>care of Messrs. E. Packard &amp; Co., 155 Fenchurch Street, E.C.; and Bridgetown, Barbados.</i>
1881	†HUGHES, JOHN, F.C.S., <i>79 Mark Lane, E.C.</i>
1885	HUGHES, JOHN ARTHUR, <i>Clairville, Dacres Road, Forest Hill, S.E.</i>
1884	HUGHES-HUGHES, WILLIAM, J.P., <i>5 Highbury Quadrant, N.</i>
1881	HUNT, JOHN, <i>10 Broad Street Avenue, E.C.</i>
1888	HURLEY, EDWARD B.
1896	HURST, HENRY E., <i>Kalgoorlie Lodge, 36 South Norwood Hill, S.E.</i>
1896	HUTTON, COLONEL EDWARD T.H., C.B., A.D.C., <i>65 Cadogan Gardens, S.W. and United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.</i>
1889	†IYER, GEORGE M., <i>Inchera, Glanmire, Co. Cork, Ireland.</i>
1883	†INGLIS, CORNELIUS, M.D., <i>124 Victoria Street, S.W.; and Athenæum Club, S.W.</i>
1881	INGRAM, SIR WILLIAM J., BART., <i>198 Strand, W.C.</i>
1880	IRVINE, THOMAS W., <i>22 Lawrence Lane, E.C.</i>
1893	IRWELL, HERMAN, <i>74 Jermyn Street, S.W.; and 24 Coleman Street, E.C.</i>
1884	ISAACS, JACOB, <i>care of Messrs. Michaelis, Hallenstein &amp; Co., 17 Basinghall Street, E.C.</i>
1896	ISAACSON, F. WOOTTON, M.P., <i>18 Upper Grosvenor Street., W.</i>
1893	LEARD, WALTER G., C.E., <i>10 The Paragon, Blackheath, S.E.</i>
1893	JACK, GEORGE C., <i>Eastern Extension Telegraph Co., 60 Old Broad Street, E.C.</i>
1886	†JACKSON, JAMES, J.P., <i>Gwernaffel, Eastbourne.</i>
1889	†JACKSON, THOMAS, <i>Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, 31 Lombard Street, E.C.</i>
1886	JACOMB, FREDK. CHAS., <i>61 Moorgate Street, E.C.</i>
1886	JACOMB, REGINALD B., <i>61 Moorgate Street, E.C.</i>
1895	JAMESON, GEORGE, <i>110 Fenchurch Street, E.C.</i>
1872	JAMIESON, T. BUSHBY, <i>12 Onslow Crescent, S.W.; and Windham Club, St. James's Square, S.W.</i>
1890	†JAMIESON, WILLIAM, <i>care of Broken Hill Proprietary Company, 31 Queen Street, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1892	JEFFCOAT, DEPUTY SURGEON-GENERAL JAMES H., <i>12 The Avenue Elmers, Surbiton.</i>
1894	JEFFERSON, HARRY WYNDHAM, <i>7 Bryanston Square, W.; and 75 Old Broad Street, E.C.</i>
1894	JEFFRAY, ALAN, <i>c/o Union Mortgage Co. of Australia, 96 Leadenhall Street, E.C.</i>
1884	†JEFFRAY, R. J., <i>69 Ennismore Gardens, S.W.</i>
1890	JENKINSON, WILLIAM W., <i>6 Moorgate Street, E.C.</i>
1889	JENNINGS, GEORGE H., <i>West Dene, Streatham, S.W.; and Lambeth Palace Road, S.E.</i>
1895	JENNINGS, GILBERT D., <i>28 Gracechurch Street, E.C.</i>
1890	JEPHSON, A. J. MOUNTENEY, <i>22 Ryder Street, S.W..</i>
1890	†JERSEY, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, G.C.M.G., <i>Osterley Park, Isleworth; and Middleton Park, Bicester.</i>
1882	JERVOIS, LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM F. DRUMMOND, R.E., G.C.M.G., C.B., F.R.S., <i>Heatherhurst Grange, Frimley, Surrey.</i>



Year of Election.	
1889	JOHNSON, GENERAL SIR ALLEN B., K.C.B., 60 <i>Lezham Gardens, W.</i>
1894	JOHNSON, GODFREY B., <i>Colonial College, 6 Victoria Street, S.W.</i>
1884	JOHNSON, G. RANDALL, <i>Port View, Heavitree, Exeter.</i>
1896	JOHNSON, L. O., 40 <i>Marlborough Hill, N.W.</i> , and 32 <i>Snow Hill, E.C.</i>
1884	JOHNSON, ROBERT, <i>Colonial College, Hollesley Bay, Suffolk.</i>
1888	JOHNSTON, ALEXANDER, <i>Acton House, Lyndhurst Road, Hampstead, N.W.</i> and 1 <i>Whittington Avenue, E.C.</i>
1884	†JOLLY, STEWART, <i>Perth, N.B.</i>
1893	JONES, ALFRED L., <i>Messrs. Elder, Dempster, &amp; Co., 14 Castle Street, Liverpool.</i>
1892	JONES, C. POWELL, 14 <i>St. Mary Axe, E.C.</i>
1884	†JONES, HENRY, <i>Oak Lodge, Totteridge, Herts.</i>
1892	JONES, J. D., 2 <i>St. James' Mansions, West End Lane, Hampstead, N.W.</i>
1884	JONES, OWEN FITZWILLIAM, 13 <i>Porchester Terrace, W.</i>
1887	JONES, R. HESKETH, J.P., <i>Dunrobin, Eastbourne.</i>
1888	JONES, R. M., <i>Union Bank of Australia, 71 Cornhill, E.C.</i>
1896	JONES, W. WOODGATE, <i>Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.</i>
1887	JOSEPH, JULIAN, 17 <i>Chepstow Villas, Bayswater, W.</i>
1886	JOSLIN, HENRY, <i>Gaynes Park, Upminster, Essex.</i>
1874	JOURDAIN, HENRY J., C.M.G., <i>The Elms, Watford; and 41 Eastcheap, E.C.</i>
1868	JULIAN, SIR PENROSE G., K.C.M.G., C.B., <i>Stadacona, Torquay.</i>
1876	KARUTH, FRANK, 29 <i>Nevern Mansions, Earl's Court, S.W.</i>
1894	KEARNE, SAMUEL R., <i>Kingswood, Lyndhurst Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.</i>
1890	KEARTON, GEORGE H., <i>Walton Lodge, Banstead; and 70-71 Bishopsgate Street, E.C.</i>
1886	KEEF, CHARLES J., 1 <i>Guildhall Chambers, Basinghall Street, E.C.</i>
1893	KEILLER, WILLIAM, <i>Fernwood, Wimbledon Park.</i>
1871	KEITH-DOUGLAS, STEWART M., <i>Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.</i>
1884	KELLY, R. J., 84 <i>Warwick Gardens, Kensington, W.</i>
1894	KEMP, DAVID R., <i>Messrs. Dalgety &amp; Co., 52 Lombard Street, E.C.</i>
1887	KEMP-WELCH, JAMES, 61 <i>Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.</i>
1881	KENDALL, FRANKLIN R., 1 <i>The Paragon, Blackheath, S.E.; and St. Stephen's Club, S.W.</i>
1877	KENNEDY, JOHN MURRAY, <i>Knockralling, Kildubrightshire, N.B.; and New University Club, S.W.</i>
1896	KENNION, RT. REV. GEORGE WYNDHAM, D.D., <i>Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, The Palace, Wells, Somerset.</i>
1888	KENT, ROBERT J., 1 <i>Vere Street, Cavendish Square, W.</i>
1896	†KENTON, JAMES, M.P., <i>Walshaw Hall, Bury.</i>
1894	KER ROBERT A., 16 <i>St. Helen's Place, E.C.; and 84 Widmore Road, Bromley, Kent.</i>
1896	KERR, J. E., <i>care of Messrs. S. Dobree &amp; Sons, 6 Tokenhouse Yard, E.C.</i>
1881	†KESWICK, WILLIAM, <i>Eastwick Park, Leatherhead.</i>
1874	KIMBER, HENRY, M.P., 79 <i>Lombard Street, E.C.</i>
1894	KING, CHARLES WALLIS, <i>Newnham House, Marshgate, Richmond, S.W.</i>
1890	KING, W. H. TINDALL (Surgeon Superintendent, Indian Emigration Service), <i>Inverness, Portsmouth Road, Southampton.</i>
1886	KINNAIRD, RIGHT HON. LORD, 1 <i>Pall Mall East, S.W.</i>
1889	KINTORE, RT. HON. THE EARL OF, G.C.M.G., 18 <i>Lower Berkeley Street, W.</i>

Year of  
Election.

- 1887 KITTO, THOMAS COLLINGWOOD, *Cedar Lodge, Spring Grove, Isleworth.*  
 1876 KNIGHT, A. HALLEY, *Bramley Hill House, Croydon.*  
 1896 KNIGHT, JAMES WATSON, 33 *Hyde Park Square, W.*  
 1889 †KNIGHT, WILLIAM, *Horner Grange, West Hill, Sydenham, S.E.*  
 1886 KNIGHTON, WILLIAM, LL.D., *Tilsworth, Silverhill, St. Leonards-on-Sea.*  
 1889 KNOTT, CAPTAIN MICHAEL E., *The Wilderness, Tadley, Basingstoke.*  
 1891 KROHN, HERMAN A., B.A., *Maldon Court, Maldon, Essex.*  
 1886 KUMMERER, RUDOLPH, 20 *Bury Street, St. James's, S.W.*  
 1879 LAING, JAMES R., 27 *Earl's Court Square, S.W.*  
 1891 †LAING, JAMES ROBERT, JUN., 7 *Australian Avenue, E.C.*  
 1875 LANDALE, ROBERT, 11 *Holland Park, W.; and Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*  
 1876 †LANDALE, WALTER, *Highfield House, Uxbridge.*  
 1887 LANE, COLONEL RONALD B., C.B., *United Services Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*  
 1886 LANG, CAPTAIN H. B., R.N., *H.M.S. "Narcissus," China Station.*  
 1881 LANGTON, JAMES, *Hillfield, Reigate.*  
 1883 †LANSDOWNE, RIGHT HON. THE MARQUIS OF, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., *Lansdown House, Berkeley Square, W.; and Bowood, near Calne, Wiltshire.*  
 1884 †LANSSELL, GEORGE, *Sandhurst, Victoria, Australia.*  
 1881 LANTON, JOHN O., *Birdhurst, Croydon.*  
 1876 †LARDNER, W. G., 11 *Fourth Avenue, Hove, Brighton; and Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*  
 1878 LARK, F. B., 120 *London Wall, E.C.*  
 1878 LARK, TIMOTHY, 9 *Pembridge Place, Bayswater, W.*  
 1878 LASCELLES, JOHN, 13 *Ashchurch Terrace, Shepherd's Bush, W.*  
 1884 LATCHFORD, EDWARD, 50 *Penywern Road, South Kensington, S.W.*  
 1881 LAUGHLAND, JAMES, 50 *Lime Street, E.C.*  
 1893 LAURIE, WILLIAM FORBES, *Montague House, High Wycombe, Bucks.*  
 1876 LAWRENCE, W. F., M.P., 6 *St. Ermin's Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.; Cowesfield House, Salisbury; and New University Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*  
 1886 LAWRIE, ALEXANDER, 14 *St. Mary Axe, E.C.*  
 1886 †LAWRIE, ALEX. CECIL, 14 *St. Mary Axe, E.C.*  
 1896 LAWSON, SIR CHARLES, 15 *Evelyn Gardens, S.W.*  
 1892 LAWSON, ROBERTSON, 34 *Old Broad Street, E.C.*  
 1894 LEAKE, WM. MARTIN, *Ceylon Association, 4 Mincing Lane, E.C.*  
 1886 LEE, HENRY WILLIAM, *San Remo, Torquay.*  
 1880 †LEES, SIR CHARLES CAMERON, K.C.M.G., 19 *Pembroke Road, W.*  
 1889 LE GROS, GÉRAISSE, *Seafeld, Jersey.*  
 1883 LEIGHTON, STANLEY, M.P., *Sweeney Hall, Oswestry; and Athenæum Club, S.W.*  
 1892 LE MAISTRE, JOHN L. B., *Messrs. G. Balleine & Co., Jersey.*  
 1888 LEON, AUGUST, 21 *Tregunter Road, South Kensington, S.W.*  
 1879 LETHBRIDGE, WILLIAM, M.A., *Courtlands, Lympstone, Devon.*  
 1873 LEVEY, G. COLLINS, C.M.G., *National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, S.W.*  
 1874 LEVIN, NATHANIEL W., 11 *Gledhow Gardens, S.W.*  
 1885 LEWIS, ISAAC, *Hyme House, 3 Fitzjohn's Avenue, Hampstead, N.W.; and 8 Finch Lane, E.C.*  
 1887 LEWIS, JOSEPH, 8 *Finch Lane, E.C.*

Year of  
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- 1890 LEWIS, OWEN, 9 *Minsing Lane, E.C.*
- 1884 LITTLE, J. STANLEY, 3 *Danes Inn, Strand, W.C.; and Woodville, Forest Hill, S.E.*
- 1885 LITTLE, MATTHEW, 5 *Lyndhurst Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1886 †LITTLEJOHN, ROBERT, *African Banking Corporation, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1874 LITTLETON, THE HON. HENRY S., 22 *Rutland Gate, S.W.; and Teddesley, Penkridge, Staffordshire.*
- 1888 LIVESLEY, GEORGE, C.E., *Shagbrook, Reigate.*
- 1895 LLOYD, LT.-COLONEL E. G., 15 *King William Street, Strand, W.C.; and Constitutional Club, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.*
- 1890 LLOYD, F. GRAHAM, 78 *Queen Victoria Street, E.C.*
- 1891 †LLOYD, HERBERT, 4 *Salisbury Court, E.C.*
- 1881 LLOYD, RICHARD DUFFA, 2 *Addison Crescent, Addison Road, W.*
- 1874 \*LLOYD, SAMPSON S., *Goden House, Bramley, Guildford; and Carlton Club, S.W.*
- 1889 LOCH, RT. HON. LORD, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., 41 *Elm Park Gardens, S.W.*
- 1887 †LOWENTHAL, LEOPOLD, P. O. Box 697, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1878 †LONG, CLAUDE H., M.A., 50 *Marine Parade, Brighton.*
- 1885 LONGDEN, J. N.
- 1886 †LONGSTAFF, GEORGE B., M.A., M.D., *Highlands, Putney Heath, S.W.; and Twicken, Morthoe, near Ilfracombe.*
- 1889 LORING, ARTHUR H., 25 *Old Queen Street, Westminster, S.W.*
- 1878 †LOPNE, RIGHT HON. MARQUIS OF, K.T., G.C.M.G., M.P., *Kensington Palace, W.*
- 1886 †LOTHIAN, MAURICE JOHN, *Redwood, Spylaw Road, Edinburgh.*
- 1884 LOVE, WILLIAM McNAUGHTON, *Blythwood, Leigham Court Road, Streatham Hill, S.W.*
- 1884 LOW, SIR HUGH, G.C.M.G., 23 *De Vere Gardens, W.; and Thatched House Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*
- 1876 †LOW, W. ANDERSON, *Claremont House, 23 Cardigan Road, Richmond, S.W.*
- 1890 LOWINSKY, MARCUS WM.
- 1890 LOWLES, JOHN, M.P., *Hill Crest, Darent Road, Stamford Hill, N.*
- 1880 LOWRY, LIEUT.-GENERAL R. W., C.B., 25 *Warrington Crescent, Maida Hill, W.; and United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1871 LUBBOCK, RT. HON. SIR JOHN, BART., M.P., 2 *St. James's Square, S.W.; and 15 Lombard Street, E.C.*
- 1877 LUBBOCK, NEVILLE, 16 *Leadenhall Street, E.C.; and 65 Earl's Court Square, S.W.*
- 1895 \*LUGARD, CAPTAIN F. D., C.B., D.S.O., *Ngamiland, via Mafeking, British Bechuanaland.*
- 1889 LUNNIBS, FREDERICK, *Arkley Copse, Barnet.*
- 1886 LYALL, ROGER CAMPBELL, *United University Club, Pall Mall East, S.W.*
- 1879 †LYELL, CAPTAIN FRANCIS H., 2 *Elvaston Place, S.W.; and Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly, W.*
- 1886 LYELL, JOHN L., 30 *Christchurch Road, Streatham Hill, S.W.*
- 1886 LYLE, WM. BRAY, *Velley, Hartland, North Devon.*
- 1885 †LYON, GEORGE O., *Lynaden, Drummond Street, Ballarat, Victoria, Australia.*
- 1892 LYONS, FRANK J., 3A, *Wood Street, E.C.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1886 †LITTELTON, THE HON. G. W. SPENCER, C.B., 49 Hill Street, Berkeley Square, W.
- 1885 MACALISTER, JAMES, Ethelstane, 32 Maresfield Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.
- 1885 MACAN, J. J., M.A., M.D., M.R.C.S., 62 George Street, Portman Square, W.; and Rockhampton, Queensland.
- 1869 MACDONALD, ALEXANDER J., Milland, Liphook, Hants; and 110 Cannon Street, E.C.
- 1880 †MACDONALD, JOSEPH, J.P., Sutherland House, Egham, Surrey.
- 1892 MACFADYEN, JAMES J., Millbrook, Bedwardine Road, Upper Norwood, S.E.
- 1873 †MACFARLAN, ALEXANDER, Torrish, Helmsdale, N.B.
- 1889 †MACFIE, JOHN W., Rowton Hall, Chester.
- 1889 MACFIE, MATTHEW, 25 Maitland Park Villas, Haverstock Hill, N.W.
- 1890 MACGREGOR, WM. GRANT, 18 Coleman Street, E.C.
- 1881 †MACIVER, DAVID, Wanlass How, Ambleside.
- 1881 MACKAY, A. MACKENZIE, 50 Lime Street, E.C.
- 1895 †MACKAY, DANIEL J., Hawthornden, Greenroft Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.
- 1893 MACKAY, DONALD, Beay Villa, Bodenham Road, Hereford.
- 1893 MACKENZIE, ARTHUR CECIL, care of Australian Joint Stock Bank, 2 King William Street, E.C.; and 33 Perham Road, W.
- 1885 †MACKENZIE, COLIN.
- 1890 MACKENZIE, GEORGE S., 52 Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W.
- 1882 MACKIE, DAVID, 1 Gliddon Road, West Kensington, W.
- 1886 MACKINTOSH, P. ARTHUR, The Limes, Avenue Road, Torquay.
- 1889 MACLEAN, ROBERT M., Eliot Hill, Blackheath, S.E.
- 1889 MACLEAB, REAR-ADMIRAL J. P., Beaconsroft, Chiddingfold, Godalming; and United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1896 †MACLEAY, SINCLAIR, 1 Norfolk Street, Park Lane, W
- 1887 MACMILLAN, MAURICE, 29 Bedford Street, W.C.
- 1892 MACPAIL, ALEXANDER J., 10 St. Helens Place, E.C.
- 1887 MACPHERSON, LACHLAN A., Wyrley Grove, Pelsall, Walsall.
- 1882 MACROSTY, ALEXANDER, West Bank House, Esher.
- 1869 MCARTHUR, ALEXANDER, 79 Holland Park, W.
- 1886 MCARTHUR, JOHN P., 18 Silk Street, Cripplegate, E.C.
- 1883 MCARTHUR, WM. ALEXANDER, M.P., 14 Sloane Gardens, S.W.; and 18 & 19 Silk Street, Cripplegate, E.C.
- 1885 MCCAUL, GILBERT JOHN, Creggandarroch, Chislehurst; and 27 Walbrook, E.C.
- 1892 †MCCONNELL, ARTHUR J., 7 Bramham Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
- 1893 MCCONNELL, FREDERICK V., 65 Holland Park, W.
- 1890 †MCCULLOCH, GEORGE, 184 Queen's Gate, S.W.
- 1883 McDONALD, JAMES E., 4 Chapel Street, Cripplegate, E.C.
- 1887 McDONALD, JOHN, 43 Threadneedle Street, E.C.
- 1882 McDONELL, ARTHUR W., 2 Rectory Place, Portsmouth Road, Guildford.
- 1882 MCEVEN, DAVID PAINTER, 24 Pembroke Square, W.
- 1883 MCGAW, JOSEPH, Mickleham Downs, Dorking, Surrey.
- 1894 MCGOWAN, DAVID H., 9 Australian Avenue, E.C.
- 1879 MCILWRAITH, ANDREW, 3 & 4 Lime Street Square, E.C.
- 1884 MCINTYRE, J. P., 3 New Basinghall Street, E.C.
- 1880 MCKELLAR, THOMAS, Lerags House, near Oban, N.B.

Year of  
Election.

- 1886 M'KEONE, HENRY, C.E., 9 Victoria Street, S.W.  
 1886 McLEAN, NORMAN, West Hall, Sherborne, Dorset.  
 1882 McLEAN, T. M., 61 Belsize Park, N.W.  
 1885 McMAHON, GENERAL C. J., R.A., Knocklofty, Clonmel, Ireland; and  
*Junior Army and Navy Club, St. James's Street, W.*  
 1883 MAINWARING, RANDOLPH.  
 1878 MALCOLM, A. J., 27 Lombard Street, E.C.  
 1895 MALCOMSON, DAVID, care of Messrs. Coultis & Co., 59 Strand, W.C.  
 1879 MALLESON, FRANK R., Dixton Manor House, Winchcombe, Cheltenham.  
 1883 †MALLESON, COLONEL GEORGE BRUCE, C.S.I., 27 West Cromwell Road,  
*S.W.; and Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*  
 1885 MANDER, S. THEODORE, B.A., Wightwick Manor, Wolverhampton.  
 1883 MANLEY, WILLIAM, 106 Cannon Street, E.C.  
 1896 MANNING, JOHN R., M.S.A., Milkwood Estate Office, Herne Hill, S.E.  
 1892 MARDEN, WILLIAM, 8 Thornsett Road, Anerley, S.E.  
 1886 MARKS, DAVID, Astwood House, 111 Cromwell Road, S.W.  
 1885 MARSDEN, THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP, D.D., Dyrham Lodge, Clifton Park,  
*Bristol.*  
 1885 MARSHALL, ARTHUR, 7 East India Avenue, E.C.  
 1881 MARSHALL, ERNEST LUXMOORE, 9 St. Helen's Place, E.C.  
 1886 MARSTON, EDWARD, St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, E.C.  
 1896 MARTIN, EDWARD, 112 Fenchurch Street, E.C.  
 1882 †MARTIN, FRANCIS, The Grange, Wroxham, Norfolk.  
 1886 MARTIN, HENRY, 13 Fitzjohn's Avenue, N.W.  
 1889 MARTIN, JAMES, Sunnyside, Palace Road, Streatham, S.W.; and Suffolk  
*House, Laurence Pountney Hill, E.C.*  
 1884 MATHERS, EDWARD P., Glenalmond, Foxgrove Road, Beckenham; and  
*39 Old Broad Street, E.C.*  
 1886 †MATHESON, ALEX. PERCEVAL, 31 Lombard Street, E.C.  
 1893 MATON, LEONARD J., B.A., Grosvenor Lodge, Wimbledon.  
 1880 MATTERSON, WILLIAM, Tower Cressy, Campden Hill, W.  
 1886 MATTHEWS, JAMES, 45 Jesmond Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne; and St. George's  
*Club, Hanover Square, W.*  
 1885 MATTHEWS, LIEUT.-COLONEL R. LEE, 1 Myrtle Crescent, Acton, W.  
 1894 MAURICE, JOHN A., Bromley Green Farm, Keele, Newcastle, Staffs.  
 1878 MEINERTZHAGEN, ERNEST LOUIS, 4 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W.  
 1891 MELDRUM, JOHN WHITE, Osborne Villa, Torrington Park, North Finchley, N.  
 1886 MELHUISE, WILLIAM, Constitutional Club, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.  
 1872 MEREWETHER, F. L. S., Ingatestone Hall, Ingatestone, Essex.  
 1889 METCALFE, SIR CHARLES H. T., BART., Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.  
 1877 †METCALFE, FRANK E., 39 Craven Park, Harlesden, N.W.  
 1878 MEWBURN, WILLIAM R., 71 Cornhill, E.C.  
 1890 MILBOURN, CHARLES KINGSLEY, 25 Lime Street, E.C.  
 1889 MILLER, CHARLES A. DUFF, 46 Belgrave Road, S.W.  
 1892 MILLS, REV. J. GRANT, M.A., St. Thomas's Hospital, S.E.  
 1895 MILNER, SIR ALFRED, K.C.B., 47, Duke Street, St. James's, S.W.  
 1883 MILNER, ROBERT, Kingsholme, East Hagbourne, Didcot.  
 1896 MITCHELL, EDMUND, M.A., Pluscarden, Kenilworth Road, Ealing, W.  
 1895 †MITCHELL, JOHN STEVENSON, 86 Thicket Road, Sydenham, S.E.; and 43  
*London Wall, E.C.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1890 MITCHELL, WILLIAM, 25 Fenchurch Street, E.C.  
 1884 MITCHEMER, JOHN, Highlands, Thurlow Hill, West Dulwich, S.E.  
 1878 MOCATTA, ERNEST G., 4 Throgmorton Avenue, E.C.  
 1893 MOIR, ROBERT W. D., 3 Holly Terrace, Highgate, N.  
 1883 MOLESWORTH, THE REV. VISCOUNT, St. Petrock Minor, St. Issey, Cornwall.  
 1895 MOLTENO, PERCY ALLPORT, 10 Palace Court, Bayswater, W.  
 1884 †MONRO, MALCOLM, Cane Grove, 10 Kelvinside Gardens, Glasgow.  
 1884 MONTEFIORE, HERBERT B., 11 Queen Victoria Street, E.C.  
 1885 MONTEFIORE, JOSEPH G., 1 Cloisters, Temple, E.C.  
 1889 MONTEFIORE, LOUIS P., 35 Hyde Park Square, W.  
 1894 †MOON, EDWARD R. P., M.P., 32 Egerton Gardens, S.W.  
 1885 MOORE, ARTHUR CHRISOLM, 23 Essex Street, Strand, W.C.  
 1884 MOORE, JOHN, 23 Knightrider Street, E.C.  
 1883 †MOORHOUSE, EDWARD, care of Bank of New Zealand, 1 Queen Victoria Street, E.C.  
 1885 MORRING, CHARLES ALGERNON, M.Inst.C.E., F.G.S., Moore Place, Esher.  
 1891 MORGAN, SURGEON-MAJOR A. HICKMAN, D.S.O., 14 Grosvenor Place, S.W.  
 1886 MORGAN, RT. HON. SIR GEORGE OSBORNE, Bart., Q.C., M.P., 59 Green Street, Grosvenor Square, W.  
 1894 †MORGAN, GWYN VAUGHAN, 37 Harrington Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.  
 1868 MORGAN, SEPTIMUS VAUGHAN, 37 Harrington Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.; and 42 Cannon Street, E.C.  
 1884 MORGAN, WILLIAM PRITCHARD, M.P., 1 Queen Victoria Street, E.C.  
 1882 MORRIS, DANIEL, C.M.G., M.A., D.Sc., F.L.S., 14 Cumberland Road, Kew, S.W.  
 1885 MORRIS, EDWARD ROBERT, J.P., 61 Fitzjohn's Avenue, N.W.  
 1887 †MORRISON, JOHN S., Thatched House Club, St. James's Street, S.W.  
 1886 MORRISON, WALTER, M.P., Malham Tarn, Bell Busk, Leeds; and 77 Cromwell Road, S.W.  
 1889 †MORROGH, JOHN, Military Road, Cork.  
 1869 MORT, WILLIAM, 1 Stanley Crescent, Notting Hill, W.  
 1891 MORTEN, ALEXANDER, 21 Hogarth Road, Earl's Court, S.W.  
 1885 MOSENTHAL, HARRY, 23 Dawson Place, Bayswater, W.  
 1884 MOSSE, JAMES ROBERT, M.Inst.C.E., 5 Chiswick Place, Eastbourne.  
 1891 MÜCK, FRED A. E., Devonshire Club, St. James's Street, S.W.  
 1885 †MUIR, ROBERT, Heathlands, Wimbledon Common.  
 1896 MURE, ANDREW (late Judge of the Supreme Court, Mauritius) 51 Warwick Road, Earl's Court, S.W.  
 1886 MURRAY, ALEXANDER KEITH, Ellerslie, Crieff, N.B.  
 1885 †MURRAY, CHARLES, Kylemore, Eton Avenue, Hampstead, N.W.  
 1896 MURRAY, JAMES, Lindores, Bromley Road, Beckenham.  
 1884 MUSGRAVE, GEORGE A., Furzebank, Torquay; and Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.  
 1889 MYERS, ALEXANDER, 125 Sutherland Avenue, Maida Vale, W.  
 1875 †NATIN, JOHN, Garth House, Torre's Park Road, Ilfracombe.  
 1881 NATHAN, ALFRED N., 6 Hamsell Street, E.C.  
 1885 NATHAN, LOUIS A., Dashwood House, 9 New Broad Street, E.C.  
 1890 NAUNTON, GEORGE HERBERT, 75 Chcapside, E.C.

Year of  
Election.

- 1874 †NAL, HON. SIR VIRGILE, K.C.M.G., M.L.C. (*Port Louis, Mauritius*), *care of Messrs. Chalmers, Guthrie, & Co., 9 Idol Lane, E.C.*
- 1881 NEAVE, EDWARD S., 7 *Great St. Helen's, E.C.*
- 1894 NEIL, WILLIAM, 85 *Walbrook, E.C.*
- 1894 NEILL, HAROLD, 8 *Canning Place, De Vere Gardens, W.*
- 1888 †NEISH, WILLIAM, *The Laws, Dundee; and Hogarth Club, Dover Street, W.*
- 1881 NELSON, EDWARD MONTAGUE, *Hanger Hill House, Ealing, W.*
- 1886 NELSON, GEORGE HENRY, *The Lawn, Warwick.*
- 1893 NELSON, HAROLD, *Hanger Hill House, Ealing, W.*
- 1882 NESS, GAVIN PARKER, 19 *Porchester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.*
- 1889 NESTLE, WILLIAM D., *Royal London Yacht Club, 2 Savile Row, W.*
- 1888 NEUMANN, SIGMUND, *Warnford Court, E.C.*
- 1886 NICHOL, ROBERT, 11 *Bunhill Row, E.C.*
- 1891 NICHOLLS, ALFRED M., 8 *Courtfield Gardens, S.W.*
- 1892 †NICHOLLS, WALTER, *White Rock, Canterbury, New Zealand.*
- 1868 NICHOLSON, SIR CHARLES, BART., *The Grange, Totteridge, Herts, N.*
- 1887 NICHOLSON, DANIEL, 51 *St. Paul's Churchyard, E.C.*
- 1884 NICOL, GEORGE GARDEN, 5 *Cambridge Gate, Regent's Park, N.W.*
- 1884 NIVEN, GEORGE, *Commercial Bank of Australia, Limited, 1 Bishopsgate Street, E.C.*
- 1889 †NIVISON, ROBERT, *Warnford Court, E.C.*
- 1883 NORMAN, GENERAL SIR HENRY W., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.I.E., 67 *Onslow Square, S.W.*
- 1880 NORTH, CHARLES, *Sun-Woodhouse, near Huddersfield.*
- 1878 NORTH, FREDERICK WILLIAM, F.G.S., 18 *St. Swithin's Lane, E.C.*
- 1882 †NORTH, HARRY, *Junior Conservative Club, Albemarle Street, W.*
- 1891 †NORTHESE, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, 19 *Herbert Crescent, Hans Place, S.W.*
- 1895 NOWLAN, JOHN, A.M.Inst.C.E., *Riber, Auckland Hill, West Norwood, S.E.*
- 1886 NUGENT, COLONEL SIR CHARLES B. P. H., R.E., K.C.B., *Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W.*
- 1889 O'BRIEN, WILLIAM F., 98 *Cannon Street, E.C.*
- 1888 OMMANNY, SIR MONTAGU F., K.C.M.G., *Crown Agent for the Colonies, Downing Street, S.W.*
- 1889 ONSLOW, RT. HON. THE EARL OF, G.C.M.G., 7 *Richmond Terrace, Whitehall, S.W.*
- 1875 †OPFENHEIM, HERMANN.
- 1894 ORONHYATEKHA, ACLAND, M.D., 24 *Charing Cross, S.W.*
- 1883 †OSBORNE, CAPTAIN FRANK, *Moreton Morrell, Warwick.*
- 1889 OSBURN, HENRY, M.Inst.C.E. (*New Brunswick Emigration Agent*), 24 *Cedars Road, Clapham Common, S.W.*
- 1882 OSWALD, WM. WALTER, *National Bank of Australasia, 123 Bishopsgate Street, E.C.*
- 1872 OTWAY, RIGHT HON. SIR ARTHUR JOHN, BART., 34 *Eaton Square, S.W.; and Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1886 OWEN, EDWARD CUNLIFFE, C.M.G., 9 *Westbourne Crescent, W.*
- 1890 OWEN, P. BERRY, 9 *Palace Road, Streatham Hill, S.W.*
- 1895 OXLEY, JAMES O., 71 *King William Street, E.C.*

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- 1879 †PADDON, JOHN, *Suffolk House, 6 Laurence Pountney Hill, E.C.*  
 1896 PAPENFUS, STEPHEN.  
 1880 PARBURY, CHARLES, *3 De Vere Gardens, Kensington, W.*  
 1889 †PARFITT, CAPTAIN JAMES L., *2 Humber Road, Westcombe Park, Blackheath, S.E.*  
 1879 PARFITT, CAPTAIN WILLIAM, *56 Craster Road, Brixton Hill, S.W.*  
 1891 PARK, THOMAS, *care of Messrs. Geddes, Birt & Co., 2 Fenchurch Avenue, E.C.*  
 1880 PARK, W. C. CUNNINGHAM, *25 Lime Street, E.C.*  
 1886 PARKER, ARCHIBALD, *Camden Wood, Chislehurst; and 2 East India Avenue, E.C.*  
 1889 †PARKER, HENRY, *Iwer, Bucks.*  
 1893 †PARKIN, GEORGE R., M.A., *Upper Canada College, Toronto, Canada.*  
 1885 PARKINGTON, MAJOR J. ROPER, J.P., *24 Crutched Friars, E.C.; 6 Devonshire Place, W.; and St. Stephen's Club, Westminster, S.W.*  
 1888 PASTEUR, HENRY, *19 Queen Street, Mayfair, W.*  
 1869 PATERSON, JOHN, *7 & 8 Australian Avenue, E.C.*  
 1886 †PATERSON, J. GLAISTER, *7 & 8 Australian Avenue, E.C.*  
 1892 PATON, LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN, *Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*  
 1887 †PATTERSON, MYLES, *7 Egerton Gardens, S.W.; and Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*  
 1881 PAUL, HENRY MONCRIEFF, *12 Lansdowne Crescent, Notting Hill, W.*  
 1896 PAYNE, EDWARD J., *2, Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.*  
 1880 PAYNE, JOHN, *34 Coleman Street, E.C.; and Park Grange, Sevenoaks.*  
 1881 †PEACE, WALTER, C.M.G. (Agent-General for Natal), *64 Victoria Street, S.W.*  
 1877 PEACOCK, GEORGE, *27 Milton Street, Fore Street, E.C.*  
 1885 †PEAKE, GEORGE HERBERT, B.A., LL.B., *Hooton Pagnell Hall, Doncaster*  
 1887 PEARS, WALTER, *9 Gracechurch Street, E.C.*  
 1895 PEARSE, ARTHUR L., *7 St. Mildred's Court, Poultry, E.C.*  
 1896 †PEARSON, SIR WERTMAN D., BART., M.P., *Paddockhurst, Worth, Sussex; and 10 Victoria Street, S.W.*  
 1894 PEASE, ALFRED JOHN, J.P., *22 Corn Exchange Buildings, Manchester.*  
 1878 †PEEK, CUTHBERT EDGAR, *22 Belgrave Square, S.W.*  
 1883 †PEEK, SIR HENRY W., BART., *Rousdon, Lyme Regis.*  
 1896 †PEMBERTON, MAJOR ERNEST, R.E., *25, Lennox Gardens S.W.; and United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*  
 1882 PEMBERTON, H. W., *Trumpington Hall, Cambridge.*  
 1894 PENDER, JOHN DENISON, *Eastern Telegraph Co., Winchester House, 50 Old Broad Street, E.C.*  
 1884 PENNEY, EDWARD C., *8 West Hill, Sydenham, S.E.*  
 1892 PERCEVAL, SIR WESTBY B., K.C.M.G., *30 St. Swithin's Lane, E.C.*  
 1890 PERKINS, HENRY A., *2 Gliddon Road, West Kensington, W.*  
 1896 PERKS, ROBERT WM., M.P., A.M.Inst.C.E., *11 Kensington Palace Gardens, W.*  
 1880 PERRING, CHARLES, *Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*  
 1885 PETER, FRANK, *23 St. Mary-at-Hill, Eastcheap, E.C.*  
 1882 PETERS, GORDON DONALDSON, *Moorfields, E.C.*  
 1879 †PETHERICK, EDWARD A., *1A Woburn Place, Russell Square, W.C.*  
 1896 PHILLIMORE, MAJOR W. G., *Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W.*



## Year of Election.

- 1884 PICKERING, WILLIAM A., C.M.G., 140 *Lexham Gardens, W.*
- 1888 †PLANT, EDMUND H. T., *Charters Towers, Queensland.*
- 1894 PLAYFORD, HON. THOMAS (Agent-General for South Australia), 1 *Crosby Square, E.C.*
- 1882 PLYDELL, T. G., *Royal London Yacht Club, 2 Savile Row, W.*
- 1885 POLLARD, W. F. B., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., 4 *Wellington Crescent, Ramsgate.*
- 1884 POOLE, JOHN B., *Tudor House, Hadley, New Barnet.*
- 1869 †POORE, MAJOR R., 1 *Carlisle Gardens, Chelsea, S.W.*
- 1892 PORTER, ROBERT, 37 *Chalmers Street, Edinburgh.*
- 1885 POSNO, CHARLES JAQUES, *The Woodlands, Grove Park, Lee, S.E.; and 19 Finsbury Circus, E.C.*
- 1885 †POTTER, JOHN WILSON, 2 *Fenchurch Avenue, E.C.*
- 1887 POWER, EDMUND B., *Greenmount, Plaistow Lane, Bromley, Kent.*
- 1876 PRAED, ARTHUR CAMPBELL, 39 *Norfolk Square, W.*
- 1873 PRANCE, REGINALD H., 2 *Hercules Passage, E.C.; and The Ferns, Froggnal, Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1882 PRANKERD, PERCY J., 1 *New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.*
- 1881 PRANKERD, PETER D., *The Knoll, Sneyd Park, Clifton, Bristol.*
- 1868 PRATT, J. J., 79 *Queen Street, Cheapside, E.C.*
- 1885 PREECE, WM. HENRY, C.B., F.R.S., M.Inst.C.E., *Gothic Lodge, Wimbledon.*
- 1883 PREVITÉ, JOSEPH WEDDON, *Oak Lodge, Pond Road, Blackheath, S.E.*
- 1881 PRICE, EVAN J., 27 *Clement's Lane, E.C.*
- 1878 PRINCE, JOHN S., 8 *Cornwall Mansions, Cornwall Gardens, S.W.*
- 1891 PRITCHARD, LIEUT.-GENERAL GORDON D., R.E., C.B., *Cleeve, Montague Road, Richmond, S.W.; and United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1886 PRILLEVITZ, J. M., 1 *Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.*
- 1882 PROBYN, LESLEY CHARLES, 79 *Onslow Square, S.W.*
- 1890 PROCTOR, PHILIP F., *Colonial Bank, 13 Bishopsgate Street, E.C.*
- 1874 PUGH, W. R., M.D., 60 *Belsize Park, South Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1894 PULESTON, SIR JOHN HENRY, 2 *Whitehall Court, S.W.*
- 1882 PURVIS, GILBERT, 5 *Bow Churchyard, E.C.*
- 1884 RADCLIFFE, P. COPLESTON, *Derriford, Crown Hill R.S.O. Devon; and Union Club, S.W.*
- 1887 RADFORD, ALFRED, 69 *Queen's Gardens, Hyde Park, W.; and 4 Harcourt Buildings, Temple, E.C.*
- 1882 RAINEY, MAJOR-GENERAL ARTHUR MACAN, *Trowscoed Lodge, Cheltenham.*
- 1888 RAIT, GEORGE THOMAS, 70 & 71 *Bishopsgate Street Within, E.C.*
- 1881 RALLI, PANDELI, 17 *Belgrave Square, S.W.*
- 1884 RAMSAY, ROBERT, *Howletts, Canterbury.*
- 1872 RAMSDEN, RICHARD, *Chadwick Manor, Knowle, Warwickshire.*
- 1889 RAND, EDWARD E., 200 *Trinity Road, Wandsworth Common, S.W.; and National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, S.W.*
- 1889 †RANDALL, EUGENE T., 6 *South Square, Gray's Inn, W.C.*
- 1887 RANKEN, PETER, *Furness Lodge, East Sheen, Surrey.*
- 1880 †RANKIN, JAMES, M.P., 35 *Ennismore Gardens, S.W.; and Bryngwyn, Hereford.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1894 RAWES, LIEUT.-COLONEL WM. WOODWARD, R.A., *Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W.*
- 1880 RAWSON, CHARLES C., 14 Bisham Gardens, Highgate, N.; and 34 Gresham Street, E.C.
- 1889 RAYMOND, REV. C. A., *The Vicarage, Bray, near Maidenhead.*
- 1892 READMAN, JAMES BURGESS, D.Sc., 4 Lindsay Place, Edinburgh.
- 1881 †REAT, RT. HON. LORD, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., 6 Great Stanhope Street, W.
- 1894 REEVES, HUGH WM., *Temple Chambers, Temple Avenue, E.C.*
- 1896 REEVES, HON. WILLIAM P. (Agent-General for New Zealand), 13 Victoria Street, S.W.
- 1889 REID, MAJOR-GENERAL A. T., *Derby House, Victoria Road, Norwood, S.E.*
- 1896 REID, DAVID BOSWELL, M.R.C.S.E., 78 Gower Street, W.C.
- 1879 REID, GEORGE, 79 Queen Street, Cheapside, E.C.
- 1893 RENNIE, GEORGE B., 20 Lowndes Street, S.W.
- 1883 RENNIE, GEORGE HALL, 6 East India Avenue, E.C.
- 1896 RICARDE-SHAVER MAJOR FRANCIS I., A. Inst.C.E., F.G.S., 16 Grafton Street, W.; and *Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1890 †RICHARDS, REV. W. J. B., D.D., *St. Charles' College, St. Charles' Square, North Kensington, W.*
- 1893 RICHARDSON, JAMES H., *New Lodge, Hendon, N.W.*
- 1882 RICHARDSON, WILLIAM RIDLEY, *Lascelles, Shortlands, Kent.*
- 1881 RIDLEY, WILLIAM, M.Inst.C.E., F.G.S., *Woodhatch, Mount Ephraim Road, Streatham, S.W.*
- 1896 RIPPON, JOSEPH, 33, *Old Broad Street, E.C.*
- 1891 RIVINGTON, W. JOHN, "*British Trade Journal*," 24 Mark Lane E.C. and 21 Gledhow Gardens, S.W.
- 1894 ROBERTS, G. Q., M.A., *London Hospital, Whitechapel Road, E.*
- 1896 ROBERTS, RICHARD NEVILL, 3 *St. John's Wood Park, N.W.*
- 1892 ROBERTS, THOMAS FRANCIS, *Gower House, George Street, N.W.*
- 1884 ROBERTS, THOMAS LANGDON, *Rookhurst, Bedford Park, Croydon.*
- 1881 ROBERTSON, CAMPBELL A., *Dashwood House, 9 New Broad Street, E.C.* and 11 *Oakhill Park, Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1887 ROBINS, EDWARD, C.E.
- 1869 ROBINSON, MAJOR-GENERAL C. W., C.B., *Chelsea Hospital, S.W.*
- 1889 ROBINSON, G. CROSLAND,
- 1883 ROBINSON, HENRY JAMES, F.S.S., *St. John's Villa, Woodlands, Isleworth.*
- 1894 †ROBINSON, JOSEPH B., *Dudley House, Park Lane, W.;* and 1 *Bank Buildings, Lothbury, E.C.*
- 1889 ROBINSON, THOMAS B., Messrs. *McIlwraith McEacharn & Co., 4 Lime Street Square, E.C.*
- 1879 ROBINSON, SIR WILLIAM C. F., G.C.M.G., 4 *Belgrave Place, S.W.*
- 1896 ROBSON, CHARLES R., *Batchacre Hall, Newport, Salop.*
- 1894 ROCKE, CHARLES, 2 *Prince Arthur Road, Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1886 ROLLO, WILLIAM, 5 *Stanley Gardens, Kensington Park, W.*
- 1885 ROME, ROBERT, 45 *Dover Street, Piccadilly, W.*
- 1888 †RONALD, BYRON L., 14 *Upper Phillimore Gardens, W.*
- 1876 RONALD, R. B., *Pembury Grange, near Tunbridge Wells.*
- 1888 ROPER, FREEMAN, M.A. Oxon., 32 *Great St. Helena, E.C.*
- 1878 ROSE, B. LANCASTER, 1 *Cromwell Road, South Kensington, S.W.*
- 1879 ROSE, CHARLES D., *Bartholomew House, E.C.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1881 †ROSEBERRY, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, K.G., K.T., 38 *Berkley Square, W.*; and *Dalmeny, near Edinburgh, N.B.*
- 1891 ROSS, ALEXANDER, *St. Kierans, Lawrie Park Road, Sydenham, S.E.*
- 1888 ROSS, CAPTAIN GEORGE E. A., F.G.S., 8 *Collingham Gardens, S.W.*; and *Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1885 ROSS, HUGH C., *Standard Bank of South Africa, 10 Clement's Lane, E.C.*
- 1880 ROSS, JOHN, *Morven, North Hill, Highgate, N.*; and 63 *Finsbury Pavement, E.C.*
- 1882 ROSS, J. GRAFTON, *St. Stephen's Manor, Cheltenham*; and *Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*
- 1881 ROTHE, H. LING, 32 *Prescott Street, Halifax.*
- 1894 ROTHWELL, GEORGE, 5 *Throgmorton Avenue, E.C.*
- 1889 ROYDS, CHARLES JAMES, *Windham Club, St. James's Square, S.W.*
- 1890 ROYDS, EDMUND M., *Windham Club, St. James's Square, S.W.*
- 1892 RUMNEY, HOWARD, F.R.G.S., *Park Nook, Enfield*; and *Devonshire Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*
- 1879 RUSSELL, P. N., *Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*; and 66 *Queensborough Terrace, W.*
- 1895 RUSSELL, ROBERT C., 25 *Down Street, W.*
- 1875 RUSSELL, THOMAS, *Haremere, Ectingham, Sussex.*
- 1878 RUSSELL, THOMAS, C.M.G., 59 *Eaton Square, S.W.*
- 1875 RUSSELL, T. PUEVIS, *Warroch, Milnathort, Kinross-shire, N.B.*
- 1879 †RUSSELL, T. R., 18 *Church Street, Liverpool.*
- 1891 RUSSELL, WM. CECIL, *Haremere, Ectingham, Sussex.*
- 1889 RUTHERFORD, H. K., *Polmont, Kenley, Surrey.*
- 1886 SAALFELD, ALFRED, 28 *Evelyn Mansions, Carlisle Place, S.W.*
- 1881 †SAILLARD, PHILIP, 87 *Aldergate Street, E.C.*
- 1890 SALMON, EDWARD G., 1 *The Triangle, St. Quintin Park, W.*
- 1874 SAMUEL, SIE SAUL, K.C.M.G., C.B. (Agent-General for New South Wales), 9 *Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1893 SANDEMAN, ALBERT G., 32 *Grosvenor Street, W.*
- 1874 †SANDERSON, JOHN, *Buller's Wood, Chislehurst, Kent.*
- 1887 SANDOVER, WILLIAM, 7 *Union Court, Old Broad Street, E.C.*
- 1873 SASSOON, ARTHUR, 12 *Leadenhall Street, E.C.*
- 1891 †SAUNDERS, FREDERIC J., F.R.G.S., *Cambridge House, Harmondsworth, Slough.*
- 1885 SAVAGE, WM. FREDK., *Blomfield House, London Wall, E.C.*
- 1887 SCALES, G. MCARTHUR, 4 *Chapel Street, Cripplegate, E.C.*; and *St. Heliers, Orleans Road, Hornsey Rise, N.*
- 1886 SCALES, HERBERT F., 9 *Fenchurch Street, E.C.*
- 1895 SCAMMELL, EDWARD T., *Broad Street House, E.C.*
- 1885 †SCARTE, LYNESON E., M.A., *Elms Lea, Cleveland Walk, Bath.*
- 1877 SCHIFF, CHARLES, 22 *Lowndes Square, S.W.*
- 1896 SCHLICH, WILLIAM, PH. D., C.I.E., *Cooper's Hill College, Egham.*
- 1889 SCHOLEY, J. CRANFIELD, *Royal Thames Yacht Club, Albemarle Street, W.*
- 1882 SCHWARACHER, SIEGFRIED, 42 *Holborn Viaduct, E.C.*
- 1885 SCHWARTZ, C. E. R., M.A., *Trinity Lodge, Beulah Hill, S.E.*; and *Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*

<b>Year of Election.</b>	
1879	SCLANDERS, ALEXANDER, 10 Cedars Road, Clapham Common, S.W.
1884	SCONCE, CAPTAIN G. COLQUHOUN, Board of Trade Office, Custom House, Dublin.
1872	SCOTT, ABRAHAM, 8 Oxford Square, Hyde Park, W.
1893	SCOTT, ANDREW.
1886	SCOTT, ARCHIBALD E., Park Cottage, East Sheen, S.W.; and United University Club, Pall Mall East, S.W.
1886	SCOTT, CHARLES J., Hilgay, Guildford.
1886	SCOURFIELD, ROBERT, Hill House, Llanstephan, Carmarthenshire.
1893	SCRUTTON, JAMES HERBERT, 9 Gracechurch Street, E.C.
1881	SELBY, PRIDEAUX, Koroit, North Park, Croydon; and 4 Threadneedle Street, E.C.
1892	SELLAR, JAMES ANDERSON, Woodpark, Lewisham Park Crescent, S.E., and 36 Basinghall Street, E.C.
1886	SELWYN, RT. REV. BISHOP J. R., D.D., The Master's Lodge, Selwyn College, Cambridge.
1891	SEMPLE, JAMES C., F.R.G.S., 2 Marine Terrace, Kingstown Dublin.
1887	SENIOR, EDWARD NASSAU, 147 Cannon Street, E.C.
1871	SERCOOLD, G. PEARCE, 166 Sloane Street, S.W.
1888	SHAND, JAMES, M.Inst.C.E., Parkholme, Elm Park Gardens, S.W.; and 75 Upper Ground Street, S.E.
1888	SHAND, JOHN LOUDOUN, 24 Rood Lane, E.C.
1896	SHANKS, ARTHUR, M.Inst.C.E., Fairmile Lea, Cobham, Surrey.
1892	SHANNON, ARCHIBALD, care of Scottish Australian Investment Co., 50 Old Broad Street, E.C.
1886	†SHARP, EDMUND, The Cedars, Morland Avenue, Croydon.
1891	SHARPE, W. E. THOMPSON, M.P., 11 Ladbroke Square, Notting Hill, W.
1876	SHAW, COLONEL E. W., 44 Blackwater Road, Eastbourne.
1892	SHELFORD, WILLIAM, M.Inst.C.E., 35A Great George Street, Westminster, S.W.
1886	SHERLOCK, WILLIAM H., Beechcroft, Hopton Road, Streatham, S.W.
1893	SHERWOOD, N., Dunedin, Streatham Hill, S.W.
1880	†SHIPPARD, SIR SIDNEY G. A., K.C.M.G., Union Club, Trafalgar Square, S.W.
1874	SHIPSTER, HENRY F., 87 Kensington Gardens Square, W.; and Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
1887	†SHIRE, ROBERT W., St. Hillaire, Blunt Road, South Croydon.
1883	SHORT, CHARLES, Office of "The Argus," 80 Fleet Street, E.C.
1880	SHORTRIDGE, SAMUEL, 55 Gloucester Gardens, Hyde Park, W.
1886	SIDBY, CHARLES, 23 Harrington Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
1884	SILLEM, JOHN HENRY, Southlands, Esher, Surrey; and Junior Carlton Club, S.W.
1883	†SILVER, COLONEL HUGH A., Abbey Lodge, Chislehurst.
1868	†SILVER, S. W., 3 York Gate, Regent's Park, N.W.
1885	SIM, MAJOR-GENERAL EDWARD COYSGARNE, R.E., 37 Connaught Square, Hyde Park, W.; and United Service Club, S.W.
1884	†SIMMONS, FIELD-MARSHAL SIR LINTORN, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., 36 Cornwall Gardens, S.W.; and United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1881	SIMPSON, COMMANDER H. G., R.N., care of Messrs. Burnett & Co., 123 Pall Mall, S.W.

Year of  
Election.

- 1883 †SIMPSON, SURGEON-MAJOR FRANK, *Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly, W.*  
 1884 SINCLAIR, ARTHUR, *Meadow Bank, Cults, Aberdeen, N.B.*  
 1888 SINCLAIR, AUGUSTINE W., L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S. (Edin.), *Ivy Lodge, South Petherton, Somerset.*  
 1885 SINCLAIR, DAVID, 2 *Eliot Bank, Forest Hill, S.E.*; and 19 *Silver Street, E.C.*  
 1894 SINCLAIR, NORMAN A., 11 *St. George's Road, S.W.*  
 1895 SKINNER, WILLIAM BANKS, *Rushdene, Park Hill, Ealing, W.*  
 1887 SLADE, HENRY G., 16 *Upper Montagu Street, Montagu Square, W.*  
 1886 SEADEN, ST. BARBE, *Heathfield, Reigate.*  
 1894 SLADEN, ST. BARBE RUSSELL, *Heathfield, Reigate.*  
 1891 †SMART, FRANCIS G., M.A., *Bredbury, Tunbridge Wells.*  
 1895 SMITH, ALEXANDER DAWSON, *Belmar Terrace, Pollokshields, Glasgow.*  
 1888 SMITH, SIR CECIL CLEMENTI, G.C.M.G., *The Garden House, Wheat-hampstead, St. Albans.*  
 1893 SMITH, HON. SIR DONALD A., G.C.M.G., *High Commissioner for Canada, 17 Victoria Street, S.W.*  
 1889 †SMITH, D. JOHNSTONE, 149 *West George Street, Glasgow.*  
 1872 SMITH, SIR FRANCIS VILLENEUVE, 19 *Harrington Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.*  
 1885 SMITH, HENRY GARDNER, *Tinto, Killieser Avenue, Streatham Hill, S.W.*  
 1888 SMITH, JAMES, *Office of "The Cape Argus," 164 Fenchurch Street, E.C.*  
 1888 SMITH, JAMES WILLIAM, *Coldamo, Stromness, Orkney; and National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, S.W.*  
 1886 SMITH, JOHN, 2 *Aldermanbury Postern, E.C.*  
 1880 †SMITH, JOSEPH J., *Wells House, Ilkley, Yorkshire.*  
 1884 SMITH, SAMUEL M.P., *Carleton, Princes Park, Liverpool; and 11 Delahay Street, S.W.*  
 1884 SMITH, WALTER F., 37 *Royal Exchange, E.C.*  
 1886 SMITH, WILLIAM, J.P., *Sundon House, Clifton, Bristol.*  
 1896 SMYTH, GENERAL SIR HENRY A., K.C.M.G., *The Lodge, Stone, Aylesbury.*  
 1893 SMYTH, REV. STEWART, *St. Mark's Vicarage, Silvertown, E.*  
 1881 †SOMERVILLE, ARTHUR FOWNES, *Dinder House, Wells, Somerset; and Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*  
 1874 SOPER, WM. GARLAND, B.A., J.P., *Harestone, Caterham Valley; and Devonshire Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*  
 1886 SPANIER, ADOLF, 114 *Fellows Road, N.W.*  
 1880 SPENCE, EDWIN J., *Elyhaugh, King Charles Road, Surbiton.*  
 1890 SPENCE, LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN, 15 *Victoria Park, Dover.*  
 1893 SPENCER, T. EDWARD, *Common Room, Middle Temple, E.C.*  
 1894 SPENS, REGINALD HOPE, W.S., 30 *Gt. George Street, Westminster, S.W.*  
 1873 SPENSLEY, HOWARD, F.R.G.S., 4 *Bolton Gardens West, S.W.*  
 1888 SPICER, ALBERT, M.P., 10 *Lancaster Gate, W.; and Brancepeth House, Woodford, Essex.*  
 1887 SPIERS, FELIX WILLIAM, 68 *Lowndes Square, S.W.*  
 1890 SPOTTISWOODE, GEORGE A., 3 *Cadogan Square, S.W.*  
 1883 †SPROSTON, HUGH, *Fir Hill Lodge, Southend Lane, Lower Sydenham, S.E.*  
 1885 SQUIBB, REV. GEORGE METLER, M.A., *Clothall Rectory, Baldock, Herts.*  
 1879 STAFFORD, SIR EDWARD W., G.C.M.G., 69 *Chester Square, S.W.*  
 ---- STALEY, T. P., 2 *Fenchurch Avenue, E.C.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1893 STAMFORD, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, 3 Whitehall Court, S.W.  
 1891 STAMFORD, EDWARD, JUN., 26 Cockspur Street, S.W.  
 1895 †STANFORD, WILLIAM, F.R.G.S., 26 Cockspur Street, S.W.  
 1886 †STANLEY, WALMSLEY, M.Inst.C.E., The Knowle, Lettigham Court Road, Streatham, S.W.  
 1883 STANMORE, RIGHT HON. LORD, G.C.M.G., 10 Sloane Gardens, S.W.; and The Red House, Ascot.  
 1878 STARKE, J. G. HAMILTON, M.A., F.S.A. (Scot.), Troqueur Holm, near Dumfries, N.B.  
 1896 STABLEY, JOHN K., Barr Hill, Coventry.  
 1875 STEIN, ANDREW, Broomfield, Copers Cope Road, Beckenham.  
 1894 STEPHENSON, ROWLAND MACDONALD, 21 Kensington Gardens Square, W.; and Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.  
 1891 STEPHENSON, THOMAS, North Stainley Hall, Ripon.  
 1896 STEVENS, CHARLES W., 18 Great St Helens, E.C.  
 1882 STEWART, CHARLES W. A., care of Messrs. Matheson & Grant, 13 Walbrook, E.C.  
 1883 STEWART, EDWARD C., care of Messrs. J. & R. Morison, Blackfriars Street, Perth, N.B.  
 1887 STEWART, ROBERT, Culgruff, Crossmichael, N.B.  
 1881 STEWART, ROBERT M., 28 Finsbury Street, E.C.  
 1874 †STERLING, SIR CHARLES E. F., BART., Glorat, Milton of Campsie, N.B.; and Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.  
 1881 STIRLING, J. ARCHIBALD, 15 Hereford Square, S.W.  
 1877 STONE, FREDERICK W., B.C.L., Holms Hill House, Ridge, Barnet; and 10 New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.  
 1893 STONHAM, ALLEN H. P., Messrs. Monkhouse, Goddard & Co., 28 St. Swithin's Lane, E.C.; and Haulkerton, Long Ditton.  
 1882 †STOW, F. S. PHILIPSON, Blackdown House, Haslemere, Surrey; and Union Club, Trafalgar Square, S.W.  
 1885 STRAFFORD, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, 5 St. James's Square, S.W.; and Wrotham Park, Barnet.  
 1875 †STRANGWAYS, HON. H. B. T., Shapwick, Bridgwater, Somerset.  
 1880 †STREET, EDMUND, Millfield Lane, Highgate Rise, N.  
 1883 STRICKLAND, OLIVER ROPER, Hampsfield, Putney, S.W.  
 1888 †STRUBEN, FREDERICK P. T., Malpas Lodge, Torquay.  
 1884 STUART, JOHN, F.R.G.S., 20 Bucklersbury, E.C.  
 1886 STUART, WALTER, Kingledores, Broughton, Peebleshire.  
 1894 STUCKEY, LEONARD CECIL, 270 King's Road, Chelsea, S.W.  
 1887 STURGES, E. M., M.A., Stanlake Park, Twyford, Berks.  
 1896 STURT, MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES S., Dibden Rectory, Southampton.  
 1895 STURT, COLONEL NAPIER G., Llanvihangel Court, near Abergavenny.  
 1891 SUTTON, ARTHUR WARWICK, Bucklebury Place, Woolhampton, Berks.  
 1891 SUTTON, LEONARD, Haselwood, Reading.  
 1896 SUTTON, M. H. FOQUETT, Christchurch, Oxford.  
 1896 SUTTON, MARTIN, J., Kidmore Grange, Caversham, Reading.  
 1883 SWANEY, FRANCIS, 147 Cannon Street, E.C.  
 1895 SWEET, THOMAS GEORGE, 4 Ravensbourne Park, Catford, S.E.  
 1889 SWIFT, DEAN, Steynsdorp, 100 Highbury New Park, N.  
 1890 SWINBURNE, U. P., 39 Cadogan Square, S.W.

Year of  
Election.

- 1889 †SYKES, GEORGE H., M.A., M. Inst. C.E., *Glencoe, Tooting Common, S.W.*  
 1876 SYMONS, G. J., F.R.S., 62 *Camden Square, N.W.*
- 1883 TALBOT, MAJOR-GENERAL THE HON. REGINALD, C.B., 58, *Grosvenor Square, W.*
- 1885 †TALLENTS, GEORGE WM., B.A., 62 *Ennismore Gardens, S.W.*
- 1883 TANGYE, GEORGE, *Heathfield Hall, Handsworth, Birmingham*; and 35 *Queen Victoria Street, E.C.*
- 1883 TANGYE, SIR RICHARD, *Gilbertstone, Kingston Vale, Putney, S.W.*; and 35 *Queen Victoria Street, E.C.*
- 1890 TANNER, PROFESSOR HENRY, M.R.A.C., *The Wallands, Silverhill, St. Leonards-on-Sea.*
- 1888 TANNER, J. EDWARD, C.M.G., M.Inst.C.E., 51, *Warwick Road, Earl's Court, S.W.*
- 1887 TAYLOR, ERNEST C.
- 1891 TAYLOR, HUGH L., 23 *Phillimore Gardens, W.*
- 1896 TAYLOR, INGLIS, M.B., F.R.C.S.E., *care of Bank of New South Wales, 64 Old Ipswich Street, E.C.*
- 1888 TAYLOR, JAMES B., *Gorkhambury, St. Albans.*
- 1886 TAYLOR, J. V. E., 14 *Cockspur Street, S.W.*; and *St. Faith's Vicarage, Wandsworth, S.W.*
- 1881 †TAYLOR, THEODORE C., *Sunny Bank, Batley, Yorkshire.*
- 1893 TEGETMEIER, CHARLES G., *Bank of New Zealand, 1 Queen Victoria St., E.C.*
- 1872 †TENNANT, HON. SIR DAVID, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for the Cape of Good Hope), 112 *Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1890 TENNANT, ROBERT, *Roffey, Horsham.*
- 1896 †TEW, HERBERT S., *Lansdowne Lodge, Westbrook, Worthing.*
- 1886 THOMAS, JAMES LEWIS, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., *Thatched House Club, St. James's*; and 26 *Gloucester Street, Warwick Square, S.W.*
- 1881 THOMAS, JOHN, 18 *Wood Street, E.C.*
- 1892 \*THOMPSON, SIR E. MAUNDE, K.C.B., LL.D., *British Museum, W.C.*
- 1889 THOMPSON, E. RUSSELL, *Trinity Bonded Tea Warehouses, Cooper's Row, Crutched Friars, E.C.*
- 1888 THOMPSON, E. SYMES, M.D., F.R.C.P., 38 *Cavendish Square, W.*
- 1890 †THOMPSON, SYDNEY, *Wood Dene, Sevenoaks.*
- 1889 THOMSON, ALEXANDER, *Bartholomew House, E.C.*
- 1876 THOMSON, J. DUNCAN, *The Old Rectory, Aston, Stevenage, Herts*; and *St. Peter's Chambers, Cornhill, E.C.*
- 1895 THOMSON, ROBERT, 173 *St. Vincent Street, Glasgow*; and 147 *Dashwood House, E.C.*
- 1886 THORNE, WILLIAM, Messrs. *Stuttaford & Co., New Union Street, Moor Lane, E.C.*; and *Rusdon, Rondebosch, Cape Colony.*
- 1877 THRUPP, LEONARD W., 51 *Princes Square, Bayswater, W.*
- 1891 TILLIE, ALEXANDER, *Maple House, Ballard's Lane, Finchley, N.*
- 1883 †TINLING, JAMES MADDER, *The Grange, Rookbeare, near Exeter.*
- 1893 TINNE, THEODORE F. S., *The Hall House, Hawkhurst, Kent.*
- 1892 TIPPETTS, WILLIAM J. B., 73 *Longridge Road, South Kensington, S.W.*; and 11 *Maiden Lane, E.C.*
- 1886 †TOD, HENRY, 21 *Mincing Lane, E.C.*

**Year of Election.**

- 1882 TOMKINSON, GEORGE ARNOLD, B.A., LL.B., 15 Pall Mall East, S.W.  
 1884 TOOTH, R. LUCAS, 1 Queen's Gate, S.W.  
 1885 TOPHAM, WILLIAM H., C.E., 2 Great George Street, Westminster, S.W.  
 1884 TORLESSE, COMMANDER ARTHUR W., R.N., care of Messrs. Woodhead & Co.,  
 44 Charing Cross, S.W.  
 1884 †TOWN, HENRY, Warnford Court, E.C.  
 1892 TOWNSEND, CHARLES, J.P., St. Mary's, Stoke Bishop, Bristol.  
 1884 †TRAVERS, JOHN AMORY, Dorney House, Weybridge, Surrey.  
 1889 TREDWEN, EDWARD B., 27 Walbrook, E.C.  
 1885 TRILL, GEORGE, 97 Belvedere Road, Upper Norwood, S.E.  
 1885 TRINDER, OLIVER J., 4 St. Mary Axe, E.C.  
 1886 TRITTON, J. HERBERT, 54 Lombard Street, E.C.  
 1883 TUPPER, HON. SIR CHARLES, BART., G.C.M.G., C.B., M.P., Ottawa, Canada.  
 1878 †TURNBULL, ALEXANDER, 80 Belsise Park Gardens, N.W.  
 1885 TURNBULL, ROBERT THORBURN, 5 East India Avenue, E.C.  
 1878 †TURNBULL, WALTER, Wellington, New Zealand.  
 1885 TURNER, GORDON, Colonial Bank, 13 Bishopsgate Street, E.C.  
 1896 TUSTIN, J. E., 156 Denmark Hill, S.E.  
 1896 TWEEDDALE, MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF, 6 Hill Street, Berkeley Square, W.  
 1886 TWYNAM, GEORGE E., M.D., 31 Gledhow Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.  
 1895 TYLER, ALDERMAN SIR GEORGE R., BART., 17 Penywern Road, South  
 Kensington, S.W.  
 1879 ULCOQ, CLEMENT J. A., 22 Pembroke Gardens, W.  
 1894 VALENTINE, CHARLES R., Whitcliffe, Grove Park, Lee, S.E.  
 1883 †VALENTINE, HUGH SUTHERLAND, Wellington, New Zealand.  
 1890 VANDER BYL, PHILIP BREDT, 51 Porchester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.  
 1895 VAN RYN, JACOBUS, Loudoun Hall, Grove End Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.  
 1888 VAUGHAN, R. WYNNDHAM, M.Inst.C.E., 25 Avonmore Road, West Kensington, W.; and Broad Street Avenue, E.C.  
 1887 VAUTIN, CLAUDE, 42 Old Broad Street, E.C.  
 1896 VAUX, WILLIAM E., 22 Billiter Street, E.C.  
 1888 VEITCH, JAMES A., Fysche Hall, Knaresborough.  
 1895 VERNON, HON. FORBES G. (Agent-General for British Columbia), 39  
 Victoria Street, S.W.  
 1884 †VINCENT, SIR C. E. HOWARD, C.B., M.P., 1 Grosvenor Square, W.  
 1890 VINCENT, J. E. MATTHEW, Hyde Park Court, S.W.  
 1879 VOGEL, SIR JULIUS, K.C.M.G., 2 River Bank, East Molesey, Kingston-on-  
 Thames.  
 1880 VOSS, HERMANN, Anglo-Continental Guano Works, 15 Leadenhall Street, E.C.  
 1884 WADDINGTON, JOHN, Sandhill Cottage, Beckenham.  
 1881 WADE, CECIL L., 7 Talbot Square, Hyde Park, W.  
 1884 WADE, NUGENT CHARLES, 128 Mount Street, Grosvenor Square, W.  
 1879 WAKEFIELD, CHARLES M., F.L.S., Belmont, Uxbridge.  
 1878 WALES, H.B.H. THE PRINCE OF, K.G., K.T., K.P., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.,  
 G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Marlborough House, S.W.  
 1896 WALES, DOUGLAS W., 145 Palmerston Buildings, E.C.  
 1890 WALKER, LIEUT.-COLONEL ARTHUR G., R.A., 2 Albemarle Villas, Stoke,  
 Devonport.



Year of  
Election.

- 1895 †WALKER, HENRY DE ROSENBUSH, 23 *Cork Street, W.*  
 1885 †WALKER, ROBERT J., F.R.G.S., F.R.Hist.S., *Ormidale, Knighton Park Road, Leicester.*  
 1887 WALKER, RUSSELL D., *North Villa, Park Road, Regent's Park, N.W.*  
 1894 WALLACE, LAWRENCE A., A.M.Inst.C.E., 18 *Burnt Ash Hill, Lee, S.E.*  
 1889 WALLACE, T. S. DOWNING, *Herohfield, Potters Bar.*  
 1879 WALLER, WILLIAM N., *The Grove, Bealings, Woodbridge, Suffolk.*  
 1882 WALLIS, H. BOYD, *Graylands, near Horsham.*  
 1893 WALTHAM, EDWARD, F.R.G.S., *Wolsingham House, 45 Christchurch Road, Streatham Hill, S.W.*  
 1896 WARBURTON, SAMUEL, 152 *Bedford Hill, Balham, S.W.*  
 1894 WARD, J. GRIFFIN, J.P., *Thornleigh, Stoneygate, Leicester.*  
 1880 WARREN, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR CHARLES, R.E., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., *Government House, Chatham.*  
 1882 WATERHOUSE, HON. G. M., *Hawthornden, Torquay.*  
 1885 †WATERHOUSE, LEONARD, *care of A. Bentley, Esq., 18 Walling Street, E.C.*  
 1895 WATERHOUSE, P. LESLIE, M.A., A.R.I.B.A., 9 *Staple Inn, Holborn, W.C.*  
 1885 WATERS, WILLIAM, 29 *Centra Park, Upper Norwood, S.E.*  
 1894 WATKINS, CHARLES S. C., *Ivy Bank, Mayfield, Sussex.*  
 1896 †WATSON, COLONEL CHARLES M., R.E., C.M.G., 43 *Thurloe Square, S.W.*  
 1896 WATSON, S. HARTLEY, *The Manor House, White Waltham, Berks.*  
 1884 WATSON, WILLIAM COLLING, 10 *Lyndhurst Road, Hampstead, N.W. ; and 15 Leadenhall Street, E.C.*  
 1887 †WATT, HUGH, *Grosvenor Club, New Bond Street, W.*  
 1884 WATT, JOHN B., *Princes Street Chambers, E.C.*  
 1888 †WATTS, JOHN, *Allendale, Wimborne, Dorset.*  
 1891 WEATHERLEY, CHARLES H., Messrs. Cooper Bros. & Co., 14 *George Street, Mansion House, E.C.*  
 1880 WEBB, HENRY B., *Holmdale, Dorking, Surrey.*  
 1869 WEBB, WILLIAM, *Newstead Abbey, near Nottingham.*  
 1886 WEBSTER, H. CARVICK, 10 *Huntly Gardens, Hillhead, Glasgow.*  
 1881 WEBSTER, ROBERT GRANT, M.P., 83 *Belgrave Road, S.W.*  
 1896 WEDDEL, PATRICK, G., 16 *St. Helen's Place, E.C.*  
 1892 WEDDEL, WILLIAM, 16 *St. Helen's Place, E.C.*  
 1895 WEIGHT, JAMES W., *English and Foreign Debenture Corporation, 2 Moor-gate Street, E.C.*  
 1883 WELD-BLUNDELL, HENRY, *Lulworth Castle, Wareham.*  
 1895 WELLER, WM. HAMILTON, 155 *Fenchurch Street, E.C.*  
 1893 †WELSTEAD, LEONARD, *Home Place, Battle.*  
 1869 WEMYSS AND MARCH, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, 23 *St. James's Place, S.W.*  
 1892 WEST, REV. HENRY M., M.A., *Sacombe Rectory, Ware.*  
 1875 WESTERN, CHARLES R., *Broadway Chambers, Westminster, S.W.*  
 1888 WESTON, DYSON, 138 *Leadenhall Street, E.C.*  
 1877 WETHERELL, WILLIAM S., 117 *Cannon Street, E.C.*  
 1880 WHARTON, HENRY, 19 *Beaufort Gardens, S.W.*  
 1888 WHEELER, ARTHUR H., *Ashenground, Haywards Heath ; and 188 Strand W.C.*  
 1878 WHEELER, CHARLES, 3 *Boulevard Grancy, Lausanne, Switzerland.*  
 1881 WHITE, LEEDHAM, 16 *Wetherby Gardens, S.W.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1892 WHITE, MONTAGU (Consul-General for the Transvaal), *Amberley House, Norfolk Street, W.C.*
- 1885 †WHITE, REV. W. MOORE, LL.D., *The Vicarage, Pokesdown, Bournemouth.*
- 1882 WHITE, ROBERT, *6 Milk Street Buildings, E.C.*
- 1893 WICKHAM, REGINALD W., *Millthorpe, Horsham.*
- 1885 WIENHOLT, EDWARD, *Wellisford Manor, Wellington, Somerset.*
- 1894 WIGAN, JAMES, J. P., *Cromwell House, Mortlake, S.W.*
- 1896 †WILKINS, THOMAS, *19 Lyndhurst Road, Peckham, S.E.; and 21 Great St. Helen's, E.C.*
- 1889 WILKINSON, RICHARD G., *Bank of Adelaide, 11 Leadenhall Street, E.C.*
- 1885 WILLANS, WM. HENRY, *23 Holland Park, W.; and High Cliffe, Seaton, Devon.*
- 1896 WILLATS, HENRY R., *Claringbold Cottage, St. Peter's Kent.*
- 1883 WILCOCKS, GEORGE WALLER, M.Inst.C.E., *4 College Hill, Cannon Street, E.C.*
- 1895 WILLIAMS, HIS HONOUR MR. JUSTICE CONDÉ (of Mauritius), *4 Park Crescent, Worthing.*
- 1884 WILLIAMS, JAMES, *Radstock Lodge, Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, S.W.*
- 1895 WILLIAMS, COLONEL ROBERT, M.P., *1 Hyde Park Street, W.; and Bridehead, Dorchester.*
- 1888 WILLIAMS, WALTER E., *6 Raymond Buildings, Gray's Inn, W.C.*
- 1896 WILLIAMS, REV. WATKIN W., *St. Augustine's College, Canterbury; and Savile Club, Piccadilly, W.*
- 1889 †WILLIAMSON, ANDREW, *27 Cornhill, E.C.*
- 1887 †WILLIAMSON, JOHN P. G., *Rothsay House, Richmond, S.W.; and Dale House, Halkirk, Caithness, N.B.*
- 1874 WILLS, GEORGE, *3 Chapel Street, Whitecross Street, E.C.*
- 1896 WILLS, J. HENRY, *3 Chapel Street, Whitecross Street, E.C.*
- 1886 WILLS, JOHN TAYLER, B.A., *Chelsea Lodge, Tite Street, Chelsea, S.W.; and 2 King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.*
- 1891 WILSON, REV. BERNARD R., M.A., *The Rectory, Kettering.*
- 1886 †WILSON, JOHN, *51 Courtfield Gardens, S.W.*
- 1878 WILSON, JOHN GEORGE HANNAY, *Longwood, Eastbourne.*
- 1889 WILSON, J. W., *Elmhurst, Kenley, Surrey.*
- 1868 †WOLFF, H.E. RIGHT HON. SIR HENRY DRUMMOND, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., *The British Embassy, Madrid, Spain; and Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1895 WOLF, WALTER HENRY, *21 Mincing Lane, E.C.*
- 1891 WOOD, ALFRED, *42 Westbourne Park Villas, Bayswater, W.*
- 1894 WOOD, GEORGE, *8A Mostyn Road, Brixton, S.W.*
- 1894 WOOD, THOMAS LETT, *41 Cathcart Road, South Kensington, S.W.; United University Club, Pall Mall East, S.W.*
- 1890 WOODALL, CORBET, C.E., *95 Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.*
- 1882 †WOODS, ARTHUR, *1 Drapers' Gardens, E.C.*
- 1884 WOODWARD, JAMES E., *Berily House, Bickley.*
- 1884 †WOOLLAN, BENJAMIN M., *Fairfield Lodge, Addison Road, W.*
- 1890 †WOOLLAN, FRANK M., *34 Dennington Park Road, Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1895 WORTHINGTON, GEORGE, *13 Cheniston Gardens, Kensington, W.*
- 1893 WRIGHT, ALFRED, *Bessingby Hall, Bridlington, Yorks.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1891 WRIGHT, CHARLES, *Land Corporation of Western Australia, 8 Cophall Buildings, E.C.; and Oaklands, 99 Burnt Ash Hill, Lee, S.E.*
- 1891 WRIGHT, HENRY, *35 Parliament Street, S.W.*
- 1896 WYLD, JOHN F., *38A Granville Gardens, Shepherd's Bush Green, W.*
- 1883 WILLIE, HARVEY, *Balgownie, Blyth Road, Bromley, Kent.*
- 1876 YARDLEY, SAMUEL, C.M.G., *New South Wales Government Office, 9 Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1888 YATES, LEOPOLD, *54 Cornwall Gardens, S.W.*
- 1892 YENNERGH, ROBERT A., M.P., *27 Princes Gate, S.W.*
- 1894 YORK, H.R.H. THE DUKE OF, K.G., *York House, St. James's Palace, S.W.*
- 1868 YOUL, SIR JAMES A., K.C.M.G., *Waratah House, Clapham Park, S.W.*
- 1889 YOUNG, EDMUND MACKENZIE, *care of Australian Mortgage Co., 13 Leadenhall Street, E.C.*
- 1894 YOUNG, EDWARD BURNET, *35 Walbrook, E.C.*
- 1890 YOUNG, EDWARD G.
- 1869 †YOUNG, SIR FREDERICK, K.C.M.G., *5 Queensberry Place, South Kensington, S.W.*
- 1888 YOUNG, COLONEL J. S., *13 Gloucester Street, S.W.*
- 1890 YUILLE, ANDREW B., *53 Nevern Square, Earl's Court, S.W.*

[1875]

## NON-RESIDENT FELLOWS.

Year of  
Election.

- 1889 ABBOTT, DAVID, 470 Chancery Lane, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1891 †ABBOTT, HARRY, Q.C., 11 Hospital Street, Montreal, Canada.
- 1889 ABBOTT, HENRY M., Barrister-at-Law, St. Kitts.
- 1884 †ABBOTT, PHILIP WILLIAM, Kingston, Jamaica.
- 1885 ABBOTT, HON. R. P., M.L.C., Union Club, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1894 ABDULLAH OF PERAK, THE EX-SULTAN, Singapore.
- 1891 ABERDEEN, H.E. RT. HON. THE EARL OF, G.C.M.G., Government House, Ottawa, Canada.
- 1895 ABBEY, HENRY, Ideal Farm, Sydenham, Natal.
- 1883 †ABURROW, CHARLES, F.R.G.S., P.O. Box 584, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1878 ACKROYD, EDWARD JAMES.
- 1891 †ACLAND, HENRY DYKE, Judges' Chambers, Chancery Square, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1883 ACTON-ADAMS, WILLIAM, J.P., Christchurch, New Zealand.
- 1893 ACUTT, LEONARD, care of Standard Bank, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1889 ACUTT, R. NOBLE, Durban, Natal.
- 1892 ADAMS, FRANCIS, Australian Joint Stock Bank, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1891 ADAMS, GEORGE HILL, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1894 ADAMS, PERCY, Barrister-at-Law, Nelson, New Zealand.
- 1894 ADAMS, RICHARD P., Sandgate, Brisbane, Queensland.
- 1895 ADAMS, REV. PRINCIPAL THOMAS, M.A., D.C.L., Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Quebec, Canada.
- 1896 ADCOCK, CHARLES C., P. O. Box 1079, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1893 ADOLPHUS GEORGE A. (Supervisor of Customs), Accra, Gold Coast Colony.
- 1886 ADLER, ISIDOR H., Central Hotel, Hamburg.
- 1887 †ADYE, MAJOR GOODSON, Mominabad, Deccan, India.
- 1893 AGAR, WALTER J., Lawrence Estate, Norwood, Ceylon.
- 1895 †AGBEBI, REV. MOJOLA, M.A., Ph.D., Lagos, West Africa.
- 1881 AGNEW, HON. SIR JAMES W., K.C.M.G., Hobart, Tasmania.
- 1881 †AIRTH, ALEXANDER, Durban, Natal.
- 1884 †AITKEN, JAMES, Geraldton, Western Australia.
- 1890 AITKEN, JAMES, care of Messrs. Dalgety & Co., Melbourne, Australia.
- 1876 AKERMAN, SIR JOHN W., K.C.M.G., Maritzburg, Natal.
- 1888 ALBRECHT, HENRY B., Greenfield, Mooi River, Natal.
- 1895 ALEXANDER, GORDON W. E. C., New Zealand.
- 1892 ALEXANDER, JOHN, Florence House, Cinnamon Gardens, Colombo, Ceylon.
- 1890 ALEXANDER, JOHN W., A.R.I.B.A., 12 Prospect Hill, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 1894 ALEXANDER, JAMES, Karamu, Wanganui, New Zealand.
- 1881 ALISON, JAMES, F.R.G.S., Union Club, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1891 ALLAN, ALEXANDER C., F.R.G.S., Australian Club, Melbourne, Australia.

Year of Election.	
1872	ALLAN, HON. G. W., <i>Moss Park, Toronto, Canada.</i>
1883	ALLAN, WILLIAM, <i>Brasside, Warwick, Queensland.</i>
1883	ALLDRIDGE, T. J., F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., District Commissioner, <i>Sherbro, West Africa</i> (Corresponding Secretary).
1883	†ALLEN, JAMES, M.H.R., <i>Dunedin, New Zealand</i> (Corresponding Secretary).
1887	ALLEN, J. SHILLITO, <i>Charters Towers, Queensland.</i>
1887	ALLEN, S. NESBITT, <i>Townsville, Queensland.</i>
1882	ALLEN, THAINE, <i>Kimberley, Cape Colony.</i>
1879	†ALLPORT, WALTER H., C.E., <i>The Repp, Newmarket P.O., Jamaica.</i>
1892	ALLWOOD, JAMES, Assistant Colonial Secretary, <i>Kingston, Jamaica.</i>
1892	ALSOP, DAVID G. E., <i>Messrs. Bligh &amp; Harbottle, Flinders Lane, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1882	AMBROSE, HON. AMBROSE POVAH, M.C.G., <i>Port Louis, Mauritius.</i>
1885	AMHERST, THE HON. J. G. H., M.L.C., <i>Perth, Western Australia.</i>
1888	AMPELETT, GEORGE T., <i>Standard Bank, Cape Town, Cape Colony.</i>
1892	ANDERSON, C. WILGESS, J.P., <i>Government Land Department, Georgetown, British Guiana.</i>
1873	†ANDERSON, DICKSON, 67 <i>St. Famille, Montreal, Canada.</i>
1880	ANDERSON, F. H., M.D., Government Medical Officer, <i>Georgetown, British Guiana.</i>
1894	ANDERSON, GEORGE WILLIAM, M.P.P., <i>Lake District, Victoria, British Columbia.</i>
1894	ANDERSON, JAMES, J.P., <i>Bandarapola, Matale, Ceylon.</i>
1881	†ANDERSON, JAMES F., 6 <i>St. George Street, Port Louis, Mauritius.</i>
1895	ANDERSON, THOMAS J., <i>Kenilworth, Cape Colony.</i>
1894	ANDERSON, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE SIR WM. J., <i>Belize, British Honduras.</i>
1889	ANDERSON, WILLIAM TRAIL, <i>Kimberley, Cape Colony.</i>
1889	†ANDREW, DUNCAN C., <i>Cape Town, Cape Colony.</i>
1883	ANDREWS, CHARLES GEORGE, <i>Christchurch, New Zealand.</i>
1891	ANDREWS, GEORGE R., <i>The Waterworks Co., Johannesburg, Transvaal.</i>
1891	†ANDREWS, THOMAS, <i>Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.</i>
1878	†ANDREWS, HON. WILLIAM, M.L.C., <i>Kingston, Jamaica.</i>
1879	†ANGAS, HON. J. H., M.L.C., J.P., <i>Collingrove, South Australia.</i>
1893	†ANGUS, JAMES, 82 <i>Elizabeth Street, Sydney, New South Wales.</i>
1885	†ANNAND, GEORGE, M.D., <i>St. Kilda, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1895	ANTHONY, LOUIS, <i>Cape Town, Cape Colony.</i>
1891	ANTHONISE, JAMES O., <i>Police Magistrate, Singapore.</i>
1896	APPLETON, CAPT. GEORGE B., <i>Naval and Military Club, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1886	ARCHER, ARCHIBALD, <i>Gracemere, Rockhampton, Queensland.</i>
1880	ARMBRISTER, HON. WM. E., M.E.C., <i>Nassau, Bahamas.</i>
1892	ARMSTRONG, ALEXANDER, <i>Beaconsfield, Cape Colony.</i>
1889	ARMSTRONG, GEORGE S., <i>Verulam, Natal.</i>
1887	ARMYTAGH, BERTRAND, <i>Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1881	ARMYTAGH, F. W., <i>Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1890	ARNELL, C. C., 524 <i>Lonsdale Street, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1886	ARNOLD, JAMES F., <i>Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1896	ARTHUR, ALEXANDER C., <i>Gisborne, New Zealand.</i>
	ARUNDEL, JOHN THOMAS, <i>South Sea Islands.</i>

**Year of  
Election**

- 1891 ASHBE, SYDNEY E., *Eastwell, via Bloemfontein, Orange Free State.*
- 1896 ASHE, EVELYN O, M.D., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1885 ASHLEY, HON. EDWARD CHARLES, *Collector of Customs, Port Louis, Mauritius.*
- 1883 ASTLES, HARVEY EUSTACE, M.D., *61 Collins Street, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1896 ASTROP, JOHN H., *Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1880 ATHERSTONE, EDWIN, M.D., *Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1880 †ATHERSTONE, GUYBON D., M.Inst.C.E., *Bloemfontein, Orange Free State.*
- 1876 \*ATHERSTONE, W. GUYBON, M.D., *Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1885 †ATKINSON, A. R., *Messrs. Morison & Atkinson, Lambton Quay, Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1880 †ATKINSON, HON. MR. JUSTICE NICHOLAS, *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1887 ATKINSON, J. MITFORD, M.B., *Government Civil Hospital, Hong Kong.*
- 1889 †ATKINSON, R. HOPE (J.P. of N. S. Wales), *United Life Insurance Association, 271 Broadway, New York.*
- 1882 †ATTENBOROUGH, THOMAS, *Cheltenham, near Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1893 ATTWELL, JAMES W., *Messrs. Attwell & Co., Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1893 AURET, JOHN GEORGE, *Advocate, P.O. Box 287, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1878 AUVRAY, P. ELICIO, *Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1896 AWDREY, JAMES A., *P.O. Box 885, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1892 AYRES, FRANK RICHMAN, *Barrister-at-Law, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1896 BABBAGE, FRANK, *Bank of Australasia, Petersham, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1883 BADNALL, HERBERT OWEN, J.P., *Resident Magistrate, Beacomafeld, Cape Colony.*
- 1884 †BAGOT, GEORGE, *Plantation Annandale, British Guiana.*
- 1891 †BAGOT, JOHN, *Adelaide Club, South Australia.*
- 1889 †BAILEY, ABE, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1893 BAILEY, HON. ALLANSON, *Government Agent, Kandy, Ceylon.*
- 1894 BAILIE, ALEXR. CUMMING, F.R.G.S., *The Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1884 BAINBRIDGE, CAPTAIN WILLIAM.
- 1887 †BAIRD, A. REID, *Leighton, Windsor, Victoria, Australia.*
- 1892 BAKWELL, JOHN W., *Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1884 †BALFOUR, HON. JAMES, M.L.C., *Tyalla, Toorak, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1881 BALL, CAPTAIN EDWIN, R.N.R.
- 1895 BALLANCE, H. C., *Albany Grove, Durban, Natal.*
- 1884 †BALLARD, CAPTAIN HENRY, *Durban, Natal.*
- 1887 †BALME, ARTHUR, *Walbundrie, near Albury, New South Wales.*
- 1876 BAM, J. A., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1893 BAM, PETRUS C. VAN B., *Villa Maria, Sea Point, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 BANDARANAIKE, S. DIAS, *Horogolla, Veyangoda, Ceylon.*
- 1887 BANKART, FREDERICK J., *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1891 †BANKIER, FRANK M., *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1889 BAPTISTE, GEORGE A., *Stipendiary Magistrate, Rose Belle, Mauritius.*
- 1891 BARBER, CHARLES, *Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1891 BARBER, HILTON, J.P., *Hales Owen, Cradock, Cape Colony.*
- 1884 BARCLAY, CHARLES J., *Commercial Bank, Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1892 BARFF, H. E., *Registrar, Sydney University, New South Wales.*
- 1895 †BARKLIE, T. W. S., *The Treasury, Georgetown, British Guiana.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1886 BARNARD, SAMUEL, M.L.C., J.P., *St. Lucia, West Indies.*
- 1894 BARNATO, BARNETT I., M.L.A., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1896 †BARNES, DOUGLAS D., *Belize, British Honduras.*
- 1887 BARNES, J. F. EVELYN, C.E., Assistant Colonial Engineer and Surveyor-General, *Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1890 †BARNES, ROBERT S. W., A.M.Inst.C.E., *Durban Club, Natal.*
- 1883 †BARNETT, CAPT. E. ALGERNON, Commandant of Constabulary, *Sundakan, British North Borneo.*
- 1891 †BARRETT, CHARLES HUGH, *Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1892 BARRINGTON, JOHN WILDMAN S., *Portland, Knysna, Cape Colony.*
- 1884 †BARR-SMITH, ROBERT, *Torrens Park, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1883 BARR-SMITH, THOMAS E., *Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1896 †BARRY, ARTHUR J., *Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1876 BARRY, HON. SIR JACOB D., Judge President, Eastern District Court, *Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1875 BARTER, CHARLES, B.C.L., Resident Magistrate, *The Finish, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1886 BARTON, FREDERICK G., J.P., "*Moolbong*," *Booligal, New South Wales; and Australian Club, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1891 BARTON, GEORGE W., care of *Union Bank of Australia, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1880 BARTON, WILLIAM, *Barrister-at-Law, Trentham, Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1892 BASCOM, HENRY S., *Collector of Customs, Bathurst, Gambia.*
- 1892 BATCHELOR, FERDINAND C., M.D., care of *Bank of New Zealand, North Duncdin, New Zealand.*
- 1896 BATES, G. DUDLEY, *Buluwayo, Malabeleland.*
- 1892 BATHURST, HENRY W., *Seremban, Sungei Ujong, Straits Settlements.*
- 1886 BATT, EDMUND COMPTON, 88 *Pitt Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1889 BATTEN, ROBERT, *Collector-General, Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1882 †BATTLE, FREDERICK, J.P., *Auckland, New Zealand.*
- 1896 BATTY, JAMES A., *Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1889 BATT, HAROLD J. L., *Mount Sebert Estate, Mahé, Seychelles.*
- 1889 BATY, SEBERT C. E., M.A., *Mahé, Seychelles.*
- 1893 BAWDEN, WILLIAM H., *De Beers Consolidated Mines, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1887 BAYLEY, MAJOR ARDEN L., *West India Regiment, Sierra Leone.*
- 1886 †BAYLEY, WILLIAM HUNT, *Pahiatua, Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1892 BAYLY, MAJOR GEORGE C., A.D.C., F.R.G.S., *Government House, Belize, British Honduras.*
- 1885 †BAYNES, JOSEPH, M.L.A., J.P., *Nels Rest, Upper Umlass, Natal.*
- 1896 BAYNES, W. H., *Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1893 BAYNES, WILLIAM, *Durban, Natal.*
- 1891 BEANLANDS, REV. CANON ARTHUR, M.A., *Christ Church Rectory, Victoria, British Columbia.*
- 1880 BEARD, CHARLES HALMAN, Solicitor-General, *St. John's, Antigua.*
- 1895 BEAR, EDWARD G., *The Club, Rangoon, Burma.*
- 1893 BEAR, GEORGE ARCHIBALD, *Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1893 BEAUFORT, HON. LEICESTER P., M.A., B.C.L., *Sandakan, British North Borneo.*
- 1889 BECK, ARTHUR W., *Bloemfontein, Orange Free State.*
- 1889 †BECK, CHARLES PROCTOR, *Bloemfontein, Orange Free State.*
- 1882 †BECK, JOHN, *Adelaide, South Australia.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1886 †BECKETT, THOMAS WM., *Church Street East, Pretoria, Transvaal.*  
 1889 †BEDDY, WILLIAM HENRY, *Fauresmith, Orange Free State.*  
 1887 †BEDFORD, SURGEON-MAJOR GUTHRIE, *Hobart, Tasmania.*  
 1884 BERTHAM, GEORGE, *Wellington, New Zealand (Corresponding Secretary).*  
 1877 BERTHAM, WILLIAM H., *Wairarapa, Wellington, New Zealand.*  
 1891 BEGG, ALEXANDER, 22 *Kingston Street, Victoria, British Columbia.*  
 1893 BELL, ANTHONY, *Civil Service Club, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1896 BELL, F. H. DILLON, *Barrister-at-Law, Wellington, New Zealand.*  
 1896 BELL, FRED, *Durban, Natal.*  
 1895 BELL, GEORGE DAVID T., *Newton, Lindula, Ceylon.*  
 1884 BELL, GEO. F., *care of Messrs. Gibbs, Bright, & Co., Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1882 BELL, GEORGE MEREDITH, *Wantwood, Gore, Otago, New Zealand.*  
 1886 BELL, JOHN W., *Attorney-at-Law, Queenstown, Cape Colony.*  
 1889 BELL, HON. VALENTINE G., M.L.C., M.Inst.C.E., *Director of Public Works, Kingston, Jamaica.*  
 1895 †BELL, WM. H. SOMERSET, *P.O. Box 578, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1882 †BELLAIRES, SEAFORTH MACKENZIE, 69 *Main St., Georgetown, British Guiana.*  
 1888 †BELLAMY, HENRY F., A.M.Inst.C.E., F.R.M.S., *Superintendent of Public Works, Selangor, Straits Settlements.*  
 1888 BELLAMY, JOSEPH E. B., C.E., *Mullin's River, British Honduras.*  
 1893 BENINGFIELD, JAMES J., *Durban, Natal.*  
 1886 BENINGFIELD, S. F., *Durban, Natal.*  
 1884 †BENJAMIN, LAWRENCE, *Nestlewood, George St. East, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1894 BENNETT, ALFRED C., M.D., *District Surgeon, Griqua Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1888 †BENNETT, CHRIS., *Rockmore, Sutton Forest, New South Wales.*  
 1885 BENNETT, COURTENAY WALTER, H.B.M. Consul, *Réunion.*  
 1880 BENNETT, SAMUEL MACKENZIE, *Assistant Colonial Treasurer, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*  
 1896 BENNIE, ANDREW, *Market Square, Kimberly, Cape Colony.*  
 1876 BENSUSAN, RALPH, *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1895 BERDOE-WILKINSON, EDMOND, *Straits Development Co., Singapore.*  
 1878 BERKELEY, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE SIR HENRY S., *Suva, Fiji.*  
 1880 BERKELEY, CAPTAIN J. H. HARDTMAN, *Shadwell, St. Kitts.*  
 1894 †BERLIN, JULIUS, *P.O. Box 550, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1892 BERNACCHI, SIGNOR A. G. DIEGO, *Maria Island, Tasmania.*  
 1893 BERTRAM, ROBERTSON F., *P.O. Box 128, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1885 †BERTRAND, WM. WICKHAM, *Roy Cove, Falkland Islands.*  
 1887 †BETHUNE, GEORGE M., *Le Ressouvenir, East Coast, British Guiana.*  
 1888 †BETTELHEIM, HENRI, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1891 †BETTINGTON, J. BRINDLEY, *Brindley Park, Merriwa, New South Wales.*  
 1889 BEVERIDGE, GEORGE, *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1892 †BHATT PURNANAND MAHANAND, *Barrister-at-Law, Albert Building, Fort, Bombay.*  
 1895 BIANCARDI, CAPT. N. GRECH, A.D.C., *The Palace, Malta.*  
 1884 †BICKFORD, WILLIAM, *Adelaide, South Australia.*  
 1881 †BIDEN, A. G., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*  
 1889 †BIDEN, WILLIAM, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*  
 1884 BIDWELL, JOHN O., J.P., *Pihatea, Wairarapa, Wellington, New Zealand.*  
 1886 †BIGGS, T. HESKETH, F.S.S., *Comptroller of Burma, Rangoon, Burma.*  
 1895 BIRBECK, JOHN, *P.O. Box 19, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*



Year of  
Election.

- 1877 BIRCH, A. S., *Fitzherbert Terrace, Wellington, New Zealand.*  
 1883 BIRCH, JAMES KORTRIGHT, *Singapore.*  
 1893 BIRCH, WILLIAM C. CACCIA, *Erewhon, Napier, New Zealand.*  
 1873 BIRCH, W. J., *Erewhon, Napier, New Zealand.*  
 1887 †BIRCH, WILLIAM WALTER, *Georgetown, British Guiana.*  
 1895 BISHOP, HON. T. C., M.L.C., *Freelown, Sierra Leone.*  
 1896 BISSENBERGER, FRANK, *White Feather, Coolgardie, Western Australia.*  
 1896 BISSET, A. H., *Buluwayo, Matabeleland.*  
 1891 BLACK, ERNEST, M.D., *Government Resident, Broome, Western Australia*  
 1889 †BLACKBURN, ALFRED L., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1888 BLACKWOOD, ARTHUR R., *Mont Alto, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1886 BLACKWOOD, ROBERT O., *Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1882 †BLAGROVE, MAJOR HENRY JOHN (13th Hussars).  
 1888 BLAINE, CAPTAIN ALFRED E. B., C.M.R., *Mount Frere, Griqualand East, Cape Colony.*  
 1889 †BLAINE, SIR C. FREDERICK, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*  
 1889 †BLAINE, HERBERT F., *Barrister-at-Law, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*  
 1884 BLAIR, CAPTAIN JOHN, *Singapore.*  
 1892 BLAIR, WILLIAM, *Inspector of Schools, Georgetown, British Guiana.*  
 1884 †BLAIZE, RICHARD BEALE, *Lagos, West Africa.*  
 1888 †BLAKE, H.E. SIR HENRY A., K.C.M.G., *Government House, Kingston, Jamaica.*  
 1880 BLAND, R. N., *Collector of Revenue, Penang, Straits Settlements.*  
 1886 BLANK, OSCAR, *Hamburg.*  
 1889 †BLOW, JOHN JELLINGS,  
 1891 BLYTH, DANIEL W., *Civil Service, Galle, Ceylon.*  
 1890 †BODY, REV. PROFESSOR C. W. E., D.C.L., *General Theological Seminary, New York.*  
 1890 †BOGGIE, ALEXANDER, *Bulawayo, Matabeleland.*  
 1881 BOIS, FREDERIC W., J.P., *Colombo, Ceylon.*  
 1892 BOIS, STANLEY, *Colombo, Ceylon.*  
 1879 BOMPAS, FREDERICK WILLIAM, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1889 BOND, HERBERT W., *Torrington, Toowoomba, Queensland.*  
 1890 BOND, HON. ROBERT, M.L.A., *St. John's, Newfoundland.*  
 1891 BONNIN, P. FRED., J.P., *Tchaba, Glenelg, South Australia.*  
 1892 BONNTY, WILLIAM WINGFIELD, A.M. Inst. C.E., *St. John's, Newfoundland.*  
 1895 BOOTH, KARL E. O., *P.O. Box 1037, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1885 †BORTON, JOHN, *Casa Nova, Oamaru, New Zealand.*  
 1896 †BOSS, AARON A., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1889 BOTSFORD, CHARLES S., *524 Queen Street West, Toronto, Canada.*  
 1883 BOTTOMLEY, JOHN, *P.O. Box 1366, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1879 BOUCHERVILLE, A. DE, *Inspector of Schools, Port Louis, Mauritius (Corresponding Secretary).*  
 1888 BOULT, PERCY S., *Barberton, Transvaal.*  
 1883 BOURDILLON, E., *Poundisford, Bloemfontein, Orange Free State.*  
 1892 †BOURKE, EDMUND F., *Pretoria, Transvaal.*  
 1879 BOURKE, WELLESLEY, *155 King Street, Kingston, Jamaica.*  
 1892 †BOURNE, E. F. B., *Government Secretariat, Georgetown, British Guiana.*  
 1878 †BOUSFIELD, THE RIGHT REV. E. H., D.D., *Lord Bishop of Pretoria, Bishop's Cote, Pretoria, Transvaal.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1887 BOVELL, HON. HENRY A., Q.C., M.E.C., Attorney-General, *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1894 BOVELL, JOHN R., *Dodds, St. Philip, Barbados.*
- 1896 BOWELL, HON. SIR MACKENZIE, K.C.M.G., *Belleville, Canada.*
- 1882 BOWEN, HON. CHARLES CHRISTOPHER, M.L.C., *Middleton, Christchurch, New Zealand* (Corresponding Secretary).
- 1886 BOWEN, THOMAS, M.D., Health Officer, *Barbados.*
- 1886 †BOWEN, WILLIAM, *Kalimna, Balnarring, Victoria, Australia.*
- 1889 BOWKER, JOHN MITFORD, *Tharfield, Port Alfred, Cape Colony.*
- 1893 BOYD, CAPTAIN E. N. BUCHANAN, *Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1886 BOYLE, ARTHUR EDWARD, *Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1889 BOYLE, HON. CAVENDISH, C.M.G., M.E.C., Government Secretary, *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1885 †BOYLE, FRANK.
- 1881 †BOYLE, MOSES, *Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1889 BRADDON, HON. SIR EDWARD N. C., K.C.M.G., M.H.A., *Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1879 BRADFIELD, HON. JOHN L., M.L.C., *Dordrecht, Cape Colony.*
- 1883 BRADFORD, W. K., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1893 BRAINE, C. DIMOND H., C.E., *Bangkok, Siam.*
- 1886 BRANDAY, J. W., *Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1878 BRASSET, H.E. RT. HON. LORD, K.C.B., *Government House, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1890 BRASSET, MAJOR W., *Wanganui, New Zealand.*
- 1884 †BRAUD, HON. ARTHUR, M.C.P., *Mon Repos, British Guiana.*
- 1884 BRAY, HENRY DAVID, *Concord, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1887 BREAKSPEAR, THOMAS J., *Mount Bay, Jamaica.*
- 1887 BRENTNALL, HON. FREDERICK T., M.L.C., *Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1889 BRETT, J. TALBOT, M.R.C.S., *Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1874 BRIDGE, H. H., *Fairfield, Ruataniwha, Napier, New Zealand.*
- 1895 BRIDGES, GEORGE J., *Arim, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1881 BRIDGES, COMMANDER WALTER B., R.N., *Trawalla, Victoria, Australia.*
- 1880 BRIDGES, W. F., *Berbice, British Guiana.*
- 1890 BRIGGS, HON. JOSEPH, M.L.C., *Stoney Grove, Nevis, West Indies.*
- 1890 †BRINK, ANDRIES LANGE, *P.O. Box 287, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1892 BRISTER, JAMES, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1893 BRISTOWE, LINDSAY WM. (District Commissioner), *Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1896 †BRITTEN, THOMAS J., *P.O. Box 494, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1896 BROAD, ARTHUR J., *Mauritius Assets Co., Port Louis, Mauritius.*
- 1892 BROCK, JEFFREY HALL, *453 Main Street, Winnipeg, Canada.*
- 1883 †BRODERICK, GEORGE ALEXANDER, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1888 BRODRICK, ALAN, *Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1887 BRODRICK, ALBERT, *Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1896 BRODRICK, HAROLD, *P.O. Box 77, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1889 BROOKS, JAMES H., M.R.C.S.E., *Mahé, Seychelles.*
- 1885 BROOME, H.E. SIR FREDERICK NAPIER, K.C.M.G., *Government House, Trinidad.*
- 1892 BROTHERS, C. M., *Queenstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1890 BROWN, A. SHILWYN, C.E., *Hayes St., Neutral Bay, Sydney, New South Wales.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1891 BROWN, CAPTAIN HOWARD, 8 *Andrassy Strasse, Buda-Pesth, Hungary.*  
 1884 BROWN, JOHN CHARLES, *Durban, Natal.*  
 1888 BROWN, JOHN E., *Standard Bank, Cradock, Cape Colony.*  
 1892 BROWN, J. ELLIS, *Durban, Natal.*  
 1893 BROWN, J. H., *Nassau, Bahamas.*  
 1892 BROWN, J. HUNTER, *Wairoa, Napier, New Zealand.*  
 1889 †BROWN, JOHN LAWRENCE, *Methden, Bowenfels, New South Wales.*  
 1894 †BROWN, LESLIE E., *Messrs. Brown & Joske, Suva, Fiji.*  
 1882 †BROWN, MAITLAND, J.P., *Resident Magistrate, Geraldton, Western Australia.*  
 1889 BROWN, HON. RICHARD MYLES, M.L.C., *District Judge, Mahé, Seychelles.*  
 1890 BROWN, WILLIAM, M.A., M.B., *High Street, Dunedin, New Zealand.*  
 1892 BROWN, WILLIAM VILLIERS, *Townsville, Queensland.*  
 1895 †BROWNE, EVERARD, *Cororooke, Colac, Victoria, Australia.*  
 1880 †BROWNE, HON. C. MACAULAY, M.L.C., *St. George's, Grenada.*  
 1888 BROWNE, LEONARD G., J.P., *Buckland Park, Adelaide, South Australia.*  
 1895 †BROWNE, SYLVESTER, *Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1889 †BROWNE, THOMAS L., *Barrister-at-Law, Adelaide Club, South Australia.*  
 1884 BRUCE, H.E. SIR CHARLES, K.C.M.G., *Government House, Grenada, West Indies.*  
 1889 †BRUCE, GEORGE, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*  
 1890 †BRUCE, J. R. BAXTER, *Brisbane, Queensland.*  
 1887 †BRUCE, JOHN M., J.P., *Wombalano, Toorak, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1886 †BRUNNER, ERNEST AUGUST, *Eshowe, Zulu Native Reserve, South Africa.*  
 1895 BRUNSKILL, JOHN S., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1895 BRUNTON, JOHN SPENCER, *Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1893 †BRYANT, ALFRED T., *District Officer, Dindings, Straits Settlements.*  
 1880 BUCHANAN, HON. MR. JUSTICE E. J., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1883 BUCHANAN, WALTER CLARKE, M.H.R., *Wairarapa, Wellington, New Zealand.*  
 1881 BUCHANAN, WALTER CROSS, *Palmerston Estate, Lindula, Talawakelle, Ceylon.*  
 1886 †BUCHANAN, W. F., J.P., *Union Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1881 BUCKLEY, GEORGE, *Christchurch, New Zealand.*  
 1889 †BUCKLEY, MARS, J.P., *Beaulieu, Toorak, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1891 BUDD, JOHN CHAMBER, *Chartered Bank of India, Singapore.*  
 1881 BULLER, SIR WALTER L., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., *Wellington, New Zealand.*  
 1877 BULLIVANT, WILLIAM HOSE, *Yeo, Irrewarra, Victoria, Australia.*  
 1881 BULT, C. MANGIN, J.P., *Native Office, Kimberley, Cape Colony (Corresponding Secretary).*  
 1892 BURBURY, EDWARD P., *New Zealand Loan and Agency Co., Oamaru, New Zealand.*  
 1891 †BURDEKIN, SYDNEY, J.P., *Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1888 BURGESS, HON. W. H., *Hobart, Tasmania.*  
 1871 BURKE, HON. SAMUEL CONSTANTINE, M.L.C., F.R.G.S., *Kingston, Jamaica.*  
 1884 †BURKINSHAW, HON. JOHN, M.L.C., *Singapore.*  
 1892 BURMESTER, JOHN A., *Ratwatti, Ukuwala, Ceylon.*  
 1895 BURNIE, JOHN D., *Houmains, Nirranda, Warrnambool, Victoria, Australia.*  
 1891 BURROWS, STEPHEN M., *Civil Service, Colombo, Ceylon.*  
 1885 †BURSTALL, BRYAN C., *Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1894 BURT, ALBERT HAMILTON, *Port of Spain, Trinidad.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1882 BURT, HOM. SEPTIMUS, Q.C., M.L.A., *Perth, Western Australia.*  
 1892 BUSBY, ALEXANDER, J.P., *Cassilis, New South Wales.*  
 1893 BUSH, ROBERT E., *Clifton Downs, Gascoyne, Western Australia.*  
 1889 BUSSEY, FRANK H., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1886 BUTLER, HENRY, *Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1888 BUTT, J. M., *Bank of New Zealand, Auckland, New Zealand.*  
 1889 BUTTERTON, WILLIAM, M.Inst.C.E., *Government Railways, Durban, Natal.*  
 1890 †BUTTERWORTH, ARTHUR R., *Barrister-at-Law, Denman Chambers, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1882 †BUTTON, FREDERICK, *Durban, Natal.*  
 1878 BUXTON, H.E. SIR T. FOWELL, BART., K.C.M.G., *Government House, Adelaide, South Australia.*  
 1882 BZACOTT, HON. C. HARDIE, M.L.C., *Brisbane, Queensland.*  
 1895 BYRD, FREDERIC, *Oriental Estates Co., Vacoa, Mauritius.*  
 1893 †CACCIA, ANTHONY M., *Jubalpoore, Central Provinces, India.*  
 1892 †CAIN, WILLIAM, *South Yarra, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1878 †CAIRNCROSS, J., J.P., *Oudtshoorn, Cape Colony.*  
 1879 CALDECOTT, HARRY S., *P.O. Box 574, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1884 CALDER, WILLIAM HENDERSON, *Ravelston, St. Kilda, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1890 CALDICOTT, HARVEY, C.E., *Public Works Department, Sungei Ujong, Straits Settlements.*  
 1883 CALLCOTT, JOHN HOPE, *Penang, Straits Settlements.*  
 1892 CALVERT, ALBERT F., F.R.G.S., *Perth, Western Australia.*  
 1893 CAMERON, ALLAN, *P.O. Box 716, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1894 CAMERON, DONALD A., *Turf Club, Cairo, Egypt.*  
 1885 CAMERON, HECTOR, Q.C., M.P., *Toronto, Canada.*  
 1878 CAMPBELL, A. H., *17 Manning Arcade, Toronto, Canada.*  
 1886 CAMPBELL, G. MURRAY, C.E., *State Railways, Bangkok, Siam.*  
 1890 CAMPBELL, J.P., *Temple Chambers, Featherston St., Wellington New Zealand.*  
 1893 CAMPBELL-JOHNSTON, AUGUSTINE, *Garvanza, California, U.S.A.*  
 1896 †CAMPBELL, MARSHALL, *Mount Edgecumbe, Natal.*  
 1886 CAPE, ALFRED J., *Karoola, Edgecliff Road, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1880 CAPPER, HON. THOMAS, M.L.C., *Kingston, Jamaica.*  
 1895 CARDEW, H.E. COLONEL FREDERICK, C.M.G., *Government House, Sierra Leone.*  
 1883 CAREW, WALTER R. H., *The Club, Yokohama, Japan.*  
 1877 CARGILL, EDWARD B., *Dunedin, New Zealand.*  
 1895 CARGILL, H. E., *Assam, India.*  
 1889 †CARGILL, HENRY S., *Quamichan, Vancouver's Island, British Columbia.*  
 1889 †CARGILL, WALTER, *care of Colonial Bank, Dunedin, New Zealand.*  
 1884 CARLILE, JAMES WREN, *Barrister-at-Law, Napier, New Zealand.*  
 1872 CARON, HON. SIR ADOLPHE P., K.C.M.G., M.P., *Ottawa, Canada.*  
 1894 CARPENTER, P. T., M.R.C.S.E., *Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Stann Creek, British Honduras.*  
 1886 †CARR, MARK WM., M.Inst.C.E., *Government Railways, Maritzburg, Natal.*  
 1894 CARRICK, ALEXANDER, *Canterbury Club, Christchurch, New Zealand.*  
 1888 †CARRINGTON, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR FREDERICK, K.C.M.G., *Gibraltar.*  
 1890 CARRINGTON, GEORGE, F.C.S., *Carrington, Barbados.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1883 †CARRINGTON, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE J. WORELL, O.M.G., *Hong Kong*.
- 1884 †CARRUTHERS, DAVID, *East Demerara Water Commission, Georgetown, British Guiana*.
- 1891 CARRUTHERS, GEORGE F., 453 Main Street, *Winnipeg, Canada*.
- 1886 CARTER, CHARLES CLAUDIUS, J.P., *General Post Office, Melbourne, Australia*.
- 1878 CARTER, HIS EXCELLENCY SIR GILBERT T., K.C.M.G., *Government House, Lagos, West Africa*.
- 1878 CASEY, HIS HONOUR JUDGE J. J., C.M.G., 36 Temple Court, *Melbourne, Australia*.
- 1895 †CASTALDI, EVARISTO, 46 Strada Zaccaria, *Valletta, Malta*.
- 1893 CASTENS, EMIL, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony*.
- 1879 CASTOR, CHRISTIAN F., M.B., *Mahaica, British Guiana*.
- 1886 CATOR, GEORGE C., *Kimberley, Cape Colony*.
- 1893 CATTO, JOHN, *Melbourne, Australia*.
- 1892 CAVEY, GEORGE, *Charters Towers, Queensland*.
- 1888 †CENTENO, LEON, *Port of Spain, Trinidad*.
- 1887 CHABAUD, JOHN A., *Attorney-at-Law, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony*.
- 1882 †CHADWICK, ROBERT, *Camden Buildings, 418 George Street, Sydney, New South Wales*.
- 1891 CHAFFEY, WILLIAM B., *Mildura, Victoria, Australia*.
- 1893 \*CHAILLEY-BERT, JOSEPH, *Auxerre, Yonne, France*.
- 1892 CHALMERS, NATHANIEL, *Valeci, Savu Savu, Fiji*.
- 1886 CHAMBERS, JOHN RATCLIFFE, *St. Kitts, West Indies*.
- 1891 CHAMBERS, ROLAND, J.P., F.R.G.S., *Middlemount, Richmond Division, Cape Colony*.
- 1881 CHANTRELL, HON. HENRY W., *Auditor-General, Trinidad (Corresponding Secretary)*.
- 1890 CHAPMAN, CHARLES W., 39 Queen Street, *Melbourne, Australia*.
- 1890 CHAPMAN, STANFORD, 189 William Street, *Melbourne, Australia*.
- 1881 CHASTELLIER, PIERRE L., Q.C., *Port Louis, Mauritius*.
- 1888 CHATER, HON. C. PAUL, M.L.C., *Hong Kong*.
- 1889 †CHAYTOR, JOHN C., *Tuamarina, Picton, New Zealand*.
- 1883 †CHEESMAN, ROBERT SUCKLING, 167 Paddington Street, *Sydney, New South Wales*.
- 1893 CHEETHAM, GEORGE ROCHE, 5 Mission Row, *Calcutta*.
- 1896 CHEWINGS, CHARLES, PH.D., F.G.S., *Coolgardie, Western Australia*.
- 1874 †CHINTAMON, HURRYCHUND, 28 Apollo Street, *Bombay*.
- 1892 CHISHOLM, EDWARD, *Iona, Darlinghurst, Sydney, New South Wales*.
- 1887 CHISHOLM, JAMES H., *Market Square, Kimberley, Cape Colony*.
- 1880 †CHISHOLM, W., *Kimberley, Cape Colony*.
- 1876 †CHRISTIAN, HENRY B., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony (Corresponding Secretary)*.
- 1884 †CHRISTIAN, OWEN SMITH, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony*.
- 1888 CHRISTISON, ROBERT, *Lammermoor, Hughenden, Queensland*.
- 1889 †CHURCHILL, FRANK F., *Musgrave Road, Durban, Natal*.
- 1884 CHURCHILL, CAPTAIN HON. JOHN SPENCER, *Colonial Secretary, Nassau, Bahamas*.
- 1889 †CLARK, GOWAN C. S., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony*.
- 1889 CLARK, JAMES A. R., *care of Messrs. Dalgety & Co., Melbourne, Australia*.

Year of Election.	
1890	CLARK, JOHN, <i>Australian Club, Sydney, New South Wales.</i>
1895	CLARK, JOHN MURRAY, M.A. LL.B., <i>Barrister-at-Law, 27 Wellington Street East, Toronto, Canada.</i>
1889	CLARK, JOHN P., <i>Shooter's Hill, Jamaica.</i>
1882	†CLARK, WALTER J., <i>Melbourne Club, Australia.</i>
1880	CLARK, WILLIAM, <i>Police Magistrate, Freetown, Sierra Leone.</i>
1888	CLARK, MAJOR WILLIAM, <i>Dartmouth, Nova Scotia.</i>
1885	†CLARKE, ALFRED E., <i>Coldblo', Malvern, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1887	CLARKE, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE SIR FIELDING, <i>Kingston, Jamaica.</i>
1884	CLARKE, GEORGE O'MALLEY (Police Magistrate), <i>Union Club, Sydney, New South Wales.</i>
1886	CLARKE, HIS HONOUR COLONEL SIR MARSHAL J., R.A., K.C.M.G., <i>Resident Commissioner, Eshowe, Zululand.</i>
1882	CLARKE, HON. SIR WILLIAM JOHN, BART., M.L.C., <i>Rupert's Wood, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1886	CLARKSON, CAPTAIN J. BOOTH, <i>Reform Club, 233 Fifth Avenue, New York.</i>
1896	CLAUSEN, CARY A., <i>Royal Exchange, Adelaide, South Australia.</i>
1895	CLAYTON, ARTHUR G., <i>Colonial Secretariat, Belize, British Honduras.</i>
1888	†CLEVELAND, FRANK, <i>Shark's Bay, Western Australia.</i>
1882	CLIFFORD, SIR GEORGE HUGH, BART., <i>Stonyhurst, Christchurch, New Zealand.</i>
1896	CLIFFORD, HON. HUGH C., <i>British Resident, Pekan, Pahang, Straits Settlements.</i>
1888	COATES, JOHN, <i>285 Collins Street, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1889	COCK, CORNELIUS, J.P., <i>Peddie, Cape Colony.</i>
1884	COCKBURN, ADOLPHUS, <i>Cape Gracias a Dios, Republic of Nicaragua (vid Grey Town).</i>
1881	COCKBURN, SAMUEL A., <i>Belize, British Honduras.</i>
1880	CODD, JOHN A., <i>P.O. Box 407, Toronto, Canada.</i>
1894	CODRINGTON, ROBERT, <i>Zomba, Blantyre, East Africa.</i>
1889	COGHLAN, CHARLES P. J., <i>Kimberley, Cape Colony.</i>
1889	COGHLAN, JAMES J., J.P., <i>Attorney-at-Law, Kimberley, Cape Colony.</i>
1888	COHEN, NAPH. H., <i>P.O. Box 1892, Johannesburg, Transvaal.</i>
1883	COHEN, NEVILLE D., <i>care of Messrs. D. Cohen &amp; Co., Maitland West, New South Wales.</i>
1888	COLE, FREDERICK E., <i>Clerk of the Courts, St. Elizabeth, Jamaica.</i>
1886	COLE, ROWLAND, <i>Oni House, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.</i>
1893	COLE, SAMUEL S., <i>Jubilee House, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.</i>
1894	COLE, WM. O'CONNOR, <i>622 Walpole Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone.</i>
1891	COLEBROOK, ALBERT E., <i>142 Flinders Street, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1885	COLEBROOK, GEORGE E., <i>Messrs. Lilley, Skinner, &amp; Colebrook, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1892	†COLEMAN, JAMES H., <i>Waititirau, Napier, New Zealand.</i>
1896	COLLEDGE, J. C., <i>Brisbane, Queensland.</i>
1882	COLEMAN, WILLIAM J., <i>Kimberley, Cape Colony.</i>
1888	COLLEY, THE VEN. ARCHDEACON THOMAS, <i>Maritzburg, Natal.</i>
1889	COLLIER, FREDERICK WILLIAM, <i>Postmaster-General, Georgetown, British Guiana.</i>
1892	COLLIER, JENKIN, <i>Werndew, Irving Road, Toorak, Melbourne, Australia; and Australian Club.</i>

Year of  
Election.

- 1885 COLLINS, ERNEST E., *Reuter's Telegram Co., Lim., Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1880 COLLYER, HON. WILLIAM R., *Attorney-General, Singapore.*
- 1894 COLQUHOUN, ARCHIBALD R., *Public Works Department, Calcutta.*
- 1884 †COLQUHOUN, ROBERT A., *Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1883 COLTON, HON. SIR JOHN, K.C.M.G., M.P., *Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1876 COMMISSIONG, W. S., Q.C., M.L.C., *St. George's, Grenada.*
- 1881 COMPTON, CAPTAIN J. N., R.N., *Commanding Colonial Steamer "Countess of Derby," Sierra Leone.*
- 1893 CONNOLLY, J. F., *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1881 CONNOLLY, R.M., *care of Dr. Davies, Johannesburg, Transvaal, and Kimberley Club, Cape Colony.*
- 1889 CONNOR, HON. EDWIN C., M.L.C., *Belize Estate and Produce Co., British Honduras.*
- 1891 COOK, E. BOYER, J.P., *Thornhill, Herbert, Cape Colony.*
- 1884 COOK, JOHN.
- 1885 COOKE, JOHN, *care of New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency Co., Limited, 555 Collins Street, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1889 COOLEY, WILLIAM, *Town Clerk, Durban, Natal.*
- 1889 COOPE, COLONEL WM. JESSER, *Mariedahl Cottage, Newlands, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 †COOPE, J. C. JESSER, *care of Chartered Co., Salisbury, Mashonaland.*
- 1895 COOPER, ARNOLD W., *Richmond, Natal.*
- 1890 COOPER, HON. MR. JUSTICE POPE A., *Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1890 CORBET, FREDERICK H. M., M.R.A.S., *Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1889 †CORDNER-JAMES, JOHN H., A.M.Inst.C.E., P.O. Box 1156, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1882 COEK, HON. PHILIP C., M.L.C., *Immigration Agent-General, Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1892 CORNER, CHARLES, A.M.Inst.C.E., 910 *Congress Avenue, Austin, Texas, U.S.A.*
- 1883 CORNWALL, MOSES, J.P., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 CORRIE, ALEXANDER, *Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1891 COSBY, MAJOR A. MORGAN, *London and Ontario Investment Co., Toronto, Canada.*
- 1892 COTTON, ALFRED J., *Bromby Park, Bowen, Queensland.*
- 1895 COTTERILL, A. J., *Napier, New Zealand.*
- 1886 COTTELL, HENRY E. P., *care of Syria-Ottoman Railway Offices, Haifa, Palestine.*
- 1895 COULDERY, WILLIAM H., J.P., *Queensland National Bank, Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1895 COUPER, JOHN L., *Natal Bank, Durban, Natal.*
- 1892 COURT, ROGER F., P.O. Box 2512, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1880 COURTNEY, J. M., *Deputy Finance Minister, Ottawa, Canada.*
- 1889 COUSENS, R. LEWIS, P.O. Box 1161, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1883 COWDEROY, BENJAMIN, 60 *Market Street, Melbourne, Australia (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1895 COWERN, WILLIAM, *Hawera, New Zealand.*
- 1889 †COWIE, ALEXANDER, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1882 COX, CHARLES T., *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1877 †COX, HON. GEORGE H., M.L.C., *Mudgee, New South Wales.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1887 †CRAFTON, RALPH C., *Bulkeley Station, Ramleh, Alexandria, Egypt* (Corresponding Secretary).
- 1889 CRAIG, HON. ROBERT, M.L.C., *Chapelton, Jamaica.*
- 1892 †CRAIGEN, HON. WILLIAM, M.C.P., *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1890 CRANSWICK, WILLIAM F., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1884 †CRAVEN, WILLIAM HENRY, *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1890 †CRAWFORD, HON. ALFRED J., M.L.C., *Newcastle, Natal.*
- 1876 CRAWFORD, LIEUT.-COLONEL JAMES D., *Westmount, near Montreal, Canada.*
- 1896 CREAGH, CHARLES VANDELWUR, C.M.G.
- 1884 †CREWELL, JACOB, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1890 CRESSALL, PAUL.
- 1891 CROFT, HENRY, M.P.P., J.P., *Mount Adelaide, Victoria, British Columbia.*
- 1883 †CROGHAN, E. H., M.D., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1896 †CROGHAN, JOHN G., M.D., *District Surgeon, Klipdam, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.*
- 1882 CROOK, HERBERT, M.R.C.S.E., *Beaconsfield, Cape Colony.*
- 1892 CROPPER, GEORGE, P., *Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1886 †CROSBY, HON. WILLIAM, M.L.C., *Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1896 CROSBY, WILLIAM, P.O. Box 2337, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1891 †CROSS, JOHN WM., J.P., R.M., *The Residency, Stanger, Natal.*
- 1896 CROWE, JAMES, *Durban, Natal.*
- 1887 CUDDFORD, WILLIAM, *Auditor, St. George's, Grenada.*
- 1883 †CULLEN, CHARLES EDWARD.
- 1884 †CULMER, JAMES WILLIAM, M.L.A., *Nassau, Bahamas.*
- 1882 CUMMING, W. GORDON, *District Magistrate, Kokitad, Griqualand East, Cape Colony.*
- 1896 CUNDALL, FRANK, F.S.A., *Institute of Jamaica, Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1896 CUNINGHAM, ALURED A., 271 *University Street, Montreal, Canada.*
- 1890 CUNINGHAM, GRANVILLE C., 271 *University Street, Montreal, Canada.*
- 1892 CUNNINGHAM, A. JACKSON, *Lanyon, Queenbeyan, New South Wales.*
- 1896 †CURRIE, OSWALD J., M.B., M.R.C.S.E., 60 *Longmarket Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1893 CURTIS, JOSEPH WM., *Bank of British Columbia, Portland, Oregon, U.S.A.*
- 1884 CUSCADEN, GEO., L.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.P.E., *Bay Street, Port Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1892 CUTHBERT, HON. HENRY, M.L.C., *Australian Club, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1878 DALE, SIR LANGHAM, K.C.M.G., M.A., LL.D., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1894 DALEYMPLE, JOHN TAYLOR, *Waitatapia, Bulls, Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1890 †DALEYMPLE, THOMAS, *East London, Cape Colony.*
- 1879 DALTON, E. H. GORING, *Registrar of the Supreme Court, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1896 DALTON, GORING E., *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1884 †DALTON, WILLIAM HENRY, 31 *Queen Street, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1884 DANGAR, ALBERT A., *Baroona, Whittingham, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1896 DARBYSHIRE, BENJAMIN H., *Barriester-at-Law, Weld Club, Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1889 DARLEY, CECIL W., M.Inst.C.E., *Harbours and Rivers Department, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1877 †DAVENPORT, SIR SAMUEL, K.C.M.G., *Bcaumont, Adelaide, South Australia.*



Year of  
Election.

- 1895 DAVERIN, JOHN, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*  
 1887 †DAVEY, THOMAS J., 9 *Queen Street, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1895 DAVIDSON, JAMES, *Sussex Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1889 †DAVIDSON, ROBERT, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*  
 1894 DAVIDSON, T., *North British Insurance Co., 215 Peel St., Montreal, Canada.*  
 1887 DAVIDSON, WILLIAM, *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1886 †DAVIDSON, W. E., *Civil Service, Colombo, Ceylon.*  
 1881 DAVIDSON, W. M. (late Surveyor-General), *Oxley, Brisbane, Queensland.*  
 1894 DAVIES, CHARLES ALLAN WM., *Basim, Berar, India.*  
 1892 DAVIES, J. A. SONGO, *Customs Department, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*  
 1889 DAVIES, MAJOR J. G., M.H.A., *Hobart, Tasmania.*  
 1886 †DAVIES, SIR MATTHEW H., *Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1886 †DAVIES, MAURICE COLEMAN, *Adelaide, South Australia.*  
 1882 DAVIES, WILLIAM BROUGHTON, M.D., *Freetown, Sierra Leone.*  
 1892 DAVIS-ALLEN, JOHN.  
 1873 †DAVIS, HON. N. DARNELL, C.M.G., M.E.C., *Controller of Customs, Georgetown, British Guiana.*  
 1875 †DAVIS, P., JUN., *Maritzburg, Natal.*  
 1896 DAVSON, CHARLES S., *Barrister-at-Law, Georgetown, British Guiana.*  
 1878 DAVSON, GEORGE L., *British Guiana Bank, Georgetown, British Guiana.*  
 1895 DAWES, ALFRED J., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1889 DAWES, RICHARD ST. MARK, L.R.C.P., M.R.O.S., *Gawler, South Australia.*  
 1896 \*DAWSON, SIR J. WILLIAM, C.M.G., L.L.D., F.R.S., *Montreal, Canada.*  
 1882 †DAWSON, JOHN EUGENE, *Freetown, Sierra Leone.*  
 1883 †DAWSON, RANKINE, M.A., M.D.  
 1884 DAWSON, WILLIAM, *Kaikoura, Princes Street, Kew, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1893 †DAWSON W. H., *Under Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Tank Road, Rangoon, Burma.*  
 1882 DAY, WILLIAM HENRY, *Queensland Club, Brisbane, Queensland.*  
 1883 DEAN, WILLIAM, *Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1892 DEENEY, STANLEY T., *Kuala Lumpur, Straits Settlements.*  
 1882 DE LAMARRE, LOUIS BERT, *care of Messrs. F. H. Taylor & Co., Bridgetown, Barbados.*  
 1892 DE MERCADO, CHARLES E., J.P., *Kingston, Jamaica.*  
 1878 DE LA MOTHE, E. A., *St. George's, Grenada.*  
 1895 DELGADO, BENJAMIN N., *Kingston, Jamaica.*  
 1874 DENISON, LIEUT.-COLONEL GEORGE T., *Commanding the Governor-General's Body Guard, Heydon Villa, Toronto, Canada.*  
 1889 †DENNY, F. W. RAMSAY, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*  
 1890 DENTON, HON. CAPTAIN GEORGE C., C.M.G., *Colonial Secretary, Lagos, West Africa.*  
 1881 DE PASS, ELLIOT A., F.R.G.S.  
 1881 DE PASS, JOHN, *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1894 DESAI, JIVANLAL V., B.A., *Barrister-at-Law, Ahmadabad, Bombay, India.*  
 1894 DES MAZURES, ALCIDE, *Noumea, New Caledonia.*  
 1889 DE SMIDT, ADAM GABRIEL, M.L.A., *George, Cape Colony.*  
 1894 DESTREE, A. C., 435 *Collins Street, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1885 DES VAGES, JOHANNES A. D., *Willowmore, Cape Colony.*  
 1892 DETMOLD, JOHN A., 277 *Flinders Lane, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1883 DE VILLIERS, ISAAC HORAE, P.O. Box 428, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1890 †DE VILLIERS, JACOB N., *P.O. Box 118, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1890 DE VILLIERS, JOSIAS E., *A.M.Inst.C.E., P.O. Box 429, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1889 DE VILLIERS, TIRLMAN N., *Pretoria, Transvaal.*  
 1892 DE WOLF, JAMES A., *M.D., Government Medical Officer, Port of Spain, Trinidad.*  
 1891 DIAMOND, FREDERICK WM., *P.O. Box 360, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1887 DIAS, FELIX REGINALD, *M.A., LL.M., Crown Counsel, Colombo, Ceylon.*  
 1892 †DIBBS, THOMAS A., *Commercial Banking Co., 347 George Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1896 DICKINSON, FRANCIS M., *Broken Hill Proprietary Co., Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1896 DICKSON, HON. GEORGE W., *B.A., M.Inst.C.E., Colonial Civil Engineer, Georgetown, British Guiana.*  
 1890 DICKSON, HON. JAMES R., *M.L.A., Tbordk, Brisbane, Queensland.*  
 1888 †DICKSON, R. CASIMIR, *The Barracks, Regina, N.W.T., Canada.*  
 1883 †DICKSON, RAYNES W., *Arnside, Domain Road, South Yarra, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1889 †DICKSON, WILLIAM SAMUEL, *Fauresmith, Orange Free State.*  
 1893 DITTRICH, H., *P.O. Box 12, Zeerust, Transvaal.*  
 1895 DIGBY-JONES, C. K., *P.O. Box 242, Halifax, Nova Scotia.*  
 1887 DIGNAN, PATRICK L., *Bank of New Zealand, Auckland, New Zealand.*  
 1881 †DISTIN, JOHN S., *Devonshire House, Middelburg, Cape Colony.*  
 1894 DIXON, GEORGE G., *C.E., Wellington, New Zealand.*  
 1892 DIXON, M. THEODORE, *P.O. Box 1816, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1896 DIXON, HUGH, JUN., *Park Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1889 DOBBIE, A. W., *College Park, Adelaide, South Australia.*  
 1880 †DORELL, HON. RICHARD R., *M.P., Beauvoir Manor, Quebec, Canada.*  
 1891 DOBSON, HON. ALFRED, *Solicitor-General, Hobart, Tasmania.*  
 1889 DOBSON, HON. HENRY, *M.H.A., Hobart, Tasmania.*  
 1886 DOBSON, JAMES M., *M.Inst.C.E., Chief Engineer, Harbour Works, Buenos Ayres.*  
 1885 DOBSON, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE SIR WILLIAM LAMBERT, *Hobart, Tasmania.*  
 1890 DOCKER, THOMAS L., *Commercial Bank of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1882 DOCKER, WILFRID L., *Nyramble, Darlinghurst Road, Sydney, New South Wales (Corresponding Secretary).*  
 1893 DODDS, MAJOR A. J., *Australian Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1893 DODDS, FREDERIC, *Ellalong, New South Wales; and Australian Club.*  
 1895 DOLLAR, EDWARD, *Krugersdorp, Transvaal.*  
 1895 DON, DAVID, *Durban, Natal.*  
 1889 †DONALD, J. M., *Robinson Gold Mining Company, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1889 †DONOVAN, JOHN J., *Q.C., M.A., LL.D., 165 King Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1894 DOOLETTE, GEORGE P., *J.P., Adelaide, South Australia.*  
 1895 DORNING, HENRY B., *Messrs. Pickering & Berthoud, Opobo, West Africa.*  
 1896 DOUGHTY, ARTHUR E., *142 St. Luke Street, Montreal, Canada.*  
 1886 DOUGLAS, HON. ADYE, *Q.C., M.L.C., Hobart, Tasmania.*  
 1890 DOUGLAS, CHARLES HILL, *Melbourne Club, Australia.*  
 1884 DOUGLAS, HON. JOHN, *C.M.G., Government Resident, Thursday Island, Torres Straits.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1894 DOUGLAS, REV. R. GENSLEY, M.A., *All Saints Rectory, Beaconsfield, Cape Colony.*
- 1875 DOUGLASS, ARTHUR, M.L.A., *Heatherton Towers, near Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1889 DOWLING, ALFRED, P.O. Box 158, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1894 DOYLE, DENIS, *Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1893 DRAPER DAVID, *Lennoxton, Newcastle, Natal.*
- 1896 DREW, HENRY WM., M.B., *District Surgeon, Beaufort West, Cape Colony.*
- 1894 DRIVER, HON. JAMES, B.A., M.L.C., *Mahe, Seychelles.*
- 1880 DUDLEY, CHCIL.
- 1889 DUFF, ROBERT, *Immigration Department, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1872 DUFFERIN & AYA, H.E. RIGHT HON. THE MARQUIS OF, K.P., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., *The British Embassy, Paris.*
- 1889 DUMAT, FRANK CAMPBELL, *Barrister-at-Law, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1879 DUNCAN, CAPTAIN ALEXANDER, *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1888 †DUNCAN, ANDREW H. F., *care of The Chartered Company, Salisbury, Mashonaland (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1883 DUNCAN, JAMES DENNOON, *Attorney-at-Law, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1890 †DUNCAN, JOHN J., *Hughes Park, Watervale, South Australia.*
- 1882 †DUNCAN, WALTER HUGHES, *Adelaide Club, South Australia.*
- 1892 DUNCAN, WM. H. GREVILLE, F.R.G.S., *Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1879 DUNCKLEY, CHARLES, *High Street, Fremantle, Western Australia.*
- 1895 DUNLOP, ALEXANDER R., *Sandakan, British North Borneo.*
- 1880 DUNLOP, CHARLES E., *Civil Service, Kalutara, Ceylon.*
- 1892 †DUNLOP, W. P., *Clarence Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1889 DUPONT, MAJOR C. T., *Victoria, British Columbia.*
- 1884 †DU PREZ, HERCULES PETERUS, J.P., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1892 DUTHIE, JOHN, M.H.R., *Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1893 DUTTON, HENRY, *Anlaby, Kapunda, South Australia.*
- 1883 DYASON, DURBAN, *Attorney-at-Law, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1887 DYER, FREDERICK, *King William's Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1882 DYER, JOHN E., M.D., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1890 †DYER, JOSEPH, *Katni Murwani, Central Provinces, India.*
- 1896 DYER, STEPHEN, *Potchefstroom, Transvaal.*
- 1891 DYER, THOMAS NOWELL, *King William's Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1894 DYER, JOSEPH RUBIDGE, *Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1894 DYETT, WM. C. L., *Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
- 1894 EAKIN, J. W., M.D., *Government Medical Officer, San Fernando, Trinidad.*
- 1884 †EALES, WILLIAM JOHN, *Hyde Park, Madras, India.*
- 1896 EARLE, PRECY M., L.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., *Morawhanna, North-West District, British Guiana.*
- 1880 †EASMON, J. FARRELL, M.D., *Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1895 EASTWOOD, PHILIP B., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1895 EATON, HENRY F., *Yatala, Walsh St., South Yarra, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1889 †EBERT, ERNEST, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1889 †ECKSTEIN, FREDERICK, P.O. Box 149, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1895 EDDY, EDWARD M. G., *Chief Railway Commissioner, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1894 EDM, N. J., *Hong Kong.*
- 1892 EDEN, DAVID R., *George Street, Brisbane, Queensland.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1889 †EDENBOROUGH, WELLESLEY M., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*  
 1890 †EDGSON, ARTHUR B., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1890 EDKINS, SEPTIMUS, *P.O. Box 686, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1893 EDWARDS, DR. A. E., JUN., *St. John's, Antigua.*  
 1890 EDWARDS, DAVID, R., M.D., *care of Australian Mutual Provident Society, Goulburn, New South Wales.*  
 1889 EDWARDS, E. H., *Forest Side, Mauritius.*  
 1877 †EDWARDS, HERBERT, *Oamaru, New Zealand.*  
 1886 EDWARDS, NATHANIEL W., *Nelson, New Zealand.*  
 1874 †EDWARDS, HON. W. T. A., M.D., *Chambly Villa, Curepipe Road, Mauritius.*  
 1887 EGAN, CHARLES J., M.D., *King William's Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1883 EKERTON, WALTER, *Magistrate of Police, Penang, Straits Settlements.*  
 1889 EICKE, ADOLPH, *Berg Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*  
 1895 ELLIOTT, GEORGE ELIOT, J.P., *Huntly, Clyde Street North, Dunedin, New Zealand.*  
 1891 ELLIOT, HARRY M., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1894 ELLIOT, JOHN WM., *Stipendiary Magistrate, St. Lucia, West Indies.*  
 1882 ELLIOTT, REV. CANON F. W. T., *The Parsonage, Friendship, East Coast, British Guiana.*  
 1886 ELLIS, J. CHUTE, *Invercargill, New Zealand.*  
 1894 ELMSLIE, CHRISTOPHER TATHAM, *Croydon, Queensland.*  
 1886 ELSTOB, ARTHUR, *Beach Grove, Durban, Natal.*  
 1889 ELWELL, WILLIAM E., *Melbourne Club, Australia.*  
 1888 ELWORTHY, EDWARD, *Timaru, New Zealand.*  
 1894 EMLEY, FRANK, *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1889 †ENGELKEN, EMIL WILLIAM, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*  
 1889 ENGLAND, EDWARD, *Genista, Irving Road, Toorak, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1884 ERSKINE, CAPTAIN W. C. C., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1874 †ESCOMBE, HON. HARRY, Q.C., M.L.A., *Durban, Natal.*  
 1883 ESCOTT, HON. E. B. SWEET, C.M.G., *Colonial Secretary, Belize, British Honduras.*  
 1895 †ESSERY, EDWIN, J.P., *Riet Valley, Umhlali, via Durban, Natal.*  
 1886 ESTILL, FREDERICK C., *Messrs. Blyth Brothers & Co., Port Louis, Mauritius.*  
 1894 ETTLING, CAPTAIN GUSTAV A., *Kimberly, Cape Colony.*  
 1880 EVANS, HON. FREDERICK, C.M.G., *Colonial Secretary, Kingston, Jamaica.*  
 1883 EVANS, GOWEN, "Argus" Office, *Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1889 EVANS, J. EMRYS, *Standard Bank, Durban, Natal.*  
 1883 EVANS, WILLIAM, *Singapore, Straits Settlements.*  
 1890 EVANS, WILLIAM GWYNNE, *P.O. Box 558, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1893 EVELYN, JULIAN B., *care of Messrs. M. Cavan & Co., Bridgetown, Barbados.*  
 1890 EVILL, FREDERICK C., M.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.P., *care of National Bank of Australasia, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1892 EWING, CAPTAIN ANDREW, *Beira, East Africa.*  
 1887 FAIRBAIRN, GEORGE, *care of Union Mortgage and Agency Company, William Street, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1889 FAIRBRIDGE, REYS S., *Salisbury, Mashonaland.*  
 1891 FAIRFAX, GHOFFREY E., *Barrister-at-Law, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1882 FAIRFAX, JAMES R., *Sydney, New South Wales.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1879 FAITHFULL, ROBERT L., M.D., 5 Lyons Terrace, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1894 FAITHFULL, H. MONTAGUE, St. Annes, Elizabeth Bay Point, near Sydney, New South Wales; and Australian Club.
- 1889 FANNING, JOHN.
- 1896 FARDO, FREDERICK R. H., African Direct Telegraph Company, Freetown, Sierra Leone.
- 1889 †FARQUHARSON, ARTHUR W., Kingston, Jamaica.
- 1887 FARQUHARSON, CHARLES S., Savanna-la-Mar, Jamaica (Corresponding Secretary).
- 1887 FARQUHARSON, JAMES M., JUN., Savanna-la-Mar, Jamaica.
- 1896 FARQUHARSON, JOHN C., J.P., Montego Bay, Jamaica.
- 1889 FARQUHARSON, WALTER H. K., J.P., Elim, Baladava, Jamaica.
- 1886 †FAULKNER, ENOCH, Assistant Colonial Secretary, Freetown, Sierra Leone.
- 1892 †FAULKNER, FREDERICK C., M.A., The High School, Perth, Western Australia.
- 1890 FAWCETT, JAMES HART, care of Bank of Australasia, Perth, Western Australia.
- 1890 †FAWCETT, HON. WILLIAM, M.L.C., B.Sc., F.L.S., Director, Public Gardens, Gordon Town, Jamaica.
- 1894 FREE, COLONEL ALBRECHT, Queensland Club, Brisbane, Queensland.
- 1895 FRELDEN, CAPTAIN ROBERT B., R.A., A.D.C., Government House, Cyprus.
- 1888 FELL, HENRY, M.L.A., Maritzburg, Natal.
- 1896 FELTON, HON. J. J., M.L.C., Stanley, Falkland Islands.
- 1887 FENWICK, JOHN, St. Aidan, Merivale Street, South Brisbane, Queensland.
- 1893 †FERGUSON, DONALD W., Colombo, Ceylon.
- 1889 FERGUSON, JAMES E. A., M.B., C.M., Public Hospital, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1890 †FERGUSON, JAMES, P.O. Box 98, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1879 †FERGUSON, JOHN, Cinnamon Gardens, Colombo, Ceylon (Corresponding Secretary).
- 1886 FERGUSON, HON. JOHN, M.L.C., Rockhampton, Queensland.
- 1892 †FERREIRA, ANTONIO F.
- 1895 FIEDLER, HENRY M., 359 Collins Street, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1890 FIELD, A. PERCY, Pretoria, Transvaal.
- 1880 FIELD, HON. WILLIAM HENRY, M.L.C., Barrister-at-Law, St. John's, Antigua.
- 1895 FIELDING, HON. WM. S., M.P., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1878 FIFE, GEORGE R., Brisbane, Queensland.
- 1882 FILLAN, JAMES COX, Wall House Estate, Dominica.
- 1881 †FINAUGHTY, H. J., Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1891 FINDLAY, JAMES M., 63 Pitt Street, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1889 FINLAYSON, DAVID, Union Bank of Australia, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1881 FINLAYSON, H. MACKENZIE, Seaforth, Mackay, Queensland.
- 1876 FINLAYSON, J. HARVEY, Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1895 FINLAYSON, ROBERT A., Kimberley, Cape Colony.
- 1878 †FINNEMORE, ROBERT I., J.P., Crown Solicitor, Maritzburg, Natal.
- 1891 FINUCANE, MORGAN I., M.R.C.S.E., Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Suva, Fiji.
- 1896 †FIRMINGME, REV. WALTER K., M.A., Universities Mission, Zanzibar.
- 1893 FISHER, FRANCIS CONRAD, Government Agent, Badulla, Ceylon.
- 1889 †FISHER, JOSEPH, J.P., Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1893 FISHER, JOHN MEADOWS, P.O. Box 339, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1884 FISHER, R. H. U., J.P., Durban, Natal.

Year of  
Election.

- 1881 †FISKEN, JOHN INGLIS, *Corrabert, Toorak, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1892 FITZGERALD, FRANCIS, *Melbourne Club, Australia.*  
 1886 FITZGERALD, LORD GEORGE, *Government House, Kingston, Jamaica.*  
 1884 FITZGERALD, T. N., F.R.C.S.I., *Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1876 FITZGIBBON, E. G., C.M.G., *Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1895 FITZPATRICK, G. C., P.O. Box 377, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1895 FLACK, EDWIN H., 9 *Queen Street, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1887 †FLACK, JOSEPH H., 9 *Queen Street, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1892 FLEISCHACK, ALBERT R., P.O. Box 257, *Pretoria, Transvaal.*  
 1881 †FLEMING, H.E. SIR FRANCIS, K.C.M.G., *Government House, St. John's, Antigua.*  
 1880 FLEMING, JOHN, *Charlotte Town, Grenada.*  
 1896 FLEMING, RICHARD P.O. Box 393, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1878 FLEMING, SANDFORD, C.E., C.M.G., *Ottawa, Canada (Corresponding Sec.)*  
 1888 FLETCHER, WILLIAM, *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1896 FLETCHER, WILLIAM, *Orandunbie, Walcha, New South Wales.*  
 1876 FLOWER, JAMES, *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1884 FLOYD, REV. WILLIAM, *Levuka, Fiji.*  
 1896 FOOTE, MYER J., P.O. Box 949, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1885 FOOTE, HON. THOMAS D., M.E.C., C.M.G., *Parham Hill, Antigua.*  
 1885 †FORBES, FREDK. WILLIAM, P.O. Box 127, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1883 †FORBES, HENRY, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*  
 1896 FORBES, JAMES, *Colombo, Ceylon.*  
 1894 FORBES, MAJOR PATRICK W. (6th Dragoons), *Blantyre, East Africa.*  
 1889 †FORD, JAMES P., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*  
 1889 FORD, JOSEPH C., 117 *Duke Street, Kingston, Jamaica.*  
 1889 FORD, ROBERT, *Water Works Co., Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1896 †FORDR, ROBERT M., L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S., *Colonial Surgeon, Bathurst  
Gambia.*  
 1882 †FOREMAN, JOSEPH, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., 215 *Macquarie Street, Sydney,  
New South Wales.*  
 1881 FORREST, HON. SIR JOHN, K.C.M.G., M.L.A., *Perth, Western Australia.*  
 1881 FORREST, HON. WILLIAM, M.L.C., *Brisbane, Queensland.*  
 1882 FORSAITH, REV. T. SPENCER, *Morton House, Parramatta, New South Wales.*  
 1893 FORSHAW, E. RONEY, *Barrister-at-Law, Georgetown, British Guiana.*  
 1891 FORSTER, J. J., *Bank of Madras, Tellicherry, India.*  
 1892 FORSTER, LIEUT. STEWART E., R.N., H.M.S. "*Katoomba*," *Australian  
Station.*  
 1894 FORTIER, LOFTUS M., *Department of the Interior, Ottawa, Canada.*  
 1890 FORTUNO, JOSEPH, *Melmoth, Zululand.*  
 1896 FOSKEY, LAWRENCE, *Saltpond, Gold Coast Colony.*  
 1885 FOSTER, EDWARD ALEXANDER, *Medical Department, Kingston, Jamaica.*  
 1883 FOWLER, ALPIN GRANT, M.Inst.C.E., *Lagos, West Africa.*  
 1888 FOWLER, GEORGE M., *Civil Service, Nuwara Eliya, Ceylon.*  
 1889 †FOWLER, JAMES, *Adelaide, South Australia.*  
 1893 FRAMES, PERCIVAL ROSS, *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1892 FRANKLAND, FREDERICK W., *New York Life Insurance Company, Broad-  
way, New York.*  
 1882 FRANKLIN, REV. T. AUGUSTUS, *The Parsonage, Cullen Front, Essequibo,  
British Guiana.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1892 FRANKLIN, ROBERT H., Assistant Surveyor, *Belize, British Honduras.*  
 1883 FRANKLIN, WILLIAM, J.P., *Barkly West, Cape Colony.*  
 1895 FRANKS, GODFREY F., M.A., *Queen's College, Georgetown, British Guiana.*  
 1894 FRANKS, HARRY, 374 *George Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1892 FRASER, ALEXANDER W., *Bonaby, Alma Road East, St. Kilda, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1886 FRASER, CHARLES A., *Commandant of Police, Nassau, Bahamas.*  
 1889 FRASER, HUGH, *Bandarapolla Estate, Matale, Ceylon.*  
 1895 FRASER, MALCOLM A. C., *Perth, Western Australia.*  
 1879 FRASER, ROBERT S., *Kandanewera, Elkaduwa, Ceylon.*  
 1893 FRASER, WILLIAM PERCY, P.O. Box 26, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1896 FREEMAN, JOHN, *Maritzburg, Natal.*  
 1886 FREMANTLE, H.E. GENERAL SIR A. LYON, K.C.M.G., C.B., *The Palace, Malta.*  
 1892 FRENCH, MAJOR-GENERAL G. A., R.A., C.M.G., *Commandant of Local Forces, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1894 FRICKER, WILLIAM C., *care of Standard Bank, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1882 FROST, HON. JOHN, C.M.G., M.L.A., *Queenstown, Cape Colony.*  
 1890 FRYE, MAURICE W., *care of E. R. Syfret, Esq., 39 St. George's Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1889 †FULLER, ALFRED W., *Southern Wood, East London, Cape Colony.*  
 1884 †FULLER, WILLIAM, *Thomas River Station, vid King William's Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1893 FULTON, FRANCIS CROSSLEY, *Napier, New Zealand.*  
 1878 †FYSE, HON. SIR PHILIP O., K.C.M.G., M.H.A., *Hobart, Tasmania.*  
 1893 GACE, REGINALD R., *Lagos, West Africa.*  
 1892 †GAIKWAD, SHRIMANT SAMPATRAO K., M.R.I., M.R.A.S., *Baroda, India.*  
 1884 GAISFORD, HENRY, *Oringi, Napier, New Zealand.*  
 1886 GALGLEY, OTHO, M.K.Q.C.P.I., &c., *Assistant Colonial Surgeon, St. Lucia, West Indies.*  
 1895 GARDINER, FRANCIS J., J.P., *Board of Executors, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1889 GARLAND, CHARLES L., 130 *Phillip Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1887 GARLAND, WALTER F., M.Inst.C.E., *Public Works Department, Johore Straits Settlements.*  
 1887 GARNETT, HARRY, *Plantation Nonpareil, British Guiana.*  
 1894 GARNETT, WILLIAM J., "*Egyptian Gazette*," *Alexandria, Egypt.*  
 1893 GARRAWAY, THOMAS S., *Bridgetown, Barbados.*  
 1894 GARRETT, HENRY E., M.R.C.S.E., *Australian Mutual Provident Society, 87 Pitt Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1888 GASKIN, C. P., *Berbice, British Guiana.*  
 1889 GASQUOINE, JAMES M., *Rushford, Wellington Street, Brighton, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1891 GATTY, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE STEPHEN H., *Gibraltar.*  
 1882 GAUL, RT. REV. WILLIAM T., D.D., *Lord Bishop of Mashonaland, Salisbury, Mashonaland.*  
 1895 †GAY, ARNOLD E., *The Brothers, Grenada, West Indies.*  
 1895 †GAY, E. T., *The Brothers, Grenada, West Indies.*  
 1880 †GEARD, JOHN, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*  
 1893 GEARY, ALFRED, *Durban, Natal.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1886 GENTLES, ALEXANDER B., *Hampstead, Falmou'h P.O., Jamaica.*
- 1886 GEORGE, ARTHUR, *Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1883 GEORGE, HON. CHARLES J., M.L.C., *Pacific House, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1894 GIBBON, CHARLES, *Goonambil, Waltegama, Ceylon.*
- 1882 GIBBON, EDWARD, *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1885 GIBBON, W. D., *Kandy, Ceylon.*
- 1889 GIBSON, HARRY, *South African Association, 6 Church Square, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1894 GIFFORD, CHARLES MILWARD, *Old Harbour P.O., Jamaica.*
- 1886 †GILCHRIST, WILLIAM, P.O. Box 401, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1892 GILES, MAJOR GEORGE E., *Victoria, Mashonaland.*
- 1879 GILES, THOMAS, J.P., *Adelaide Club, South Australia.*
- 1889 GILL, DAVID, C.B., LL.D., F.R.S., *Astronomer Royal, The Observatory, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1889 GILLES, ALFRED W., *Hinemoa, Edgecliffe Road, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1895 GILLES, DAVID, *Hong Kong and Whampoa Dock Co., Hong Kong.*
- 1887 GILLESPIE, ROBERT, *National Bank of Australasia, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1891 †GILLESPIE, ROBERT K., J.P., *Eaglewood, Inverleigh, Victoria, Australia.*
- 1892 GILLOTT, SAMUEL, 9 *Brunswick Street, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1882 GILMOUR, ANDREW, *Burwood, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1885 GILMAN, HON. ALEXR. RUSSEL, M.C.P., *Anna Regina, British Guiana.*
- 1889 †GIRDLESTONE, NELSON S., J.P., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 GISBORNE, DUDLEY G., P.O. Box 16, *Buluwayo, Matabele'and (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1889 GITTENS, JOSEPH A., *Oughterson, St. Philip, Barbados.*
- 1877 †GLANVILLE, THOMAS, *Mile Gully P.O., Manchester, Jamaica.*
- 1892 †GLASGOW, H.E. RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, G.C.M.G., *Government House, Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1881 GLENNIE, THOMAS H., *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1885 GLOSSOP, W. DALE, *Quinta do Caima, Estarriga, Portugal.*
- 1884 GOCH, G. H., P.O. Box 163, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1889 †GODDARD, WILLIAM, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1885 GODFREY, JOSEPH EDWARD, M.B., *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1895 GODFREY, JOSEPH JAMES, *care of Messrs. Devine, Gates & Co., Adderley Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1893 GODLEY, J. C., *Kandy, Ceylon.*
- 1895 GOLDIE, A. R., *Sebrof, Orrong Road, Armadale, Victoria, Australia.*
- 1896 GOLDMAN, RICHARD, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1891 GOLDMANN, C. SYDNEY, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1880 †GOLDNEY, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE SIR J. TANKERVILLE, *Trinidad.*
- 1885 GOLDRING, A. R., *Chamber of Mines, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1880 GOLDSWORTHY H.E. SIR ROGER T., K.C.M.G., *Government House Stanley, Falkland Islands.*
- 1890 GOLLIN, GEORGE, *Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1896 GOODALL, CHARLES, M.B., *Grey Street, St. Kilda, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1889 GOODCHAP, HON. C. A., M.L.C., *Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1878 GOODE, CHARLES H., *Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1893 †GOODE, WILLIAM HAMILTON, P.O. Box 176, *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1894 GOODENOUGH, LT.-GENERAL W. H., C.B., *Commanding the Troops, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*



Year of  
Election.

- 1874 GOODLIFFE, JOHN, 328 *Smith Street, Durban, Natal* (Corresponding Secretary).
- 1885 GOODMAN, HON. WILLIAM MEIGH, Attorney-General, *Hong Kong*.
- 1895 GOODRIDGE, CAPTAIN EDMUND, *Headingley, Manitoba, Canada*.
- 1888 GOULD-ADAMS, LT.-COLONEL H. J., C.M.G., *Mafeking, British Bechuanaland*.
- 1879 †GORDON, CHARLES, M.D., *Maritzburg, Natal*.
- 1890 †GORDON, CHARLES GRIMSTON, C.E., *Club de Residentes Etrangères, Buenos Ayres*.
- 1889 †GORDON, GEORGE, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony*.
- 1891 †GORDON, JOHN, *Messrs. D. & W. Murray, Adelaide, South Australia*.
- 1889 †GORDON, HON. W. GORDON, M.L.C., *Knowlesly, Queen's Park, Trinidad*.
- 1885 GORDON, WILLIAM MONTGOMERIE, *Government Offices, St. John's, Antigua*.
- 1895 GORE, HON. LT.-COLONEL J. O., *Colonial Secretary, Freetown, Sierra Leone*.
- 1891 GORTON, LIEUT.-COLONEL EDWARD, J.P., *Rangiatea, Bulls, Wellington, New Zealand*.
- 1896 GOULD, JOSEPH, *Christchurch, New Zealand*.
- 1893 GOULDIE, JOSEPH, *Kimberley, Cape Colony*.
- 1891 GOULDSBURY, HIS HONOUR V. SKIPTON, C.M.G., M.D., *Administrator, St. Lucia*.
- 1883 †GOVETT, ROBERT, *Culloden Station, near Arramac, Queensland*.
- 1886 GOWANS, LOUIS F., *North-Western Hotel, Johannesburg, Transvaal*.
- 1891 GOWER-POOLE, PERCY, M.I.M.E., F.R.G.S., *P.O. Box 20, Klerksdorp, Transvaal*.
- 1878 GOYDER, GEORGE WOODROFF, C.M.G., *Adelaide, South Australia*.
- 1889 GRACE, HON. MORGAN S., C.M.G., M.L.C., M.D., *Wellington, New Zealand*.
- 1896 GRAFTON, FERDINAND, *Polela, Natal*.
- 1889 GRAHAM, FRANCIS G. C., C.C. and R.M., *Dordrecht, Cape Colony*.
- 1873 GRAHAM, JOHN, 88 *Simcoe Street, Victoria, British Columbia*.
- 1889 GRAHAM, WILLIAM H., *Albany, Western Australia*.
- 1889 †GRAHAM, WOODTHORPE T., *P.O. Box 1155, Johannesburg, Transvaal* (Corresponding Secretary).
- 1883 GRAINGER, RICHARD KRAT, *Barkly West, Cape Colony*.
- 1891 GRANT, HON. CHARLES HENRY, M.L.C., M.Inst.C.E., *Hobart, Tasmania*.
- 1879 †GRANT, E. H., *Colonial Bank, St. John's, Antigua*.
- 1888 GRANT, THE VERY REV. G. M., M.A., D.D., *Principal of Queen's University, Kingston, Canada* (Corresponding Secretary).
- 1889 GRANT, HENRY E. W.
- 1877 GRANT, COLONEL THOMAS HUNTER, *care of William Bignell, Esq., Quebec, Canada*.
- 1890 GRANT-DALTON, ALAN, M.Inst.C.E., *Government Railways, East London, Cape Colony*.
- 1894 GRANT-DALTON, HORACE, *care of Standard Bank, Middelburg, Cape Colony*.
- 1884 GRAY, HON. GEORGE W., M.L.C., *Brisbane, Queensland*.
- 1888 †GRAY, ROBERT, *Hughenden, Queensland*.
- 1892 GRAY, WENTWORTH D., *c/o Post Office, Gwanda, New Tuli Road, Matabeleland*.
- 1890 GRAY, WILLIAM BAGGETT, *Kingston, Jamaica*.

Year of Election.	
1887	†GREATHERAD, JOHN BALDWIN, M.B., C.M. (Edin.), <i>Grahamstown, Cape Colony.</i>
1888	†GREEN, DAVID, <i>Durban, Natal.</i>
1882	GREEN, GEORGE DUTTON, <i>Adelaide, South Australia.</i>
1889	GREEN, JOHN E., <i>P.O. Box 340, Johannesburg, Transvaal.</i>
1884	†GREEN, RICHARD ALLAN, <i>Allanvale, Newcastle, Natal.</i>
1877	†GREEN, ROBERT COTTLE, <i>Pretoria, Transvaal.</i>
1880	†GREENACRE, BENJAMIN W., M.L.A., <i>Durban, Natal.</i>
1896	GREENACRE, WALTER, <i>Durban, Natal.</i>
1889	GREENE, EDWARD M., <i>Advocate, Maritzburg, Natal.</i>
1884	GREENE, MOLESWORTH, <i>Greystones, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1893	†GREENLEES, JAMES NEILSON, <i>P.O. Box 447, Johannesburg, Transvaal.</i>
1894	†GREENLEES, THOMAS D., M.B., C.M., <i>The Asylum, Fort England, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.</i>
1895	GREENWOOD, G. D., <i>Teviotdale, Canterbury, New Zealand.</i>
1896	GREIG, GEORGE, <i>Maskeliya, Ceylon.</i>
1894	GREY, RIGHT HON. SIR GEORGE, K.C.B., <i>Auckland, New Zealand.</i>
1895	GREY, MAJOR RALEIGH, C.M.G.
1881	†GREY-WILSON, H.E. WILLIAM, C.M.G., <i>Government House, St. Helena.</i>
1879	†GRICE, JOHN, <i>Messrs. Grice, Sumner &amp; Co., Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1886	GRIFFIN, C. T., M.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.P.E., <i>Superintending Medical Officer, Haputale, Ceylon.</i>
1895	GRIFFITH, ARTHUR E., <i>District Commissioner, Prampram, Gold Coast Colony.</i>
1895	GRIFFITH, ARTHUR G., <i>Old Calabar, West Africa.</i>
1884	GRIFFITH, COLONEL CHARLES D., C.M.G., <i>East London, Cape Colony.</i>
1882	†GRIFFITH, HON. HORACE M. BRANDFORD, <i>Treasurer, Bathurst, Gambia.</i>
1881	GRIFFITH, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE SIR SAMUEL W., G.C.M.G., <i>Brisbane, Queensland.</i>
1875	GRIFFITH, HIS HONOUR T. RISLEY, C.M.G., <i>Administrator, St. Kitts.</i>
1877	GRIFFITH, SIR W. BRANDFORD, K.C.M.G., <i>Barbados.</i>
1888	†GRIFFITH, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE WILLIAM BRANDFORD, B.A., <i>Accra, Gold Coast Colony.</i>
1889	†GRIFFITHS, THOMAS GRIFF, <i>Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.</i>
1890	GRIMANI, EDMUND HORNBY, <i>Tamsui, Formosa, China.</i>
1884	†GRIMWADE, HON. F. S., M.L.C., <i>Harleston, Caulfield, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1885	GRINLINTON, HON. SIR JOHN J., M.L.C., A.Inst.C.E., <i>Colombo, Ceylon.</i>
1884	GRUNDY, EUSTACE BEARDOE, <i>Adelaide, South Australia.</i>
1890	GUBERIN, THOMAS A., <i>Barrister-at-Law, Salisbury, Mashonaland.</i>
1884	GUBRITZ, E. P., <i>Sandakan, British North Borneo.</i>
1895	GUNTER, COLONEL HOWEL, <i>Commandant of Defence Force, Brisbane, Queensland.</i>
1889	GURDEN, R. L., <i>346 Flinders Street, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1889	†GUTHRIE, ADAM W., <i>Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.</i>
1878	GUTHRIE, CHARLES, <i>London Bank of Australia, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1887	GWYNNE, HON. MR. JUSTICE J. W., <i>188 Metcalfe Street, Ottawa, Canada.</i>
1877	†GZOWSKI, COLONEL SIR CASIMIR S., K.C.M.G. (A.D.C. to the Queen), <i>Toronto, Canada.</i>
1890	†HAARHOFF, DANIEL J., M.L.A., J.P., <i>Kimberley, Cape Colony.</i>

Year of  
Election.

- 1895 †HACKER, REV. WILLIAM J., *Chatsworth, Sea Point, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 HADDON-SMITH, G.B., Chief Assistant Colonial Secretary, *Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1894 HAGGART, E. A. H., *Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1881 HAGUE, GEORGE, *Merchants' Bank, Montreal, Canada (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1893 HAIMS, HENRY, *Transvaal Mortgage and Finance Co., P.O. Box 845, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1893 HALDER, ALBERT H., M.A.I.M.E., F.R.I.B.A., *Buluwayo, Matabeleland.*
- 1890 HALES, WILLIAM G., C.E., *Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
- 1895 HALEY, ALLEN, *Windsor, Nova Scotia.*
- 1893 HALL, CARL, *P.O. Box 172, Durban, Natal.*
- 1893 HALL, JAMES WESLEY, *Australian Club, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1883 HALL, HON. SIR JOHN, K.C.M.G., *Hororata, Canterbury, New Zealand.*
- 1889 HALL, JOHN, *Elsternwick, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1892 HALL, ROBERT E., *P.O. Box 12, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1887 HALL, THOMAS S., *Queensland Bank, Rockhampton, Queensland.*
- 1887 HALL, WALTER R., *Wildfell, Potts Point, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1893 HALLENSTEIN, BENDIX, *Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1896 HALLIDAY, GEORGE C., M.A., *Murwillumbah, Tweed River, New South Wales.*
- 1885 HAMILTON, HON. C. BOUGHTON, C.M.G., M.E.C., *Receiver-General, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1894 HAMILTON, HON. HENRY DE COURCY, M.E.C., *Montserrat, West Indies.*
- 1889 HAMILTON, JOHN T., *Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, Shanghai, China.*
- 1884 HAMILTON, LAUCHLAN A., Assistant Land Commissioner, *Canadian Pacific Railway, Winnipeg, Canada.*
- 1883 HAMNETT, FREDERICK HARPER, *care of Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co., Madras.*
- 1895 HAMPDEN, H.E. RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT, *Government House, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1888 †HAMPSON, B., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1888 †HAMPSON, J. ATHERTON, *Beaconsfield, Cape Colony.*
- 1889 HANCOCK, EDWARD, *P.O. Box 158, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1895 HANCOCK, H. R., *Walleroo & Moonta Mines, South Australia.*
- 1885 †HANINGTON, ERNEST B. C., M.D., *Victoria, British Columbia (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1884 HANMER, EDWARD WINGFIELD, *Ashburton, New Zealand.*
- 1885 †HANNAM, CHARLES, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1889 †HANSEN, VIGGO J.
- 1888 †HARDIE, WILLIAM, *Fairmont P.O., Kootenay Valley, British Columbia.*
- 1889 HARDING-FINLAYSON, MORGAN H., *Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
- 1889 †HARDS, HARRY H., *Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1884 HARDY, JAMES A., M.R.C.S., *Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1883 HARRE, PHILIBERT C., *Land of Plenty House, Essequibo, British Guiana.*
- 1893 HARFORD, FREDERICK, M.L.C., *St. Andrew's, Grenada.*
- 1892 HARGER, HAROLD ROBERT.
- 1886 HARLEY, JOHN, *Belize, British Honduras.*
- 1890 HARNETT, RICHARD, *Bradley's Head Road, St. Leonard's, Sydney, New South Wales.*

Year of Election	
1882	†HARPER, CHARLES, M.L.A., J.P., <i>Guildford, Western Australia.</i>
1884	HARPER, ROBERT, M.L.A., <i>Tworak, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1889	HARPER, WALTER A., 63 <i>Pitt Street, Sydney, New South Wales.</i>
1891	HARRAGIN, JOHN A., <i>Port of Spain, Trinidad.</i>
1889	HARRICKS, FRANCIS M., F.R.C.S.I., <i>Alma Road, St. Kilda, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1881	†HARRIS, LIEUT.-COLONEL D., <i>Kimberley, Cape Colony.</i>
1891	HARRIS, FREDERIC E., <i>Bethanga Goldfields, Limited, Bethanga, Victoria, Australia.</i>
1883	†HARRIS, HENRY WILLIAM J., <i>Kimberley, Cape Colony.</i>
1892	HARRIS, S. ALICK, Assistant Surveyor, <i>Belize, British Honduras.</i>
1890	†HARRISON, FRANK, <i>Cascade Estate, Mahé, Seychelles.</i>
1892	HARRISON, J. H. HUGH, M.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.P., <i>Orange Walk, British Honduras.</i>
1889	†HARRISON, J. SPRANGER, P.O. Box 17, <i>Johannesburg, Transvaal.</i>
1896	HARRISSON, SYDNEY T., <i>Accra, Gold Coast Colony.</i>
1889	HARROLD, MAJOR ARTHUR L., <i>Adelaide, South Australia.</i>
1886	†HARROW, EDWIN, <i>Auckland, New Zealand.</i>
1881	†HARSANT, SIDNEY B., <i>Johannesburg, Transvaal.</i>
1896	HART, FRANCIS, <i>Perth, Western Australia.</i>
1886	HARTLEY, SURGEON LIEUT.-COLONEL EDMUND B., V.C., <i>King William's Town, Cape Colony.</i>
1889	HARTLEY, EDWIN J., 333 <i>Collins Street, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1891	HARVEY, ALEXANDER T., 63 <i>Pitt Street, Sydney, New South Wales.</i>
1881	HARVEY, HON. AUGUSTUS W., <i>St. John's, Newfoundland.</i>
1884	HARVEY, JAMES, J.P., <i>Adelaide, South Australia.</i>
1882	†HARVEY, THOMAS L., <i>Kingston, Jamaica.</i>
1891	HASSARD, CHARLES, <i>Durban, Natal.</i>
1887	HATHORN, KENNETH H., Advocate of the Supreme Court, <i>Maritzburg, Natal.</i>
1884	HAVELOCK, H.E. SIR ARTHUR E., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., <i>Government House, Madras.</i>
1879	HAWDON, CYRIL G.
1889	HAWKER, EDWARD W., M.A., LL.M., <i>Adelaide, South Australia.</i>
1882	HAWKES, GEORGE WRIGHT, J.P., 188 <i>Childers Street, North Adelaide, South Australia</i> (Corresponding Secretary).
1881	HAWTAYNE, GEORGE H., C.M.G., Administrator-General, <i>Georgetown, British Guiana</i> (Corresponding Secretary).
1894	HAWTAYNE, CAPTAIN T. M., Travelling Commissioner, <i>Lagos, West Africa.</i>
1883	†HAY, HON. ALEXANDER, M.L.C., <i>Linden, near Adelaide, South Australia.</i>
1880	†HAY, HENRY, <i>Collindina, New South Wales.</i>
1886	†HAY, JAMES, <i>Johannesburg, Transvaal.</i>
1886	HAY, H.E. SIR JAMES SHAW, K.C.M.G., <i>Government House, Barbados.</i>
1891	†HAY, JOHN, LL.D., <i>Crow's Nest, North Sydney, New South Wales.</i>
1896	HAY, JAMES DOUGLAS, <i>Cue, Western Australia.</i>
1878	†HAY, WILLIAM, <i>Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1888	HAYDON, THOMAS, <i>Coronet Hill, Brighton, Melbourne, Australia; and Victoria Club.</i>
1894	HAYGARTH, GRAHAM A., <i>Charters Towers, Queensland.</i>
1883	HAYNES, ROBERT, Registrar in Chancery, <i>Bridgetown, Barbados.</i>

Year of  
Election.

- 1896 †HAYWARD, EDWARD W., Messrs. J. Martin & Co., Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1889 †HAZELL, CHARLES S., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 1892 HEATH, WALTER, M.A., care of Messrs. Hart & Flower, Adelaide Street, Brisbane, Queensland.
- 1891 HEBDEN, GEORGE H., Erarnbie, Molong, New South Wales; and Union Club.
- 1886 †HEBRON, A. S., Barrister-at-Law, Freetown, Sierra Leone.
- 1888 HECTOR, ALEXANDER, Bank of Africa, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 1876 \*HECTOR, SIR JAMES, K.C.M.G., Colonial Museum, Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1889 HELY-HUTCHINSON, H.E. THE HON. SIR WALTER F., K.C.M.G., Government House, Maritzburg, Natal.
- 1886 †HEMERY, PERCY, Receiver-General's Office, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1896 HEMMING, H.E. SIR AUGUSTUS W. L., K.C.M.G., Government House, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1881 HEMMING, JOHN, Civil Commissioner, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
- 1869 HENDERSON, JOSEPH, C.M.G., Maritzburg, Natal.
- 1889 HENDERSON, J. C. A., Pretoria, Transvaal.
- 1889 HENDERSON, SAMUEL, Woodford Lodge, Trinidad.
- 1891 †HENNESSY, DAVID VALENTINE, J.P., Brunswick, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1893 HENRY, JOHN MCKENZIE, Walker Street, Dunedin, New Zealand.
- 1896 HENRY, HON. JOHN, M.H.A., Devonport West, Tasmania.
- 1883 HENSFMAN, HON. MR. JUSTICE ALFRED PEACH, Perth, Western Australia.
- 1893 HERMAN, C. LAWRENCE, M.B., M.R.C.S.E., 42 Burg Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony; and Civil Service Club.
- 1890 HERMAN, ISAAC, 16 Barrack Street, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1893 HEWICK, JOHN E., Stipendiary Magistrate, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1894 †HICKS, THE RIGHT REV. JOHN WALE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Bilemfontein, Bishop's Lodge, Bloemfontein, Orange Free State.
- 1888 †HIDDINGH, J. M. F., Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 1886 †HIDDINGH, MICHAEL, F.C.S., Newlands, Cape Colony.
- 1893 HIDDINGH, WILLIAM, Barrister-at-Law, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 1884 HIGGINS, LIEUT.-COLONEL THOMAS WALKER, Higginsbrook, Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1883 †HIGHETT, JOHN MOORE.
- 1882 HILL, CHARLES LUMLEY, Brisbane, Queensland.
- 1892 HILL, CHARLES WM., Stanley, Falkland Islands.
- 1887 HILL, EDWARD C. H., Inspector of Schools, Singapore.
- 1895 HILL, GEORGE, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1887 HILL, LUKE M., A.M.Inst.C.E., Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1888 †HILL, THOMAS HESLOP, Sunget Ujong, Straits Settlements.
- 1891 HILL, WARDBOP M., Townsville, Queensland.
- 1888 †HILLARY, GEORGE, Durban, Natal.
- 1886 HILLMAN, GEORGE F., Perth, Western Australia.
- 1889 HILLS, T. AGG, 31 Queen Street, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1888 †HITCHINS, CHARLES, Durban, Natal.
- 1886 HOAD, WILLIAM, M.B., C.M., Resident Surgeon, General Hospital, Singapore.
- 1890 HODGES, FRANCIS E.
- 1884 HODGSON, HON. FREDERIC M., C.M.G., Colonial Secretary, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.

Year of  
Election.

- 1894 †HOKY, UNG BOH, *Penang, Straits Settlements.*  
 1886 †HOFFMEISTER, C. R., *Barrister-at-Law, Singapore.*  
 1885 HOFMEYER, HON. J. H., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1894 HOGG, CHARLES EDWARD, C.E., *Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1891 HOGG, HENRY ROUGHTON, 16 *Market Buildings, Flinders Lane, Melbourne, Australia; and Melbourne Club.*  
 1890 HOLDSHIP, GEORGE, J.P., 3 *Brent Terrace, Roslyn Gardens, Darlinghurst, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1896 HOLDSHIP, THOMAS H., *Australian Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1894 HOLE, HUGH MARSHALL, *Civil Commissioner, Salisbury, Mashonaland.*  
 1886 HOLE, WILLIAM, *Pekau, Pakang, Straits Settlements.*  
 1889 HOLLAND, CUTLER A., *care of British Columbia Land Co., Victoria, British Columbia.*  
 1889 HOLLAND, JOHN A., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*  
 1889 †HOLLINS, RICHARD R., *P.O. Box 289, Johannesburg, Transvaal; and Pretoria.*  
 1889 HOLLIS, ALBERT E., J.P., *Potosi, Bath, Jamaica.*  
 1889 HOLMES, JOHN R., *District Commissioner, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*  
 1891 HOLROYD, HON. MR. JUSTICE EDWARD D., *Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1887 HOLT, BASIL A., *care of Australian Joint Stock Bank, Croydon, Queensland.*  
 1887 †HOLT, WALTER H., J.P., *Australian Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1894 HOLTOM, HAROLD, *Vancouver, British Columbia.*  
 1888 HOLWELL, CHARLES A., *care of Messrs. Savage & Hill, Durban, Natal.*  
 1889 †HOMAN, LEONARD E. B., *P.O. Box 178, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1890 HONNY, RICHARD, 12 *San Juan de Letran, Mexico.*  
 1893 HOOD, AUGUSTUS W. (Governor of the Prison), *Belize, British Honduras.*  
 1884 †HOPE, C. H. S., *Mareitimo, Glenelg, South Australia.*  
 1884 †HOPE, JAMES WILLIAM, M.R.C.P., *Fremantle, Western Australia.*  
 1892 HOPGOOD, JOHN EDGAR, *St. George's Terrace, Perth, Western Australia.*  
 1890 HOPKINS, T. HOLLIS, *Townsville, Queensland.*  
 1888 HOPLBY, HON. MR. JUSTICE WILLIAM M., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1883 †HORDERN, EDWARD CARR, 211 *Pitt Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1892 HORN, THOMAS SUTHERLAND, *Adelaide, South Australia.*  
 1890 †HORNABROOK, CHARLES A., *Gilles Street, Adelaide, South Australia.*  
 1884 HORSFORD, HON. DAVID BARNES, M.L.C., *Receiver-General, Port of Spain, Trinidad.*  
 1894 HORSFORD, SAMUEL L., M.L.C., *St. Kitts.*  
 1881 HORTON, A. G., *Auckland, New Zealand.*  
 1896 HOSKEN, JOSIAH R., *Georgetown, British Guiana.*  
 1887 HOTSON, JOHN, *Newport Freezing Works, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1894 HOWARD, JOHN WM., *Bulawayo, Matabeleland.*  
 1896 HOWAT, GEORGE, 130 *Queen Street, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1879 HOWATSON, HON. WILLIAM, M.L.C., *Port of Spain, Trinidad.*  
 1886 HOWELL, JOHN, *care of Messrs. A. Dixon & Co., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*  
 1894 HOWLETT, ERNEST, *Durban, Natal.*  
 1895 HUBBARD, H. MALCOLM, *care of Messrs. McPhillips, Wootten, & Barnard, Victoria, British Columbia.*  
 1885 †HUDDART, JAMES, *Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1883 HUDSON, GEORGE, J.P., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1887 HUDSON, G. WREFFORD, *Master and Registrar of the High Court, Bremersdorp, Swaziland, South Africa.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1886 HUDSON, HERBERT L., *Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1894 HUDSON, WALTER E., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1882 †HUGGINS, WILLIAM MAX, *Freetown, Sierra Leone.*  
 1894 HUGHES, ARTHUR NICHOLAS, *Adelaide Club, South Australia.*  
 1880 †HUGHES, COMMANDER R. JUKES, R.N.  
 1895 HUGHES, OSWALD, *Adelaide Club, South Australia.*  
 1887 †HUGHES-HUGHES, T. W.  
 1894 HULLETT, GEORGE HERRERT, Advocate of the Supreme Court, *P.O. Box 230, Durban, Natal.*  
 1884 HULLETT, JAMES LIEGE, M.L.A., J.P., *Keareney, Nomoti, Natal.*  
 1887 HULL, GEORGE H., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1884 †HULL, W. WINSTANLEY.  
 1893 HUMBY, HENRY G., M.Inst.C.E., *Verulam, Natal.*  
 1880 HUMPHREYS, OCTAVIUS, Chief Registrar of the Supreme Court of the Leeward Islands, *St. John's, Antigua.*  
 1889 HUNT, WALTER R., Auditor-General, *Nassau, Bahamas.*  
 1894 HUNTER, CECIL W., care of H. Benton, Esq., *Renmark, South Australia.*  
 1894 HUNTER, CHARLES H., *Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*  
 1883 HUNTER, CHARLES THOMSON, *Belize, British Honduras.*  
 1889 HUNTER, DAVID, *Government Railways, Durban, Natal.*  
 1884 HUNTER, HAMILTON, Chief Police Magistrate, *Suva, Fiji (Corresponding Secretary).*  
 1891 HUTCHINGS, ARTHUR C., M.B., M.R.C.S., *Young, New South Wales.*  
 1890 HUTCHINS, DAVID E., Conservator of Forests, *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1883 HUTTON, HON. CHARLES WILLIAM, M.L.A., *Rondebosch, Cape Colony.*  
 1893 HUTTON, EDWARD M., M.A., Registrar, Supreme Court, *Gibraltar.*  
 1894 HUTTON, JOHN KNOX, *Lagos, West Africa.*  
 1887 †HUTTON, J. MOUNT, *P.O. Box 1130, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1892 HUTTON, WILLIAM, *Fort George, Bakana, New Calabar, West Africa.*  
 1885 HYAM, ABRAHAM, *P.O. Box 234, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1884 IKIN, REV. ALFRED, D.D., *Point, Natal.*  
 1880 IM THURN, EVERARD F., C.M.G., *Pomeroon River, British Guiana.*  
 1894 INGALL, WILLIAM, F.R., *Berbice, British Guiana.*  
 1894 †INGLIS, HON. JAMES, M.L.A., *Dean's Place, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1895 INNIS, THOMAS WALROND, *Britannia Estate, Mauritius.*  
 1891 I'ONS, FREDERICK F., *Kenilworth Club, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1892 IRELAND, J. S. A., M.B. (Surgeon Superintendent Indian Emigration Service).  
 1884 IRISH, GEORGE H., *Montserrat, West Indies.*  
 1891 IRVINE, HANS W. H., *Great Western Vineyard, Victoria, Australia.*  
 1891 IRVING, ROBERT J., *Western Australian Pastoral and Colonisation Co, Kojonup, Western Australia.*  
 1886 †ISAACS, DAVID, *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1891 ISAACS, EMANUEL, *P.O. Box 1, Mafeking, British Bechuanaland.*  
 1883 ISEMONGER, HON. EDWIN E., Colonial Treasurer, *Singapore.*  
 1883 JACK, A. HILL, *Dunedin, New Zealand.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1881 JACKSON, HON. CAPT. H. M., R.A., C.M.G., Colonial Secretary, *Gibraltar*.  
 1890 JACKSON, ROBERT E., Q.C., *Victoria, British Columbia*.  
 1883 †JACOBS, ISAAC, 72 *Queen Street, Melbourne, Australia*.  
 1893 JACOBSEN, H. R., *Kingston, Jamaica*.  
 1891 JAMES, ALFRED, *Johannesburg, Transvaal*.  
 1884 †JAMES, EDWIN MATTHEW, M.R.C.S., L.S.A. (Eng.), 2 *Collins Street, Melbourne, Australia*.  
 1876 †JAMES, J. WILLIAM, F.G.S., care of F. Smith, Esq., 13 *Queen's Place, Sydney, New South Wales*.  
 1894 JAMES, PHILIP HAUGHTON, *Devon Lodge, Half Way Tree, Jamaica*.  
 1893 JAMESON, ADAM, M.B., C.M.; 114 *Via del Babuino, Piazza di Spagna, Rome*.  
 1881 †JAMESON, DR. L. S., C.B.  
 1895 JAMESON, HON. ROBERT, M.L.C., *Durban, Natal*.  
 1886 †JAMIESON, M. B., C.E., 39 *Queen Street, Melbourne, Australia*.  
 1882 JAMISON, WILLIAM T.  
 1884 JARDINE, C. K., *Georgetown, British Guiana*.  
 1895 JARDINE, JOHN F., *Napier, New Zealand*.  
 1882 JARRETT, MICHAEL LEWIS, M.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.P. (Edin.), *British Sherbro' West Africa*.  
 1893 JARVIS, LESLIE, *Mount Jarvis, Antigua*.  
 1893 JELlicOB, R. VINCENT, *Buxton House, George Street, Nassau, Bahamas*.  
 1872 †JENKINS, H. L., *Indian Civil Service*.  
 1893 JENKINS, ARTHUR ROGERS, P.O. Box 414, *Cape Town, Cape Colony*.  
 1889 †JEPPE, CARL, M.V.R., Barrister-at-Law, *Johannesburg, Transvaal*.  
 1882 †JEPPE, JULIUS, *Cape Town, Cape Colony*.  
 1895 †JEPPE, JULIUS, JUN., *Jeppe's Town, Johannesburg, Transvaal*.  
 1889 JERNINGHAM, H.E. SIR HUBERT E. H., K.C.M.G., *Government House, Port Louis, Mauritius*.  
 1895 JESSOP, WILLIAM H., *Grand National Hotel, Johannesburg, Transvaal*.  
 1895 †JOEL, LOUIS, P.O. Box 232, *Johannesburg, Transvaal*.  
 1891 JOEL, WOLF, J.P., *Kimberley, Cape Colony*.  
 1893 †JOHNSON, FRANK W. F., *Sea Point, Cape Town, Cape Colony*.  
 1884 JOHNSON, FREDERICK WILLIAM, A.Inst.C.E., Public Works Department, *Colombo, Ceylon*.  
 1883 †JOHNSON, JAMES ANGAS, *Prospect, Adelaide, South Australia*.  
 1895 JOHNSON, JOSEPH C. F., *Adelaide, South Australia*.  
 1894 JOHNSTON, HON. C. J., M.L.C., *Wellington, New Zealand*.  
 1891 †JOHNSTON, DAVID W., M.D., *Johannesburg, Transvaal*.  
 1896 JOHNSTON, DOUGLAS H., *Annandale, Sydney, New South Wales*.  
 1888 JOHNSTON, SIR HENRY H., K.C.B., *British Commissioner for Northern Zambesia, Zomba, Blantyre, East Africa*.  
 1889 †JOHNSTON, JAMES, J.P., *Oakbank, Mount Barker, South Australia*.  
 1889 JOHNSTON, PERCIVAL, J.P., care of Messrs. Jones & Jones, *Lincoln's Inn Chambers, Elizabeth Street, Sydney, New South Wales*.  
 1885 JOHNSTON, SYDNEY, *Napier, New Zealand*.  
 1881 JOHNSTON, THOMAS G., care of Hon. W. D. Stewart, M.L.C., *Dunedin, New Zealand*.  
 1885 JOHNSTON, HON. WALTER WOODS, M.H.R., *Wellington, New Zealand*.  
 1894 JOHNSTONE, H. W., Barrister-at-Law, *Halifax, Nova Scotia*.



Year of  
Election.

- 1890 JOHNSTONE, ROBERT, *Board of Supervision, Kingston, Jamaica.*  
 1894 JONES, ALFRED, *Sandakan, British North Borneo.*  
 1881 JONES, HON. B. HOWELL, M.E.C., *Georgetown, British Guiana.*  
 1889 †JONES, CHARLES T., M.L.A., *St. David's, Wynberg, Cape Colony.*  
 1884 †JONES, EDWARD, C.E., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1888 JONES, EDWARD, J.P., *Commercial Bank of Australia, Adelaide, South Australia.*  
 1889 †JONES, EVAN H., J.P., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1888 JONES, CAPTAIN HESKETH, *Albany, Western Australia.*  
 1891 JONES, JOHN R., *Pretoria, Transvaal.*  
 1882 JONES, J. THOMAS, *Bradfield, Barbados.*  
 1881 JONES, MATHEW, *Assistant Colonial Surveyor, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*  
 1882 JONES, HON. OSWALD, M.L.C., *Stockton, Barbados.*  
 1893 JONES, PETTON, M.Inst.C.E., *Spencer Street, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1884 JONES, PHILIP SYDNEY, M.D., *16 College Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1887 JONES, RICHARD FRYER, P.O. Box 110, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1891 JONES, RONALD M., *South African Exploration Co., Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1873 JONES, HON. MR. JUSTICE S. TWENTYMAN, *Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*  
 1882 JONES, W. H. HYNDMAN, *Resident Magistrate, Kingston, Jamaica.*  
 1890 JONES, WM. HERBERT, 278 *Collins Street, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1884 †JONES, SIR W. H. QUAYLE.  
 1889 JONES, WILLIAM T., 8 *Collins Street West, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1894 JONES-VAUGHAN, MAJOR-GENERAL HUGH T., C.B., *Commanding the Troops, Singapore.*  
 1884 †JONSSON, F. L., *Durban, Natal.*  
 1894 JOSEPH, HUGH GORE, *Trichinopoly, India.*  
 1884 JOSEPH, S. A., *Midhurst, Nelson Street, Woollahra, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1893 JUDD, ALBERT G., P.O. Box 127, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1896 JUNIUS, HENRY G., P.O. Box 426, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1889 JUSTICE, MAJOR-GENERAL W. CLIVE, C.M.G., *Commanding the Troops, Colombo, Ceylon.*  
 1886 JUTA, HON. HENRY H., Q.C., M.L.A., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1892 KAPUR, VISHNU SINGH, M.R.A.C., *Barrister at-Law, Gujrat, Punjab, India.*  
 1890 KEATS, HERBERT F.C., *care of Bank of Australasia, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1894 KEENAN, JAMES, F.R.C.S.I., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1885 KEMP, JOHN, *Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1889 †KEGWIN, THOMAS HENRY, *Market Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1889 †KEMTH, JOHN T., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*  
 1896 KELLY, HON. MR. JUSTICE H. G., *Akassa, Niger Territories, West Africa.*  
 1884 †KELLY, JAMES JOHN, *Ellimatta, St. Kilda, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1889 †KELTY, WILLIAM, *Albany, Western Australia.*  
 1880 KEMP, HON. G. T. R., M.D., M.L.C., *Nassau, Bahamas.*  
 1877 KEMSLEY, JAMES, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*  
 1889 KEMSLEY, JOHN, *Rustenburg, Transvaal.*  
 1893 KENNEDY, CHARLES DUGALD, *Browning Street, Napier, New Zealand.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1883 KENNEDY, JAMES HUTCHINSON, Treasurer, Chartered Co., *Salisbury, Mashonaland.*
- 1884 KENNY, W., M.D. (Surgeon Superintendent, Indian Emigration Service).
- 1889 KENT, WILLIAM J., P.O. Box 294, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1886 KERMODE, ROBERT, *Mona Vale, Tasmania.*
- 1884 KERR, JAMES KIRKPATRICK, Q.C., *Toronto, Canada.*
- 1888 †KERRY, T. C., *Sutton Lodge, Remmamaa, Auckland, New Zealand.*
- 1894 KESWICK, HON. JAMES J., M.L.C., *Hong Kong.*
- 1895 KEWLBY, CHARLES, M.A., *St. Cyprian's Grammar School, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1882 †KYNES, RICHARD R., *Keyneton, South Australia.*
- 1892 †KIDDLE, WILLIAM, *Walbundrie Station, Albury, New South Wales.*
- 1894 KIDSON, JOHN PEXALL Wm., *Mahé, Seychelles.*
- 1886 KILBY, HENRY G., *Bentham, Hunter's Hill, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1891 KINCAID, JOHN, P.O. Box 2186, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1888 KING, HON. PHILIP G., M.L.C., *Banksia, Double Bay, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1882 †KING, THOMAS A., *East London, Cape Colony.*
- 1888 KINGSMILL, W. T., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1886 †KIRK, WILLIAM, *Townsville, Queensland.*
- 1884 KISCH, DANIEL MONTAGUE, F.R.G.S., P.O. Box 668, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1894 KITCHEN, JOHN H., *St. Kilda, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1886 KITHER, WILLIAM, *Glenelg, South Australia.*
- 1896 KNAPP, J. C., P.O. Box 98, *Buluwayo, Matabeleland.*
- 1878 KNEVETT, J. S. K. DE, 2 Rue de Lozum, *Brussels.*
- 1883 KNIGHT, ARTHUR, *Audit Office, Singapore.*
- 1895 KNIGHT, CLAUD HOPE, *Buluwayo, Matabeleland.*
- 1886 KNIGHT, J. CHARLES E., Barrister-at-Law, *Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1873 KNIGHT, WILLIAM, *Brown's River, near Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1896 KNOLLYS, HON. CLEMENT C., C.M.G., Colonial Secretary, *Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
- 1893 KNOLLYS, MAJOR LOUIS F., C.M.G., *Inspector-General of Police, Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1878 KNOX, HON. EDWARD, M.L.C., *Colonial Sugar Refining Co., Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1887 KNOX, WILLIAM, 74 *Queen Street, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1893 †KÖENIG, PAUL, *Beau Bassin, Mauritius.*
- 1890 †KÖHLER, CHARLES W. H., *Riverside, Paarl, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 KOPKE, HERMANN, *Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1890 †KOTHARI, JEHangir H., *Karachi, India.*
- 1876 †KRIEL, REV. H. T., 41 *St. George's Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1889 †KUHR, HENRY R., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1884 KYNSEY, WILLIAM R., C.M.G., Principal Medical Officer and Inspector-General of Hospitals, *Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1882 KYSHE, JAMES WM. NORTON, *Registrar of the Courts, Hong Kong.*
- 1883 †LADEN, GODFREY YEATMAN, C.M.G., *The Residency, Maseru, Basutoland, South Africa.*

Year of  
Election

- 1885 LAING, HON. JOHN, M.L.A., *Blackwoods, Seymour, Cape Colony.*
- 1889 LAMB, TOMPSON, *Liverpool Street, Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1895 LAMINGTON H.E. RIGHT HON. LORD, K.C.M.G., *Government House, Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1880 LAMPREY, SURGEON-MAJOR J. J., F.R.G.S., *Army Medical Staff.*
- 1880 LANDALE, ALEXANDER, *Melbourne Club, Australia.*
- 1885 LANDALE, ROBERT H., *Deniliquin, New South Wales.*
- 1884 †LANG, WILLIAM, *Melbourne Club, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1894 LANGDALE, CAPTAIN FREDERICK LENOX, *Wakaya, Fiji.*
- 1888 LANGDON, HENRY J., *Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1882 LANGE, HON. MR. JUSTICE J. H., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1890 †LANGERMAN, J. W. S., *Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1895 LANGTON, HON. EDWARD, *Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1894 †LANGTREE, CHARLES WM., *Australian Club, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1878 †LARNACH, HON. WILLIAM J. M., C.M.G., *The Camp, Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1895 LAW, CHARLES F., *Vancouver, British Columbia.*
- 1889 †LAWLEY, ALFRED L., *Beira, East Africa.*
- 1880 LAWRENCE, JAMES, M.L.A., J.P., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1886 LAYTON, BENDYSHEE, *Messrs. Gibb, Livingston, & Co., Hong Kong.*
- 1892 †LEA, JULIAN AUGUSTUS, M.B., F.R.C.S., *Toronto, Canada.*
- 1883 LEACOCK, HON. W. P., M.L.C., *Barbados.*
- 1896 LEAKE, GEORGE, M.L.A., *Battister-at-Law, Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1889 †LEECH, H. W. CHAMBER, LL.D., *State Treasurer, Perak, Straits Settlements.*
- 1883 †LEECH, JOHN BOURKE MASSEY, *Kinta, Perak, Straits Settlements.*
- 1895 LEFEBRE, J. M., M.D., C.M., *Vancouver, British Columbia.*
- 1880 LEGGE, LIEUT.-COLONEL W. VINCENT, R.A., *Cullenswood House, St. Mary's, Tasmania.*
- 1894 LE HUNTE, HON. GEORGE RUTHVEN, M.E.C., *Colonial Secretary, Bridgetown, Barbados.*
- 1877 LEMBERG, P., *Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1883 LE MESURIER, CECIL J. R., *Matara, Ceylon.*
- 1880 LE MIÈRE, HIPPOLYTE, JUN., *Rose Cottage, Curepipe, Mauritius.*
- 1896 LEONARD, CHARLES, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1890 LEONARD, JAMES W., Q.C., *The Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1883 LEONARD, WILLIAM, *Melbourne Club, Australia.*
- 1886 LEPPER, CHARLES H., F.R.G.S., P.O. Box 182, *Durban, Natal.*
- 1889 †LESLIE, J. H., P.O. Box 894, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1889 LEUCHARS, JOHN W., M.L.A., *Durban, Natal.*
- 1891 †LEVY, JAMES A., *Melbourne Club, Australia.*
- 1882 LEVY, ARTHUR, *Mandeville, Jamaica.*
- 1883 LEWIS, ALLAN WELLESLEY, *Battister-at-Law, St. George's, Grenada.*
- 1893 LEWIS, JACOB WM., *Lumley Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1881 LEWIS, LOUIS LUCAS, *Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1880 †LEWIS, NEIL ELLIOTT, M.H.A., M.A., B.C.L., *Hobart, Tasmania (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1891 LEWIS, ROBERT E., 414 *Little Collins Street, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1880 LEWIS, HON. SIR SAMUEL, C.M.G., M.L.C., *Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1884 †LEWIS, THOMAS, *Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1889 †LICHTHEIM, JACOB, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1889 †LIDDLE, FREDERIC C., *Messrs. Liddle & Fletcher, P.O. Box 127, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1895 LIDDLE, HORACE S., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1895 LIEBMAN, HENRY B., *Wynyard Square, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1889 LIEBMAN, PROF. JAMES A., *Diocesan College, Rondebosch, Cape Colony.*
- 1883 LILLEY, E. M., *Barrister-at-Law, Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1894 LINCOLN, GABRIEL, *Civil Service, Port Louis, Mauritius.*
- 1896 LINDSAY, DAVID, F.R.G.S., *Coolgardie, Western Australia.*
- 1895 LINDSAY, HENRY LILL, *Harrismith, Orange Free State.*
- 1892 LINDSAY, JOHN H., *Royal Survey Depot, Bangkok, Siam.*
- 1887 LISSNER, HON. ISIDOR, M.L.A., *Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1886 †LITKIE, EMIL M., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 LITTLE, ROBERT MCEWEN, *West Coast, British North Borneo.*
- 1879 †LIVERSIDGE, ARCHIBALD, M.A., F.R.S., *Professor of Chemistry, The University, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1892 LLEWELYN, HIS HONOUR ROBERT B., C.M.G., *Administrator, Bathurst, Gambia.*
- 1892 LLOYD, CHARLES WM., *Burwood, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1884 LLOYD, G. HAMILTON.
- 1894 LLOYD, LANCILOT T., *127 Phillip Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1882 LOCKE, JOHN, *care of Colonial Bank, Barbados.*
- 1888 LOFTIE, ROWLEY C., J.P., *Government Resident, Albany, Western Australia.*
- 1886 LOGAN, JAMES D., M.L.A., *Matjesfontein, Cape Colony.*
- 1889 LONG, EDWARD M., *Havana, Mackay, Queensland.*
- 1893 LONGDEN, W. H., *Somerset East, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 LONGLEY, HON. J. WILBERFORCE, Q.C., M.E.C., M.P.P., *Halifax, Nova Scotia.*
- 1883 LOOS, F. C., *Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1889 †LOUBSER, MATTHEW M., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1888 LOVE, J. R., *99 Bathurst Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1884 LOVEDAY, RICHARD KELSEY, M.V.R., F.R.G.S., *Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1891 LOVELL, EDWARD A., M.A., Ph. D., *Collector of Customs, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1878 LOVELL, HON. FRANCIS H., C.M.G., M.E.C., M.R.C.S.E., *Surgeon-General, Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
- 1883 †LOVELY, LIEUT.-COLONEL JAMES CHAPMAN, *Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1896 †LOVELY, WM. H. C., M.A.I.M.E., *Kalgoorlie, Western Australia.*
- 1896 LOVEMORE, HARRY C., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1893 LOW, HENRY J.
- 1895 LOWLES, JOHN I., *care of Bank of Australasia, Coolgardie, Western Australia.*
- 1886 †LUARD, HON. EDWARD CHAUNCEY, M.C.P., *Plantation La Bonne Intention, British Guiana.*
- 1895 †LUCAS, ALEXANDER B., *Krugersdorp, Transvaal.*
- 1890 LUCAS, A. R. B., *Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1894 LUCAS, REV. D. V., M.A., D.D., *Grimsby, Ontario, Canada.*
- 1895 †LUCAS, PHILIP DE N., *Krugersdorp, Transvaal.*
- 1888 LUMB, HON. MR. JUSTICE C. F., M.A., LL.D., *Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1886 LUMGAIR, GEORGE, *Store-keeper General, Port Louis, Mauritius.*
- 1889 †LUMSDEN, DAVID, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1886 †LYTMAN, HENRY H., 74 *McTavish Street, Montreal, Canada.*  
 1880 LYNCH, EDWARD B., *Spanish Town, Jamaica.*  
 1883 LYONS, CHARLES, *Imperial Chambers, Adelaide, South Australia.*  
 1893 LYONS, HARRY S., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1896 LYS, GODFREY, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1883 LYTTELTON, THE HON. AND REV. ALBERT VICTOR, M.A., *St. Augustine's, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1886 MAASDORP, HON. MR. JUSTICE C. G., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1887 MAREN, A. W., *Huntingdon Lodge, Heidelberg, Transvaal.*  
 1889 MACANDREW, ISAAC F., *Waikari, Mohaka, Napier, New Zealand.*  
 1888 MACARTHEUR, ARTHUR H., 87 *Macleay Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1891 MACARTHEUR, DUNCAN, P.O. Box 499, *Winnipeg, Canada.*  
 1889 MACARTHEUR, E. J. BAYLY, *care of Commercial Bank of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1893 MACARTHY, THOS. G., *Phoenix Brewery, Tory St., Wellington, New Zealand.*  
 1891 MACAULAY, HERBERT, *South Cot, Lagos, West Africa.*  
 1887 MACBRIDE, HON. ROBERT K., M.L.C., C.M.G., M.Inst.C.E., *Director of Public Works, Colombo, Ceylon.*  
 1887 MACDONALD, BEAUCHAMP R., *Geraldine, Canterbury, New Zealand.*  
 1883 MACDONALD, C. FALCONAR J., *Wantabadgery, Wagga Wagga, New South Wales.*  
 1886 MACDONALD, CLAUDE A., *Wantabadgery, Wagga Wagga, New South Wales.*  
 1894 MACDONALD, H.E. SIR CLAUDE M., K.C.M.G., *Peking, China.*  
 1891 MACDONALD, DUNCAN, P.O. Box 2199, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1892 MACDONALD, EBENEZER, *Kamilaroi, Darling Point, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1896 MACDONALD, GEORGE, *Director of Education, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*  
 1896 MACDONALD, REV. J. MIDDLETON, H.M. Bengal Chaplain, *Nowgong, Central India.*
- 1885 MACDONALD, THOMAS MORELL, *Invercargill, New Zealand.*  
 1882 MACDOUGALL, JAMES, *Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1891 †MACDOWALL, DAY HORT, M.P., *Prince Albert, N.W.T., Canada.*  
 1889 MACEWEN, HON. ALEXANDER P., M.L.C., *Hong Kong.*  
 1884 †MACFARLANE, JAMES, *Newlands, Hobart, Tasmania.*  
 1889 †MACFARLANE, JAMES G., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*  
 1888 MACFARLANE, THOMAS, *Inland Revenue Department, Ottawa, Canada.*  
 1881 MACFARLANE, ROBERT, *Member of the Volksraad, Harriismith, Orange Free State.*
- 1886 MACFARLANE, RODERICK, *Hudson's Bay Co., Winnipeg, Canada.*  
 1890 MACFEE, K. N., 45 *St. Sacramento Street, Montreal, Canada.*  
 1881 MACGLASHAN, HON. JOHN, *Auditor-General, Kingston, Jamaica.*  
 1885 MACGLASHAN, NEIL, J.P., *care of Chartered Company, Umtali, Manica, Mashonaland.*
- 1891 MACGREGOR, HIS HONOUR SIR WILLIAM, K.C.M.G., *Government House, Port Moresby, British New Guinea.*  
 1883 MACGREGOR, WILLIAM, *Australian Club, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1893 MACHATTIE, THOMAS ALEXANDER, M.B., C.M., *Bathurst, New South Wales.*

Year of Election.	
1891	MACINTOSH, JAMES, <i>c/o Bank of New South Wales, Townsville, Queensland.</i>
1895	MACKAY, AENEAS, D., <i>Hand-in-Hand Insurance Co., Georgetown, British Guiana.</i>
1895	†MACKAY, A. W., <i>Newington College, Stanmore, Sydney, New South Wales.</i>
1892	MACKAY, GEORGE, <i>Marzelsfontein, Douglas, Cape Colony.</i>
1891	MACKAY, JAMES, <i>Strathreay, Feilding, Wellington, New Zealand.</i>
1890	†MACKAY, JOHN KENNETH, <i>Dungog, New South Wales.</i>
1887	MACKELLAR, HON. CHARLES K., M.L.C., M.B., <i>131 Macquarie Street, Sydney, New South Wales.</i>
1884	†MACKENZIE, REV. JOHN, <i>Hankey, Cape Colony.</i>
1886	MACKENZIE, JOHN EDDIE, M.B., C.M., <i>Kimberley, Cape Colony.</i>
1892	MACKENZIE, WILLIAM, <i>Castlereagh, Dikoya, Ceylon.</i>
1891	†MACKINNON, W. K., <i>Marida, Yallock, Boorcan, Victoria, Australia.</i>
1895	†MACLAREN, DAVID, <i>62 Frank Street, Ottawa, Canada.</i>
1895	†MACLEAN, NORMAN, M.D., <i>P.O. Box 68, Johannesburg, Transvaal.</i>
1894	MACLEOD, MURDOCH, <i>Brighton, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1882	MACPHERSON, JOHN, <i>Sorrento, San Diego Co., California, U.S.A.</i>
1881	†MACPHERSON, WILLIAM ROBERT, <i>Devon Villa, St. Andrew, Jamaica.</i>
1880	MCADAM, HON. ALEX., M.L.C., <i>St. John's, Antigua.</i>
1883	MCALLUM, HON. MAJOR HENRY EDWARD, R.E., C.M.G., <i>Surveyor-General, Singapore.</i>
1880	MC CARTHY, JAMES A., <i>Solicitor-General, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.</i>
1886	†MCCAUGHAN, PATRICK K., <i>Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1886	†MCCAUGHY, SAMUEL, <i>Coonong, Urana, New South Wales.</i>
1895	†MC CONNELL, JAMES, <i>Ardmore Hall, Vuna, Fiji.</i>
1882	MCCRAE, FARQUHAR P. G., <i>Bank of Australasia, Sydney, New South Wales.</i>
1889	MCCULLOCH, ALEXANDER, <i>Adelaide Club, South Australia.</i>
1879	MCCULLOCH, HON. WILLIAM, M.L.C., <i>Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1896	MCCULLOUGH, HON. WILLIAM, M.L.C., <i>Auckland, New Zealand.</i>
1893	MCDONALD, DARENT H., <i>Assistant Treasurer, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.</i>
1896	MCDONALD, ERNEST E., <i>Treasury, Freetown, Sierra Leone.</i>
1882	MCEACHARN, MALCOLM D., <i>Goathland, Balaclava Road, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1880	McFARLAND, ROBERT, <i>Barooga, Deniliquin, New South Wales.</i>
1887	McGAVIN, E. W., <i>East Street, Poona, India.</i>
1893	McGIBBON, R. D., Q.C., <i>St. James's Club, Montreal, Canada.</i>
1895	†MCGOUCN, ARCHIBALD, JUN., <i>181 St. James Street, Montreal, Canada.</i>
1889	McGOWAN, ROBERT J., <i>Georgetown, British Guiana.</i>
1883	McGRATH, GEORGE, <i>Charlemont, Jamaica.</i>
1887	†MCGREGOR, ALEXANDER, J.P., <i>Rondebosch, Cape Colony.</i>
1895	McGUIRE, FELIX, M.H.R., <i>Mount Royal, Hawera, New Zealand.</i>
1888	McHARDY, ALEXANDER, <i>Black Head, Napier, New Zealand.</i>
1888	McHARG, JAMES A., <i>Messrs. Brooks, McGlashan, &amp; McHarg, Flinders Lane, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1881	McILWRAITH, HON. SIR THOMAS, K.C.M.G., <i>Brisbane, Queensland.</i>
1889	†McILWRAITH, JOHN, <i>Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.</i>
1891	McILWRAITH, JOHN, <i>Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1894	McIVOR, JAMES BALFOUR, <i>De Aar, Cape Colony.</i>
1891	McKILLIGAN, JOHN B., <i>P.O. Box 125, Victoria, British Columbia.</i>

Year of  
Election.

- 1883 MCKINNON, NEIL R., F.R.; Barrister-at-Law, *Berbice, British Guiana.*
- 1895 MCLAREN, J. GORDON, care of *Bank of Australasia, Coolgardie, Western Australia.*
- 1883 †MCLEAN, GEORGE, *Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1878 †MCLEAN, R. D. DOUGLAS, *Marackakaho, Napier, New Zealand (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1884 †MCLEOD, EDWIN, *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1894 †MCMILLAN, FREDERICK D., P.O. Box 1641, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1892 MCNAUGHTON, COLIN B., *Forest Department, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 MCNELLAN, JOHN F., P.O. Box 2162, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1888 MCNESS, JAMES E., *Natal Government Railways, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1892 †MAGER, WM. KELK, J.P., *Queenstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1884 MAIR, GEORGE, *Groongal, near Hay, New South Wales.*
- 1890 MAJOR, CHARLES, Barrister-at-Law, *St. John's, Antigua.*
- 1895 MALAN, COMMANDER C. F. DE M., R.N., *Merindol, Kearsney, Natal.*
- 1895 †MALCOLM, GEORGE W., *Oriental Estates Co., Port Louis, Mauritius.*
- 1894 MALCOLM, JAMES, *Exchange Corner, 63 Pitt Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1880 MALCOLM, HON. O. D., Q.C., Attorney-General, *Nassau, Bahamas.*
- 1895 †MAN, HON. COLONEL ALEXANDER, M.E.C., *Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
- 1890 MANCHER, JOHN C., *Glen Moan, Willow Tree, New South Wales.*
- 1882 MANIFOLD, W. T., *Purrumbete, Camperdown, Victoria, Australia.*
- 1893 MANTELL, DAVID G., *Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1894 †MAPLETON, GEORGE H., M.B., C.M., *St. Kitts.*
- 1890 †MARAIS, CHRISTIAN L., *Stellenbosch, Cape Colony.*
- 1890 †MARAIS, JOHANNES H., *Stellenbosch, Cape Colony.*
- 1893 MARAIS, PETER H., *Somerset West, Cape Colony.*
- 1887 †MARKS, ALEXANDER, J.P., Consul for Japan, *Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1894 †MARKS, HERBERT T., P.O. Box 1941, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1894 MARKS, PERCY J., B.A., 80 *Victoria Street, Darlinghurst, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1885 †MARSHALL, ALFRED WITTER, *College Park, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1896 MARSHALL, ARTHUR H., *Oriental Estates Co., Port Louis, Mauritius.*
- 1889 †MARSHALL, HENRY B., *Heidelberg, Transvaal.*
- 1896 †MARSHALL, CAPTAIN ROBERT S., *Eve Leary Barracks, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1884 MARSHMAN, JOHN, *Avonside, Christchurch, New Zealand.*
- 1886 MARSLAND, LUKE W., *Charters Towers, Queensland.*
- 1886 MARTIN, DELOS J., *St. John's, Antigua.*
- 1892 MARTIN, COLONEL SIR RICHARD E. R., K.C.M.G., *Buluwayo, Matabeleland.*
- 1880 MARTIN, THOMAS M., *Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1896 †MARZETTI, C. J., *Rowley, Bogawantalawa, Ceylon.*
- 1879 MASON, E. G. L., *Colonial Bank, Berbice, British Guiana.*
- 1889 †MATCHAM, JOHN E., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1890 †MATHIESON, JOHN, *Chief Commissioner of Railways, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1891 MATTERS, CHARLES HENRY, 333 *Coltins Street, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1890 MATTERSON, CHARLES H., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1881 †MATTHEWS, J. W., M.D., care of *Messrs. Ross & Page, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1892 †MAUND, EDWARD A., *Salisbury, Mashonaland.*
- 1894 MAUNSELL, HORATIO E., M.B., 4 *Duke Street, Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1892 MAURICE, M. SIDNEY, *Colonial Secretariat, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1894 MAURICE, RICHARD THELWALL, *Fourth Creek, Magill, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1889 †MAYBOGORDATO, THEODORE E., *Local Commandant of Police, Papho, Cyprus (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1891 †MAXWELL, FREDERIC M., *Barrister-at-Law, Belize, British Honduras.*
- 1882 MAXWELL, HON. JOSEPH REMMER, M.A., B.C.L., *Chief Magistrate, Gambia, West Africa.*
- 1881 MAXWELL, MAJOR THOMAS, J.P., *Resident Magistrate, Lower Umfolosi, Zululand.*
- 1893 MAXWELL, WIGRAM M., P.O. Box 689, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1883 MAXWELL, H.E. SIR WILLIAM EDWARD, K.C.M.G., *Government House, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1891 MAY, CORNELIUS, *Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1894 MAYDON, JOHN G., M.L.A., *Durban, Natal.*
- 1882 MAYERS, JOSEPH BRIGGS, *Plantation Wales, British Guiana.*
- 1889 †MAYHARD, CAPTAIN J. G., *The Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1894 MEAD, FREDERICK, *South African Breweries, Lim., Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1883 MEARS, JAMES EDWARD, *Sunnyside, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1896 MEER, WILLIAM J., *Victoria, Australia.*
- 1894 †MEGGINSON, WHARRAM, *Carolina, Watawala, Ceylon.*
- 1882 †MELHADO, WILLIAM (H.B.M. Consul), *Truxillo, Spanish Honduras.*
- 1890 MELVILL, SAMUEL, *Surveyor-General's Office, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1894 †MELVILL, E. H. V., *Land Surveyor, P.O. Box 719, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1880 MELVILLE, HON. GEORGE, C.M.G., *Colonial Secretary, St. John's, Antigua.*
- 1890 MENDELSSOHN, ISIDOR, *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1890 MENDELSSOHN, SIDNEY, *Kimberley Club, Cape Colony.*
- 1886 MENNIE, JAMES C., *Standard Bank, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1890 MERCER, JOHN, *Gordon Mining Company, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1884 †MEREDITH, THE VEN. ARCHDEACON THOMAS, *Singapore.*
- 1885 †MEREDITH-KAYE, CLARENCE KAY, *Meiringen, Timaru, New Zealand.*
- 1883 MEREWETHER, EDWARD MARSH, *Inspector of Prisons, Singapore, Straits Settlements.*
- 1881 MERRIVALE, GEORGE M., *Messrs. Gibbs, Bright, & Co., Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1884 MERRIMAN, HON. JOHN X., M.L.A., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1892 MESSER, ALLAN E., *Attorney-at-Law, 3 Croal Street, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1885 MESSEURY, ALFRED, M.A., *Rector, Royal College, Port Louis, Mauritius.*
- 1891 MESTON, JOSEPH, C.E., *Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
- 1889 MEUDALL, WILLIAM, *c/o Bank of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1889 MICHAELIS, GUSTAVE E., P.O. Box 149, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1892 †MICHAU, J. J., J.P., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1891 MICHELL, ROLAND L. N., *District Commissioner, Limassol, Cyprus.*
- 1890 MICHIE, ALEXANDER, *c/o Chartered Bank of India, Shanghai, China.*
- 1893 MICHIE, ALEXANDER, *Bank of New Zealand, Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1892 MIDDLEBROOK, JOHN E., *Premier Studio, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*



Year of  
Election.

- 1891 MIDDLETON, JAMES GOWING, M.D., 8 Rue des Capucines, Paris.  
 1882 MIDDLETON, HON. MR. JUSTICE JOHN PAGE, Larnaca, Cyprus.  
 1891 MIDDLETON, WILLIAM, Church Street, Maritzburg, Natal.  
 1883 MIDDLETON, WILLIAM HENRY, Durban, Natal.  
 1893 MILES, ALFRED H., Messrs. Murray, Roberts & Co., Wellington, New Zealand.  
 1889 †MILES, CHARLES GEORGE, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.  
 1896 MILES, E. D., Charters Towers, Queensland.  
 1891 MILBY, WM. KILDARE, L.R.C.P. (Surgeon Superintendent, Indian Emigration Service).  
 1891 MILFORD, ERNEST A., Cairns, Queensland.  
 1894 MILLAR, C. GIBSON, 60 Market Street, Melbourne, Australia.  
 1896 MILLER, ALLISTER M., Goldfields of Matabeleland Ltd., Bulawayo, Matabeleland.  
 1894 MILLER, WILLIAM AKERMAN, C.E., Public Works Department, Jamaica.  
 1896 MILLS, EDWARD C. E., Wellington, New Zealand.  
 1886 MILLS, JAMES, Dunedin, New Zealand.  
 1887 †MILLS, THOMAS, Charters Towers, Queensland.  
 1891 MILNE, WILLIAM, Byethorne, Mount Lofty, Adelaide, South Australia.  
 1889 †MILTON, ARTHUR C., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.  
 1887 MINCHIN, EDWARD C., Christchurch, New Zealand.  
 1886 MITCHELL, CHARLES, Port of Spain, Trinidad.  
 1878 MITCHELL, H.E. LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR CHARLES B. H., G.C.M.G., Government House, Singapore.  
 1885 MITCHELL, JAMES G., Etham, Darling Point, Sydney, New South Wales.  
 1886 MITTFORD, HON. C. BURNET, Colonial Treasurer, Freetown, Sierra Leone.  
 1891 MIZZI, M. A. M., Valletta, Malta.  
 1883 †MOGG, J. W., Pretoria, Transvaal.  
 1885 MOIR, ROBERT N., Standard Bank, Cape Town, Cape Colony.  
 1886 MOIR, THOMAS W. G., Johannesburg, Transvaal.  
 1892 MOLESWORTH, ROBERT A., Mittingong, St. Kilda, Melbourne, Australia; and Melbourne Club.  
 1879 MOLONEY, H.E. SIR C. ALFRED, K.C.M.G., Government House, Belize, British Honduras.  
 1889 †MOLYNEUX, HERBERT, Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.  
 1894 MONIER-WILLIAMS, CYRIL, F., B.A., Registrar of the Courts, Port of Spain, Trinidad.  
 1894 MOON, JAMES, African Direct Telegraph Co., Lagos, West Africa.  
 1889 †MOORE, ALBERT, New River Club, Red House, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.  
 1889 MOORE, FREDERICK HENRY, care of Messrs. Dalgety & Co., Sydney, New South Wales.  
 1886 †MOORE, JAMES, Bunbury, Western Australia.  
 1883 †MOORE, THE REV. OBADIAH, Principal, Church Missionary Grammar School, Freetown, Sierra Leone.  
 1878 †MOORE, WILLIAM H., St. John's, Antigua.  
 1891 MOORE, YORK T. G., M.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.P., District Medical Officer, Stony Hill, Jamaica.  
 1886 MORANT, CAPTAIN ABDY L., Government House, Freetown, Sierra Leone.  
 1886 MOREHEAD, HON. BOYD D., Brisbane, Queensland.

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- 1895 MOREY, EDMUND, *care of Under Colonial Secretary, Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1890 MORGAN, HENRY FOSCUER, *Croydon, Queensland.*
- 1876 \*MORGAN, HENRY J., *Ottawa, Canada.*
- 1881 MORRIN, THOMAS, J.P., *Auckland, New Zealand.*
- 1892 MORRIS, JOHN, *Berwick, Fullarton, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1889 †MORRIS, SYDNEY, *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1888 MORRISON, ALEXANDER, *Bank of Africa, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1881 †MORRISON, JAMES, J.P., *Water Hall, Guildford, Western Australia*  
(Corresponding Secretary).
- 1893 MORT, EDWARD MONTAGUE, *c/o Messrs. Goldsbrough, Mort & Co., Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1877 MORT, LAIDLEY, *Union Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1890 †MORTON, JAMES, *P.O. Box 148, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1881 MOSLEY, HON. C. H. HARLEY, *Treasurer, Lagos, West Africa* (Corresponding Secretary).
- 1886 †MOSMAN, HON. HUGH, M.L.C., J.P., *Charters Towers, Queensland.*
- 1895 MOSS, E. J., *Foochow, China.*
- 1886 †MOULDEN, BAYFIELD, *Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1896 MOULSDALE, WILLIAM E., *Eastern & Ocean Steam Ship Co., Singapore.*
- 1895 MOWAT, HON. SIR OLIVER, K.C.M.G., M.P., *Toronto, Canada.*
- 1888 †MOYSEY, HENRY L., *Assistant Government Agent, Natal, Ceylon.*
- 1891 MUECKE, H. C. E., J.P., *Medindie, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1880 MUELLER, BARON SIR FERDINAND VON, K.C.M.G., F.R.S., *Government Botanist, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1878 MUGGERIDGE, ARTHUR L., *Las Horquetas, Sauce Corto, Buenos Ayres, South America.*
- 1882 MULLINS, GEORGE LANE, M.A., M.D., *Murong, Waverley, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1883 MULLINS, JOHN FRANCIS LANE, M.A., *97 MacLeay Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1855 †MUNRO, HON. JAMES, *Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1880 †MUNRO, JOHN, J.P., *Menzies' Hotel, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1894 MURDOCH, JOHN A., *Attorney-at-Law, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1880 MURPHY, ALEXANDER D., *Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1886 MURPHY, WILLIAM, M.D., *P.O. Box 1146, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1883 MURRAY, CHARLES F. K., M.D., *Claremont, Cape Colony.*
- 1888 MURRAY, HON. DAVID, M.L.C., *Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1888 †MURRAY, GEORGE J. R., B.A., LL.B., *Magill, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1894 †MURRAY, CAPTAIN R. GRANT, R.N.R.
- 1888 MURRAY, RICHARD WILLIAM, *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1886 MURRAY, WILLIAM ARCHIBALD, *Rangiriri, Auckland, New Zealand.*
- 1882 †MURRAY-ATNSLEY, HUGH PERCY, J.P., *Christchurch, New Zealand.*
- 1892 MURRAY-PRIOR, THOMAS DE MONTMORENCI, *Maroon, Logan River, Ipswich, Queensland.*
- 1887 MUSGRAVE, HON. ANTHONY, *Port Moresby, British New Guinea.*
- 1893 MUSGRAVE, EDWARD, *Sisonagh, Duncans, British Columbia.*
- 1895 MYERS, BERTIE CECIL, *Durban, Natal.*
- 1886 MYERS, HERMAN, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1893 MYERS, ISAAC, *P.O. Box 180, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1891 MYRING, T. HEWITT, J.P., *Hobart, Tasmania.*

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- 1892 †NANTON, AUGUSTUS M., 381 Main Street, Winnipeg, Canada.
- 1886 NASH, FREDERIC W., *Oriental Estates Company, Port Louis, Mauritius.*
- 1883 NASH, WILLIAM GILES, *Minas de Rio Tinto, Provincia de Huelva, Spain.*
- 1885 NATHAN, ALEXANDER McDOWELL, *Trevennion Lodge, St. Andrew, Jamaica.*
- 1895 NATHAN, EMIL, *P.O. Box 195, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1889 †NATHAN, GEORGE I., *P.O. Box 221, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1887 †NATHAN, JOSEPH E., *Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1891 NAUDI, HON. ALFRED, LL.D., M.C.G., *Valletta, Malta.*
- 1886 †NEAME, ARTHUR, *Macknade, Herbert River, Townsville, Queensland.*
- 1885 NEETHLING, HON. M. L., M.L.C., *Stellenbosch, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 NEGUS, F. H. D., *Auditor, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1884 NEIL, PERCYVAL CLAY, *Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1880 NESBITT, MAJOR RICHARD A., J.P., *Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 NEUMANN, JOSEPH O., *care of Messrs. Gaminara & Leeder, Tumaco, Republic of Colombia, via New York.*
- 1888 NEVILL, THE RIGHT REV. S. T., D.D., *Lord Bishop of Dunedin, Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1892 NEVILLE, GEORGE S., *Colonial Secretariat, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1896 NEVILLE, HON. GEORGE W., M.L.C., *Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1889 †NEWBERY, CHARLES, *Prynnsburg, Orange Free State.*
- 1893 NEWDIGATE, WM., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1883 †NEWLAND, HARRY OSMAN, *Singapore.*
- 1889 †NEWLAND, SIMPSON, *Burnside, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1884 NEWMAN, HENRY WILLIAM, M.E., J.P., *Lucknow, New South Wales.*
- 1885 †NEWMAN, WALTER L., *Arlington, Napier, New Zealand.*
- 1888 †NEWMAN-WILSON, J. R., *Selborne Chambers, Adelaide Street, Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1896 NEWNHAM, FREDERIC J., *P.O. Box 2022, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1893 NICHOL, WILLIAM, M.I.M.E., *De Beers Consolidated Mines, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1882 †NICHOLS, ARTHUR, *Commercial Bank of Australia, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1896 NICHOLS, ARTHUR, *Port Said, Egypt.*
- 1886 †NICHOLSON, W. GRESHAM, *Hanford, Julare Co., California, U.S.A.*
- 1891 NICOLL, AUGUSTUS, M.B., C.M., *Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1895 NICOLL, JOHN L., *Kota-Kota, South Nyasa, via Chinde, East Africa.*
- 1891 NICOLL, WILLIAM, M.A., LL.B., *Stipendiary Magistrate, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1893 NIGHTINGALE, PERCY ATHELSTAN, M.B., *Bangkok, Siam.*
- 1889 †NIND, CHARLES E., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1893 NISBET, ROBERT, *P.O. Box 201, Barberton, Transvaal.*
- 1879 NITCH, GEORGE H., *Standard Bank, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1888 NOAD, WELLESLEY J., *Government Railways, De Aar, Cape Colony.*
- 1879 NOBLE, JOHN, C.M.G., *Clerk of the House of Assembly, Cape Town, Cape Colony (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1889 †NOBLE, JOHN, J.P., *Shellbank, St. Leonards, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1873 †NORDHEIMER, SAMUEL, *Toronto, Canada.*
- 1889 NORRIE, WILLIAM, M.A., *P.O. Box 1044, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1886 †NORRIS, MAJOR R. J., D.S.O., *West India Regiment, Barbados.*
- 1870 NORTON, EDWIN, J.P., *Grenada.*

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- 1886 NOTT, RANDOLPH, *The Mount, Bowral, New South Wales.*  
 1888 †NOURSE, HENRY, *P.O. Box 126, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1892 †NOYCE, ETHELBERT W., *Heidelberg, Transvaal.*  
 1882 †NOYCE, F. A., *Durban Club, Natal.*  
 1887 NOYES, EDWARD, *26 Market Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1895 NUNDY, EDWARD, *District Commissioner, Lagos, West Africa.*  
 1894 NUTTALL, THE MOST REV. ENOS, D.D., *Lord Bishop of Jamaica, Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1894 OAKESHOTT, WALTER F., M.D., *Lydenburg, Transvaal.*  
 1883 O'BRIEN, HENRY ARTHUR, *Penang, Straits Settlements.*  
 1895 †O'BRIEN, WILLIAM J., *Burger Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*  
 1882 O'CONNOR, OWEN LIVINGSTONE, *F.R.Met.Soc., Curepipe, Mauritius.*  
 1894 O'CONNOR, HON. RICHARD E., M.L.C., *Wentworth Court, Elizabeth Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1895 O'CONOR, JAMES E., C.I.E., *Assistant Secretary to the Government, Calcutta.*
- 1882 OFFICER, WILLIAM, *Toorak, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1885 OGILVIE, REV. CANON GEORGE, *Rondebosch, Cape Colony.*  
 1886 OGILVIE, WILLIAM F., *Ilparan, Matheson (via Glen Innes), New South Wales.*  
 1891 OGLE, GEORGE REYNOLDS, *care of Post Office, Campbelltown, Otago, New Zealand.*
- 1895 †OHLSSON, ANDRIES, *10 Adderley Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1884 OLDHAM, JOHN, *51 Chancery Lane, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1886 OLIVER, HON. RICHARD, M.L.C., *Dunedin, New Zealand.*  
 1892 OLIVER, ROBERT R., *Isis Downs, Isisford, Queensland.*  
 1896 OMANT, ALFRED G., *Zeehan, Tasmania.*  
 1887 ORGILL, B. C., *Kingston, Jamaica.*  
 1886 ORKNEY, JAMES, *Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1881 †ORMOND, GEORGE C., *Napier, New Zealand.*  
 1894 ORMSBY, THE RT. REV. G. ALBERT, D.D., *Lord Bishop of Honduras, Belize, British Honduras.*
- 1896 O'RORKE, SIR G. MAURICE, M.H.R., *Onehunga, Auckland, New Zealand.*  
 1879 †ORPEN, JOSEPH MILLER, M.L.A., *Barkly East, Cape Colony.*  
 1893 ORR WILLIAM, *Broken Hill, New South Wales.*  
 1880 ORRETT, JOHN, *Halfwaytree Post Office, St. Andrew, Jamaica*  
 1891 OSBORN, SIR MELMOTH, K.C.M.G., *care of Post Office, Maritzburg, Natal.*  
 1892 OSBORNE, FREDERICK G., *Lagos, West Africa.*  
 1888 OSBORNE, GEORGE, *Foxlow, via Bungendore, New South Wales; and Union Club, Sydney.*
- 1881 OSBORNE, HAMILTON, *Australian Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1886 †OSBORNE, JAMES, *Elsternwick, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1882 OSBORNE, P. HILL, J.P., *Bungendore, New South Wales.*  
 1889 †O'SHANASSY, MATTHEW, *Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1886 †OSWALD, HERM E., *Belize, British Honduras.*  
 1889 OTTERSON, ALFRED S., *Christchurch, New Zealand.*  
 1889 OUGHTON, T. BANCROFT, *Barrister-at-Law, 93 Harbour Street, Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1887 OWEN, LT.-COLONEL PERCY, *Wollongong, New South Wales.*

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Election.

- 1886 PAGE, ARTHUR E., *P.O. Box 523, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1872 †PAINT, HENRY NICHOLAS, J.P., *Port Hawkesbury, Cape Breton, Canada.*
- 1889 PALACHE, HON. J. THOMSON, M.L.C., *Advocate, Mandeville, Jamaica.*
- 1890 PALFREY, WILLIAM, *Potchefstroom, Transvaal.*
- 1895 PALMER, ERNEST G., *Inglewood, Claremont, Western Australia.*
- 1889 PALMER, HERBERT, *P.O. Box 14, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1885 PALMER, JOSEPH, *Christchurch Club, Canterbury, New Zealand.*
- 1891 PAPENFUS, HERBERT B., J.P., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1886 PARFITT, P. T. J., *c/o Bank of New Zealand, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1894 †PARIKH, JETHALAL M., *Ahmadabad, Bombay Presidency, India.*
- 1890 PARKER, THE HON. EDMUND WILLIAM, *Christchurch, New Zealand.*
- 1882 †PARKER, FRED. HARDYMAN, M.A., F.R.G.S., *District Judge, Famagusta, Cyprus.*
- 1888 PARKER, JOHN H., *P.O. Box 2666, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1890 †PARKER, HON. STEPHEN HENRY, Q.C., M.L.C., *Perth, Western Australia*
- 1883 PARKER, STEPHEN STANLEY, J.P., *Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1891 PARKES, J. C. ERNEST, *Aborigines Department, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1879 †PARSONS, CECIL, *Mossiel Station (via Booligal), New South Wales.*
- 1896 PARSONS, HAROLD G., *Barrister-at-Law, Kalgoorlie, Western Australia.*
- 1893 PART, CAPTAIN JAMES HENRY, *Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1891 †PATTERSON, D. W. HARVEY, *Inverleith, Acland Street, St. Kilda, Melbourne, Australia; and Melbourne Club.*
- 1892 PATTERSON, ROBERT C., C.E., *Heathfield, Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1888 PAULING, GEORGE, *P.O. Box 185, Barberton, Transvaal.*
- 1896 PAULUSZ, RICHARD, F.C.S., *Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1887 †PAWSEY, ALFRED, *Winchester Park, Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1895 PAYN, JOHN WM., M.L.A., *Pinetown, Natal.*
- 1889 †PAYN, PHILIP FRANCIS, F.R.G.S., *P.O. Box 92, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1880 †PAYNE, FREDERICK W., JUN., *Barrister-at-Law, Maritimo, South Yarra, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1883 †PAYNE, JOHN A., *Orange House, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1877 PRACOCK HON. JOHN M., M.L.C., *Addiscombe, Queenstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1885 †PRACOCK, HON. J. T., M.L.C., *Christchurch, New Zealand.*
- 1889 †PRACOCKE, A.W.H., *Queenstown, Cape Colony; and Johannesburg. Transvaal.*
- 1877 †PRARCE, E., *Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1892 PRARSE, WM. SILAS, M.L.A., *Fremantle, Western Australia.*
- 1884 PRARSON, WALTER HENRY, *Commissioner for Crown Lands, P.O. Box 332, Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1892 PREL, EDMUND YATES, *Durban Club, Natal.*
- 1892 PREBSON, JOSEPH WALDIE, *P.O. Box 561, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1883 PEMBERTON, HON. SHOLTO R., M.E.C., *Barrister-at-Law, Vancoart House, Dominica, West Indies.*
- 1896 PENFOLD, WILLIAM C., *Pretoria Club, Transvaal.*
- 1886 †PENNEFATHER, F. W., LL.D., *Barrister-at-Law, Adelaide University, South Australia.*
- 1896 PENNY, GEORGE J., *Ipoh, Perak, Straits Settlements.*
- 1889 †PENTLAND, ALEXANDER, M.B., *care of Union Bank of Australia, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1888 PEREGRINE, L. N., *District Commissioner, Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*

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- 1887 PERKS, THOMAS, care of Messrs. Mackie, Dunn & Co., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 1886 PERRIN, HARRY W., P.O. Box 219, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1895 PERRIN, RT. REV. W. W., D.D., Lord Bishop of Columbia, Bishopsclose, Victoria, British Columbia.
- 1894 PERRINS, GEORGE F., P.O. Box 1422, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1893 PERRINS, GEORGE R., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 1883 PERSE, DE BURGE F., Queensland Club, Brisbane, Queensland.
- 1893 PETER, WILLIAM, Glenloth Estate, Victoria, Australia.
- 1889 PETERKIN, THOMAS, M.L.A., Edgeton, Barbados.
- 1878 PETERSON, WILLIAM, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1889 †PETTIT, ROBERT, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 1882 PHARAEYN, CHARLES, J.P., Lingwood, Featherston, Wairarapa, Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1879 PHARAEYN, HON. ROBERT, M.L.C., Boulcott Street, Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1871 PHILLIPPO, SIR GEORGE.
- 1890 PHILLIPPS, W. HERBERT, Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1876 PHILLIPS, COLEMAN, The Knoll, Featherston, Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1882 PHILLIPS, GEORGE BRAITHWAITE, Superintendent of Police, Perth, Western Australia.
- 1878 PHILLIPS, HON. JOSEPH H., C.M.G., M.E.C., Belize, British Honduras (Corresponding Secretary).
- 1884 †PHILLIPS, LIONEL, P.O. Box 149, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1896 PHILLIPS, W. A., P.O. Box 426, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1892 PIERCE, JOHN M., Natal Bank, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1896 PIERIS, PAULUS EDWARD, B.A., Sriwardhana, Walanwa, Colombo, Ceylon.
- 1893 PIDGON, JOHN, Morland Hall, Morland, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1887 PIGOTT, WALTER HENRY, Alicedale, Albany, Cape Colony.
- 1889 †PILE, HENRY ALLEYNE, Warleigh, St. Peter, Barbados.
- 1890 PINNOCK, MAJOR A. H., Kingston, Jamaica.
- 1884 PINNOCK, PHILIP, Brisbane, Queensland.
- 1889 PIRIE, GEORGE, Leopard's Vlei, Richmond, Cape Colony.
- 1886 PITTELDRIGH, W. M., Freetown, Sierra Leone.
- 1893 PIZZIGHELLI, RICHARD, P.O. Box 548, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1893 PLAYFORD, LOUIS L., P.O. Box 377, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1878 FLEWMAN, THOMAS, Colesberg, Cape Colony.
- 1893 PLUMMER, GEORGE T., La Villa, near Castries, St. Lucia.
- 1892 PLUMMER, JOHN E., Belize, British Honduras.
- 1895 †POCOCK, W. F. H., Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 1889 POLLOCK, MORRIS, JUN., Durban, Natal.
- 1879 POOLE, J. G., P.O. Box 594, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1891 POOLE, THOMAS J., Kimberley, Cape Colony.
- 1889 POPE, CHARLES ERNEST, M.R.C.S.E., Matatiele, Griqualand East, Cape Colony.
- 1895 POPE, EDWARD, Gympie, Queensland.
- 1889 †PORTER, GEORGE E., Melbourne Club, Australia.
- 1886 POTTS, MOSES A., Freetown, Sierra Leone.
- 1888 †POWELL, FRANCIS, Penang, Straits Settlements.
- 1894 POWELL, WALTER C., c/o G. Palfrey, Esq., St. Louis, Osbourne Street, South Yarra, Melbourne, Australia.

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- 1880 POWELL, WILFRID, *H.B.M. Consul, Stettin, Germany.*  
 1896 POWER, HARRY SHAKESPEARE, *Arden, Cleveland Hill, Natal.*  
 1895 PRATT, ADOLPHUS, *Lagos, West Africa.*  
 1886 PRELL, STEWART H., "*Iona*," *Toorak, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1872 PRESTON, HENRY.  
 1883 PRICE, CHARLES CHICHELEY, C.E., *Belize, British Honduras.*  
 1889 PRICE, D. E., *Kyatpyin, Upper Burma.*  
 1887 PRIESTLEY, A., *Federal Bank of Australia, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1888 †PRINCE, J. PERBOTT, M.D., *Durban, Natal.*  
 1890 PRINGLE, HON. JOHN, M.D., *Aquata Vale, Annotta Bay, Jamaica.*  
 1892 †PRITCHARD, ALEXANDER H., *Charters Towers, Queensland.*  
 1895 PRITCHARD, ATHOL C., L.D.S., *Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*  
 1893 PROBYN, HON. LESLIE, *Attorney-General, St. George's, Grenada.*  
 1894 PROUT, WM. THOMAS, M.B., C.M., *Colonial Surgeon, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*  
 1892 PROVIS, JOHN, *Western Mins, Zeehan, Tasmania.*  
 1889 †PURVIS, WILLIAM HERBERT.  
 1894 PYKE, VINCENT A., *Bank of New Zealand, Gisborne, New Zealand.*
- 1891 QUENTRALL, THOMAS, H.M. Inspector of Mines, *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1895 QUINTON, FRANCIS J., *P.O. Box 662, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1891 †RAJEPAKSÉ, MUDALIYAR TUDOR D. N., *Colombo, Ceylon.*  
 1896 RALSTON, JOHN T., *O'Connell Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1884 RÁMA-NÁTHAN, P., C.M.G., *Solicitor-General, Colombo, Ceylon.*  
 1896 RAMSAY, WALTER B., *P.O. Box 18, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1895 RAMSBOTTOM, ALFRED E. W., L.R.C.S.I., L.R.C.P.I., *Flauresmith, Orange Free State.*  
 1891 RANKIN, FRANCIS WM.  
 1880 RANNIE, D. N., *St. John's, Antigua.*  
 1895 RAPAPORT, ISIDORE, *P.O. Box 2075, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1882 RAPHAEL, HENRY J. W., *P.O. Box 424, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1893 RAPHAEL, NATHANIEL, *Zeerust, Transvaal.*  
 1896 RATHBONE, EDGAR P., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1885 †RAW, GEORGE HENRY, *Maritzburg, Natal.*  
 1885 RAWLINS, FREDERICK, F.S.S., *Brisbane, Queensland.*  
 1895 †RAYMOND, THOMAS, *care of Post Office, Maritzburg, Natal.*  
 1888 RAYNER, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE T. CROSSLEY, *Lagos, West Africa.*  
 1888 REDMOND, LEONARD, M.D., *Charters Towers, Queensland.*  
 1889 REDWOOD, CHARLES L., *P.O. Box 500, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1894 REED, SAMUEL CARTWRIGHT, M.D., J.P., *Herschel, Cape Colony.*  
 1893 REED, SYDNEY H., *237 Collins Street, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1892 REELKER, JOHN WM., *40 Adderley Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1894 REEVES, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE SIR WM. CONRAD, *The Eyrie, St. Michaels, Barbados.*  
 1895 REID, ARTHUR H., C.E., F.R.I.B.A., *P.O. Box 746, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1893 REID, EDWARD V., *Messrs. W. Reid & Co., Rockhampton, Queensland.*

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- 1896 REID, IRVING K., M.D., C.M., Government Medical Officer,  *Berbice, British Guiana.*
- 1892 REID, JAMES SMITH,  *Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1883 REID, JOHN,  *Elderslie, Oamaru, New Zealand.*
- 1894 REID, HON. ROBERT, M.L.C., 250  *Little Flinders St., Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1890 REID, ROBERT DYCE,  *Armidale, Toorak, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1889 REID, W. J. G.,  *Funchal, Madeira.*
- 1889 †REINERS, AUGUST,  *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 RELLY, HAMILTON, P.O. Box 209,  *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1886 RENNER, PETER A., Barrister-at-Law,  *Quitta, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1885 RENNER, W., M.D., Assistant Colonial Surgeon,  *Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1892 RENWICK, HON. SIR ARTHUR, M.L.C., M.D.,  *Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1893 REUBEN, HENRY E.,  *Falmouth, Jamaica.*
- 1893 †REUNERT, THEODORE, A.M.Inst.C.E., M.I.M.E.,  *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1896 REYNOLDS, E. C.,  *National Bank, Krugersdorp, Transvaal.*
- 1893 REYNOLDS, HENRY,  *New Zealand.*
- 1874 REIND, W. G.,  *Bank of New South Wales, Christchurch, New Zealand.*
- 1881 RHODES, A. E. G., Barrister-at-Law,  *Christchurch, New Zealand.*
- 1880 RHODES, RIGHT HON. CECIL J., M.L.A.,  *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1888 †RHODES, GEORGE H.,  *Claremont, Tynaru, New Zealand.*
- 1883 RHODES, R. HEATON, Barrister-at-Law,  *Christchurch, New Zealand.*
- 1885 †RHODES, ROBERT H.,  *Bluecliffs, Tynaru, New Zealand.*
- 1893 RHY-JONES, MONTAGUE, C.E.,  *Tasmanian Club, Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1883 RICE, LIONEL K.,  *The Rocks, Mackay, Queensland.*
- 1895 RICH, ABRAHAM, P.O. Box 278,  *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1881 RICH, FRANCIS DYER, J.P.,  *Woodstock, Okoroire, Auckland, New Zealand.*
- 1887 RICHARDS, HON. MR. JUSTICE EDWARD H.,  *Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1884 RICHARDS, T. H. HATTON, Assistant Colonial Secretary,  *Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1887 †RICHARDSON, HORACE G.,  *Queensland.*
- 1895 RICHARDSON, RT. REV. WILLIAM M., D.D., Lord Bishop of  *Zanzibar, Zanzibar.*
- 1894 RICHEY, HON. MATTHEW H., Q.C., D.C.L., 427  *Brunswick Street, Halifax, Nova Scotia* (Corresponding Secretary).
- 1878 RICHMOND, JAMES,  *Southdean, Toorak, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1888 RICHTER, GUSTAV H.,  *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1890 RICKETTS, D. POYNTZ, A.M.Inst.C.E., care of  *H.B.M. Consul, Tientsin, China.*
- 1882 RIDDIFORD, EDWARD J.,  *Fern Grove, Lower Hutt, Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1885 †RIDDOCH, GEORGE, M.P.,  *Glencoe, Mount Gambier, South Australia.*
- 1891 †RIDGE, SAMUEL H., B.A., F.R.G.S., 257  *Victoria Parade East, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1895 RIDGEWAY, H. E., RT. HON. SIR J. WEST, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.,  *Government House, Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1896 RIDLEY, ROBERT,  *Salt pans Valley, Richmond, Natal.*
- 1891 †RIGBY, GEORGE OWEN, M.B., F.R.C.S.E.,  *High Street, Kyneton, Victoria, Australia.*
- 1881 †RIMER, J. C.,  *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1893 RISSIK, CORNELIS, P.O. Box 401,  *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1892 RITCHIE, JOHN MACFARLANE,  *Dunedin, New Zealand.*



Year of  
Election.

- 1894 RIXON, JOHN, *Charters Towers, Queensland.*  
 1893 ROBERTS, W. E., *Durban, Natal.*  
 1893 ROBERTS, A. TEMPLE, M.A., *Royal College, Port Louis, Mauritius.*  
 1894 ROBERTS, CHARLES S., *Bromby Park, Bowen, Queensland.*  
 1890 †ROBERTS, COLONEL CHARLES F., C.M.G., *Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1885 †ROBERTS, HON. CHARLES J., C.M.G., M.L.C., *Osterley, Macleay Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1891 ROBERTS, JOHN, C.M.G., *P.O. Box 304, Dunedin, New Zealand.*  
 1880 †ROBERTS, RICHARD M., J.P., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1889 †ROBERTS, R. WIGHTWICK, F.C.S., *Valparaiso, Chili.*  
 1889 †ROBERTSON, ALFRED GEORGE, M.L.A., *The Lakes, George, Cape Colony.*  
 1884 ROBERTSON, A. DUNDAS, *Connewarran, Herham, Victoria, Australia.*  
 1876 ROBERTSON, ALEXANDER W., *Ontario, Balaclava, St. Kilda, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1895 ROBERTSON, GEORGE D., *5 John Street, Rae Town, Jamaica.*  
 1890 †ROBERTSON, JAMES, *90 Grand Street, New York.*  
 1888 ROBERTSON, JOHN, *Mount Abundance, Roma, Queensland.*  
 1890 ROBERTSON, MATHEW W., C.M.R., *St. Mark's, Tembuland, Cape Colony.*  
 1888 †ROBINOW, HENRY, J.P., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1889 ROBINSON, ARNOLD E., *Kimberley Club, Cape Colony.*  
 1882 ROBINSON, AUGUSTUS F., *11 Bond Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1882 ROBINSON, HON. GEORGE, M.C.G., *Port Louis, Mauritius.*  
 1886 ROBINSON, JAMES, J.P., *Buluwayo, Matabeleland.*  
 1869 †ROBINSON, HON. SIR JOHN, K.C.M.G., M.L.A., *Durban, Natal.*  
 1888 ROBINSON, ROSS, *Charters Towers, Queensland.*  
 1883 ROBINSON, THOMAS, *Messrs. Perdue & Robinson, Winnipeg, Canada (Corresponding Secretary).*  
 1878 ROBINSON, H.E. SIR WILLIAM, K.C.M.G., *Government House, Hong Kong.*  
 1882 ROCHE, CAPTAIN W. P.  
 1895 ROCK, CHARLES WM., *Curepipe, Mauritius.*  
 1882 ROCKSTROW, JOHN F., J.P., *Palmerston North, near Wellington, New Zealand.*  
 1885 ROCKWOOD, WILLIAM GABRIEL, M.D., M.R.C.S., M.R.C.P., *Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Colombo, Ceylon.*  
 1889 RODGER, HON. J. P., *British Resident, Selangor, Straits Settlements.*  
 1884 ROGERS, HENRY ADAMS, *P.O. Box 310, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1887 ROGERS, WM. HENRY, *P.O. Box 310, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1890 †ROUDE, M. H., *Mahé, Seychelles.*  
 1877 ROMILLY, ALFRED, *Brisbane, Queensland.*  
 1894 ROTH, EDWARD, *Pretoria, Transvaal.*  
 1883 †ROSADO, J. M., *Belise, British Honduras.*  
 1896 †ROSTENSTEIN MAX, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1890 ROSEWARNE, D. D., *Blinman South Australia.*  
 1885 ROSS, HON. DAVID PALMER, C.M.G., M.D., M.C.P., *Georgetown, British Guiana.*  
 1891 †ROSS, FREDERICK J. C., *Barrister-at-Law, Penang, Straits Settlements.*  
 1894 ROSS, G. H. KEMP, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S. (Edin.), *Alley P.O., Vere, Jamaica.*  
 1896 ROSS, JAMES M., *P.O. Box 2428, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1885 †ROSS, JOHN K. M., *District Magistrate, Suva, Fiji.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1883 ROSS, HON. WILLIAM, M.L.C., J.P., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1892 ROSS, WILLIAM, P.O. Box 151, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1884 ROSS, W. O., *West India and Panama Telegraph Company, St. Thomas, West Indies.*  
 1887 ROTHE, WALDEMAR H., *Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1883 †ROTHSCHILD, A. A., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1893 ROUSSEAU, DANIEL J., *Wynberg, Cape Colony.*  
 1891 ROWAN, ANDREW, *Collins Street, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1883 ROWLAND, J. W., M.D., *Colonial Surgeon, Lagos, West Africa.*  
 1891 ROYCE, G. H., *Kempsey, MacLeay River, New South Wales.*  
 1892 †ROYCE, WILLIAM, P.O. Box 580, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1885 ROYLE, CHARLES JOHN, *Bond Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1890 †RUCKER, WILLIAM S., 75 *Chancery Lane, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1881 †RUDALL, JAMES T., F.R.C.S., *Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1881 RUDD, CHARLES D., J.P., *Newlands, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1882 RUMSEY, COMMANDER R. MURRAY, R.N., M.L.C., *Hong Kong.*  
 1883 RUNCHMAN, M. S., P.O. Box 136, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1871 RUSDEN, GEORGE W., *Citmandene, South Yarra, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1877 RUSSELL, ARTHUR E., *Te Mutai, Palmerston North, New Zealand.*  
 1879 RUSSELL, CAPTAIN A. H., *Château de Perroy, Rolle, Vaud, Switzerland.*  
 1875 RUSSELL, G. GREY, *Dunedin, New Zealand.*  
 1891 RUSSELL, JOHN, *Melbourne Club, Australia.*  
 1883 †RUSSELL, JOHN PURVIS, *Wangai, Mouna, Wairarapa, Wellington, New Zealand.*  
 1895 RUSSELL, JOSEPH, H., *Durban, Natal.*  
 1877 RUSSELL, HON. CAPT. WILLIAM R., M.H.R., *Flaxmere, Napier, New Zealand.*  
 1889 †RUTHERFOORD, ARTHUR F. B., *Pretoria, Transvaal.*  
 1888 †RUTHERFORD, HENRY, J.P., *Controller of Excise, Durban, Natal.*  
 1895 RUTHERFURD, J. S., *Northern Club, Auckland, New Zealand.*  
 1882 RYAN, CHARLES, *Melbourne Club, Australia.*
- 1896 †SACHS, LEO FERDINAND, *Brisbane, Queensland.*  
 1881 †SACHSE, CHARLES, *Wall Street 93, Berlin, Germany.*  
 1890 †SACKE, SIMON, P.O. Box 124, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1886 SADLER, E. J., J.P., *Westmoreland, Jamaica.*  
 1886 †ST. HILAIRE, N. A., *Immigration Department, Port of Spain, Trinidad.*  
 1893 ST. HILL, COLONEL W. H., *New Town, Hobart, Tasmania.*  
 1883 ST. LEGER, FREDERICK LUKE, *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1889 ST. LEGER, FREDERICK YORK, M.A., *Rondeboech, Cape Colony.*  
 1886 SALAMAN, FREDERICK N., 231 *Mercer Street, New York.*  
 1885 SALIER, FREDK. J., *Hobart, Tasmania.*  
 1884 SALOM, MAURICE, *Adelaide, South Australia.*  
 1887 SALOMON, MAX G., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*  
 1888 SALOMONS, FREDERICK B., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1892 SANDERSON, CHARLES E. F., C.E., *Messrs. Riley, Hargreaves, & Co., Kwala Lumpur, Straits Settlements.*  
 1889 SARAM, F. J. DE, J.P., *Proctor, Supreme Court, Colombo, Ceylon.*  
 1880 SARGOOD, HON. LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FREDERICK T., K.C.M.G., M.L.C., *Melbourne, Australia.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1876 †SARJEANT, HENRY, *Firdell House, Wanganui, New Zealand.*
- 1886 SAUER, HANS, M.D., *c/o Chartered Company, Salisbury, Mashonaland.*
- 1893 SAUER HELPERIUS B., *Advocate, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1877 SAUER, HON. J. W., M.L.A., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1896 †SAUNDERS, CHARLES J. R., C.M.G., *Resident Magistrate, Eshowe, Zululand.*
- 1893 SAUNDERS, EDWARD, *Tonga, Natal.*
- 1893 SAUNDERS, HON. HENRY J., M.L.C., A.M.Inst.C.E., *Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1886 SAUNDERS, HENRY W., M.D., F.R.C.S., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1880 SAUNDERS, JOHN, *Sea Cliff, near Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1891 †SAUNDERS, JOHN H., M.B., M.R.C.S., *care of City of Melbourne Bank, Collins Street, Melbourne, Australia*
- 1881 SAUNDERS, REV. RICHARDSON, *Rector of St. Matthew's Church, Nassau, Bahamas.*
- 1881 SAUNDERS, S. P., M.L.A., *Nassau, Bahamas.*
- 1890 SAVARIAU, N. S., *Lookiel, Savanna-la-Mar, Jamaica.*
- 1895 SAVILLE-KENT, WILLIAM, F.L.S., F.Z.S., *Weld Club, Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1895 SAVERS, JOHN, *Bank of Australasia, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1883 †SAWYER, ERNEST E., M.A., C.E., *Harbour Works, Rio Grande, Brazil.*
- 1893 SAWYER, HAMBLE C., *Oxford Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1884 †SCANLEN, HON. SIR THOMAS, K.C.M.G., M.L.A., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1887 SCARD, FREDERIC I., *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1882 SCARTE, WILLIAM B., *Ottawa, Canada.*
- 1883 †SCHAPPERT, W. L., *Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1895 SCHAUMANN, CLAU E., *Salisbury, Mashonaland.*
- 1885 SCHERMBRUCKER, HON. COLONEL FREDERIC, M.L.A., *Cape Town, Cape Colony; and King William's Town.*
- 1888 SCHIEFS, MAX, *Tete, vid Kilimane, East Africa.*
- 1889 †SCHOLEFIELD, WALTER H., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1878 SCHOOL, HON. HENRY R. PIPON, *Attorney-General, Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1895 SCOBLE, JOHN, *"Transvaal Advertiser," Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1895 SCOTT, CHARLES, *Klerksdorp, Transvaal.*
- 1894 SCOTT, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR FRANCIS C., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., *Inspector-General of Constabulary, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1876 SCOTT, HENRY, J.P., *Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1892 SCOTT, JAMES PHILIP, *Messrs. William Dow & Co., Montreal, Canada.*
- 1885 SCOTT, WALTER H., M.Inst.C.E., *Great Western of Brazil Railway, Pernambuco, Brasil.*
- 1894 SCOTT, WILLIAM, *Pamplemousses Botanical Gardens, Mauritius.*
- 1893 †SCOTT, WILLIAM J., M.B., C.M., *Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1883 SEALT, THOMAS H., *Bridgetown, Barbados.*
- 1895 SEAYER, JONATHAN C. B. P., F.R.G.S., *Parnell, Auckland, New Zealand.*
- 1893 SEAVILLE CECIL ELIOT, *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1888 †SEDGWICK, CHARLES F., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1879 SEGRE, JOSEPH S., J.P., *Savanna-la-Mar, Jamaica.*
- 1894 \*SELOUS, FREDERICK C., *Bulawayo, Matabeleland.*
- 1885 SENDALL, H.E. SIR WALTER J., K.C.M.G., *Government House, Cyprus.*

Year of Election.	
1881	†SERVICE, HON. JAMES, M.L.C., <i>Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1879	†SEWELL, HENRY, <i>Trelawny, Jamaica.</i>
1891	†SHACKELL, JAMES, <i>Huntingtower Road, Malvern, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1880	SHAND, HON. CHARLES ARTHUR, M.E.C., <i>Fitebes Creek Estate, Antigua.</i>
1888	†SHARP, GRANVILLE, J.P., <i>Hong Kong.</i>
1896	SHARP, JAMES C., P.O. Box 27, <i>Johannesburg, Transvaal.</i>
1893	SHARP, JOHN MASON, <i>Auckland Club, New Zealand.</i>
1889	SHAW, FREDERICK C. (Surgeon Superintendent, Indian Emigration Service).
1883	†SHAW, THOMAS, <i>Woorwyrite, Camperdown, Victoria, Australia.</i>
1883	SHEA, SIR AMBROSE, K.C.M.G.
1894	SHEILDS, EDWARD, <i>Kimberley Club, Cape Colony.</i>
1891	SHELFORD, HON. THOMAS, C.M.G., M.L.C., <i>Singapore.</i>
1885	†SHENTON, EDWARD, J.P., <i>Weld Club, Perth, Western Australia.</i>
1884	†SHENTON, HON. SIR GEORGE, M.L.C., J.P., <i>Crawley, Western Australia.</i>
1889	†SHEPHERD, JAMES, <i>Messrs. Shepherd &amp; Bennie, Johannesburg, Transvaal.</i>
1875	SHERIFF, THE HON. MR. JUSTICE W. MUSGRAVE, <i>Georgetown, British Guiana.</i>
1893	SHEILDS, R. TENNANT, <i>Perth, Western Australia.</i>
1895	SHINGLER, EDWARD P., JUN., P.O. Box 144, <i>Johannesburg, Transvaal.</i>
1881	†SHIRLEY, HON. LEICESTER C., <i>Hyde Hall, Clarke's Town P.O., Jamaica.</i>
1892	SHOTTER, F. B., <i>Standard Bank, Johannesburg, Transvaal.</i>
1884	SHRIMPTON, WALTER, <i>Matapiro, Napier, New Zealand.</i>
1886	SIM, PATRICK, <i>Kimberley, Cape Colony.</i>
1887	SIMEON, REV. PHILIP B., M.A., <i>The Rectory, Fort Beaufort, Cape Colony.</i>
1894	SIMMONS, HON. C. J., M.L.C., <i>St. Vincent, West Indies.</i>
1896	SIMMONS, JOSEPH B., J.P., <i>Perth, Western Australia.</i>
1884	SIMMS, ALFRED, <i>Pennington Terrace, North Adelaide, South Australia.</i>
1877	SIMMS, W. K., J.P., <i>Adelaide, South Australia.</i>
1883	SIMON, MAXIMILIAN FRANK, M.R.C.S.E., Principal Civil Medical Officer, <i>Singapore.</i>
1895	SIMPSON, CHARLES ERSKINE, <i>Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.</i>
1884	†SIMPSON, EDWARD FLEMING, <i>Pretoria, Transvaal.</i>
1882	†SIMPSON, G. MORRIS, <i>Australian Club, Sydney, New South Wales.</i>
1889	†SIMPSON, JAMES, <i>Bank of Africa, Cape Town, Cape Colony.</i>
1893	SIMPSON, ROBERT M., M.D., 456 <i>Main Street, Winnipeg, Canada.</i>
1892	†SIMPSON, T. BOUSTEAD, <i>Union Club, Sydney, New South Wales.</i>
1896	SIMS, CAPTAIN C. J., P.O. Box 1146, <i>Johannesburg, Transvaal.</i>
1890	SIMS, GEORGE J., 60 <i>Market Buildings, William Street, Melbourne, Australia.</i>
1884	SIMSON, R. J. P., <i>Melbourne Club, Australia.</i>
1890	SINCLAIR-STEVENSON, E., M.D., <i>Strathallan House, Rondebosch, Cape Colony.</i>
1893	SITWELL, CECIL F., <i>Travelling Commissioner, Bathurst, Gambia.</i>
1885	SIVEWRIGHT, HON. SIR JAMES, K.C.M.G., M.L.A., <i>Cape Town, Cape Colony.</i>
1882	†SKERRATT, CHARLES CARLTON, <i>Summer Hill, Sydney, New South Wales.</i>
1892	SKEEMAN, SIDNEY, M.R.C.S.E., <i>Marton, Rangitikei, New Zealand.</i>
1883	†SKINNER, HON. ALLAN MCLEAN, C.M.G., Resident Councillor, <i>Penang, Straits Settlements.</i>
1880	†SLOANE, ALEXANDER, <i>Mulwala Station, New South Wales.</i>
1894	SMALL, JOHN T., Barrister-at-Law, 4 <i>Adelaide Street East, Toronto, Canada</i> (Corresponding Secretary).

Year of  
Election.

- 1887 SMELLIE, ROBERT R., *Esrom, New Farm, Brisbane, Queensland.*  
 1891 SMITH, PROFESSOR ALFRED MICA, *Ballarat, Victoria, Australia.*  
 1885 SMITH, ALFRED W. LUCIE, District Judge, *Limassol, Cyprus.*  
 1882 SMITH, CHARLES, *Wanganui, New Zealand.*  
 1889 SMITH, CHARLES GEORGE, *Durban, Natal.*  
 1894 SMITH, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR CHARLES HOLLED, K.C.M.G., C.B., *Commanding the Troops, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1893 †SMITH, EDWARD ROBERTS, M.R.C.S.E., *Cowra, New South Wales.*  
 1883 †SMITH, HON. SIR EDWIN THOMAS, K.C.M.G., M.L.C., *Adelaide, South Australia.*  
 1894 SMITH, F. CALBY, *Yalumba, Augaston, South Australia.*  
 1882 SMITH, HON. MR. JUSTICE FRANCIS, *Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*  
 1886 SMITH, FRANCIS GREY, *National Bank of Australasia, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1895 SMITH, FRANCIS VILLENEUVE, 30 *Castlereagh Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1885 SMITH, GEORGE, *Georgetown, British Guiana.*  
 1895 SMITH, GEORGE DAVID, *Mafeking, British Bechuanaland.*  
 1895 †SMITH, H.E. SIR GERARD, K.C.M.G., *Government House, Perth, Western Australia.*  
 1888 †SMITH, H. G. SETH, *Northern Club, Auckland, New Zealand (Corresponding Secretary).*  
 1888 †SMITH, HENRY FLESHER, *Kyogle, Richmond River, New South Wales.*  
 1887 SMITH, JAMES, *Barrister-at-Law, Dunedin Club, New Zealand.*  
 1884 †SMITH, JAMES CARMICHAEL, M.L.A., J.P., *Burton House, George Street, Nassau, Bahamas.*  
 1885 SMITH, JOHN G., *Madras Club, Madras, India.*  
 1888 SMITH, JOSEPH H.  
 1887 SMITH, HON. OLIVER, M.A., *Attorney-General, St. John's, Antigua.*  
 1894 †SMITH, ROBERT GEMMELL, *Nausori, Fiji.*  
 1882 SMITH, ROBERT MURRAY, C.M.G., *Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1889 SMITH, R. TOTTENHAM, *Standard Bank, Klerksdorp, Transvaal.*  
 1887 SMITH, THOMAS, *Provincial Engineer, Public Works Depart., Colombo, Ceylon.*  
 1896 SMITH, REV. THOMAS CLARK, M.A., *Georgetown, British Guiana.*  
 1886 †SMITH, HON. THOMAS HAWKINS, M.L.C., *Gordon Brook, Grafton, New South Wales.*  
 1895 SMITH, THOMAS HECTOR, M.D., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1895 SMITH, THOMAS HENRY, *Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*  
 1895 SMITH, W. E., *Railway Depart., Port of Spain, Trinidad.*  
 1893 SMITH, WM. EDWARDS, M.R.A.C., P.O. Box 1007, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1887 †SMITH, WILLIAM, *Georgetown, British Guiana.*  
 1887 SMITH, CAPTAIN WILLIAM J., *Royal Mail Steam Packet Company.*  
 1877 †SMITH, H.E. SIR W. F. HAYNES, K.C.M.G., *Government House, Nassau, Bahamas.*  
 1882 †SMITH, W. H. WARRE, P.O. Box 190, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1894 SMITH, THE MOST REV. WM. SAUMAREZ, D.D., *Lord Bishop of Sydney, Greenknove, Macleay Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1887 SMITH-REWER, EUSTACE A., *Union Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1885 †SMUTS, C. PETER, M.L.A., M.B., C.M. (Edin.), *Mowbray, near Cape Town, Cape Colony.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1881 SMUTS, J. A., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1887 SMYTH, WILLIAM, M.L.A., *Gympie, Queensland.*  
 1889 SNELL, EDWARD, *Durban, Natal.*  
 1881 SNELL, GEORGE, M.D., M.R.C.S.E., *Fort Canje, Berbice, British Guiana.*  
 1883 SNYD-KYNNERSLY, C. W., *Malacca, Straits Settlements.*  
 1886 SNOWDEN, HON. SIR ARTHUR, M.L.C., *Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1887 SOLOMON, HON. GEORGE, *Kingston, Jamaica.*  
 1883 SOLOMON, HON. MR. JUSTICE WILLIAM HENRY, *Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*  
 1894 †SOMERSET, EDMUND T., *P.O. Box 43, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1888 †SOMERSHIELD, OSCAR, *Delagoa Bay, East Africa.*  
 1892 SOWERVILLE, FREDERICK G., *Chartered Bank of India, Penang, Straits Settlements.*  
 1882 SORAPURE, J. B., *Kingston, Jamaica.*  
 1893 SOUTHEY, CHARLES, *Culmstock, near Cradock, Cape Colony.*  
 1884 SOUTHEY, HON. SIR RICHARD, K.C.M.G., *Southfield, Plumstead, Cape Colony; and Civil Service Club, Cape Town.*  
 1893 SOUTHWELL, FRANK F., C.E., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1877 †SPENCE, J. BRODIE, *Adelaide, South Australia.*  
 1888 SPENCER, WILLIAM, J.P., *Bunbury, Western Australia.*  
 1881 SPRIGG, HON. SIR J. GORDON, K.C.M.G., M.L.A., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1881 SQUIRES, WILLIAM HERBERT, *Glencly, South Australia.*  
 1881 STABLES, HENRY L., C.E.  
 1896 STACK, REV. CANON JAMES W., *Fendalton Vicarage, Christchurch, New Zealand.*  
 1888 STAIB, OTTO, *16 Guitenburg Strasse, Stuttgart, Germany.*  
 1893 STAMPER, WILLIAM FREDERICK, *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1893 STANFORD, WALTER J., *Tipperary Gold Mining Co., Macetown, Otago, New Zealand.*  
 1892 †STANLEY, ARTHUR, *Middelburg, Transvaal.*  
 1882 STANLEY, HENRY C., M.Inst.C.E., *Brisbane, Queensland.*  
 1894 STANLEY, JOSEPH HENRY, *Dunedin Club, New Zealand.*  
 1886 †STAUGHTON, S. T., M.L.A., *Eynesbury, Melton, Victoria, Australia.*  
 1882 STEERE, HON. SIR JAMES G. LEE, M.L.A., *Perth, Western Australia.*  
 1895 STEPHEN, HON. MR. JUSTICE MATTHEW H., *Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1888 †STEPHEN, HON. SEPTIMUS A., M.L.C., *12 O'Connell Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1873 †STEPHENS, ROMEO H., *P.O. Box 1017, Montreal, Canada.*  
 1890 STERN, H., *Kingston, Jamaica.*  
 1888 †STEVENS, DANIEL C., F.R.G.S., *P.O. Box 215, Pretoria, Transvaal.*  
 1887 †STEVENS, FRANK, *Durban, Natal.*  
 1887 †STEVENS, HILDEBRAND W. H., *Port Darwin, Northern Territory, South Australia.*  
 1896 STEVENS, JAMES, *Coolgardie, Western Australia.*  
 1883 STEVENSON, JOHN, *Queensland Club, Brisbane, Queensland.*  
 1896 STEVENSON, THOMAS, *Commercial Union Assurance Co., Port Elisabeth, Cape Colony.*  
 1896 STEWART, JAMES, M.Inst.C.E., *Auckland, New Zealand.*  
 1895 †STETTLER, HENRY DE VILLIERS, *P. O. Box 174, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1889 †STOKES, STEPHEN, *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1882 STONE, HON. MR. JUSTICE EDWARD ALFRED, *Perth, Western Australia.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1889 STONE, HENRY, *The Grange, Ingham, Queensland.*  
 1881 STOW, FREDERICK, *Steenbokpan, Hoopstad, Orange Free State.*  
 1892 STRANACK, WILLIAM, *Durban, Natal.*  
 1895 †STREET, ALFRED R., *Union Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1890 STREET, J. W., *Union Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1884 †STRICHLAND DELLA CATENA, HON. COUNT, C.M.G., *Chief Secretary, Villa Bologna, Malta (Corresponding Secretary).*  
 1892 STRINGER, CHARLES, *Messrs. Paterson, Simons, & Co., Singapore.*  
 1894 †STRUBEN, ARTHUR M. A., C.E., *Strubenheim, Rosebank, Cape Colony.*  
 1880 †STRUBEN, H. W., J.P., *Strubenheim, Rosebank, Cape Colony.*  
 1890 STRUTH, JAMES, *Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1894 †STUART, JAMES, *Bremersdorp, Swaziland, South Africa.*  
 1896 STUART, THOMAS J., *Tutira, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.*  
 1894 STUCKEY, MORTIMER, *Victoria Square, West Adelaide, South Australia.*  
 1875 STUDEHOLME, JOHN, *Christchurch, New Zealand.*  
 1883 †STUDEHOLME, JOHN, JUN., *Coldstream, Hinds, Christchurch, New Zealand.*  
 1889 STURDEE, H. KING, *240 State Street, Albany, U.S.A.*  
 1881 STURRIDGE, GEORGE, J.P., *Mandeville, Jamaica.*  
 1890 STURROCK, DAVID, *Union Bank of Australia, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1896 STYMEST, WILLIAM H., *P.O. Box 802, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1889 SULLY, WALTER, *Broken Hill, New South Wales.*  
 1892 SUMMERS, FRANK J., *Buluwayo, Matabeleland.*  
 1891 SUTHERLAND, HUGH, *Winnipeg, Canada.*  
 1839 SUTTON, HON. GEORGE M., M.L.C., *Fair Fell, Howick, Natal.*  
 1896 SWABY, THE RT. REV. WILLIAM P., D.D., *Lord Bishop of Guiana, Kingston House, Georgetown, British Guiana.*  
 1891 SWAYNE, CHARLES R., *Stipendiary Magistrate, Loma Loma, Fiji.*  
 1884 SWAYNE, JOSEPH QUICKER, *Mullens River, British Honduras.*  
 1883 SWETTENHAM, HON. FRANK A., C.M.G., *Resident-General of Protected Straits, Singapore.*  
 1895 SWIFT, WILLIAM H., M.I.M.M., *Azim, Gold Coast Colony.*  
 1891 SYERS, CAPTAIN H. C., *Superintendent of Police, Selangor, Straits Settlements.*  
 1881 †SYMON, J. H., Q.C., *Adelaide, South Australia*  
 1885 †SIMONS, DAVID, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1893 SYMONDS, HENRY, M.D., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1879 TAIT, M. M., *Stanmore House, Rondebosch, Cape Colony.*  
 1883 TALBOT, ARTHUR PHILLIP, *Assistant Colonial Secretary, Singapore (Corresponding Secretary).*  
 1886 TALBOT, GEORGE, J.P., *Richmond, Nelson, New Zealand.*  
 1888 †TAMPLIN, HERBERT T., M.L.A., *Barrister-at-Law, Grahamstown, Cape Colony (Corresponding Secretary).*  
 1877 †TANNER, THOMAS, *Riverslea, Napier, New Zealand.*  
 1883 TAPSCOTT, GEORGE A. M., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1887 TATE, C. J., *National Bank, Bloemfontein, Orange Free State.*  
 1889 TATE, FREDERICK, *28 Market Street, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1894 TATHAM, FREDERIC SPENCE, M.L.A., *7 Timber Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*  
 1895 TATHAM, GEORGE FREDERICK, J.P., *Ladysmith, Natal.*  
 1896 TATHAM, RALPH HEATHCOTE, *Advocate, Durban, Natal.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1879 TAYLOR, E. B. A., C.M.G.  
 1895 TAYLOR, FREDERICK E., *Public Works Dept., Spanish Town, Jamaica.*  
 1887 TAYLOR, G. W., J.P.  
 1890 TAYLOR, HENRY, *Willow Park, Zeerust, Transvaal.*  
 1893 TAYLOR, NORMAN MAUGHAN, C.E., *Camp Ahmedabad, India.*  
 1891 TAYLOR, PECTVALM, C.E., *Kinta, Perak, Straits Settlements.*  
 1882 †TAYLOR, WILLIAM, *Clarendon Street East, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1883 TAYLOR, W. F., M.D., *Brisbane, Queensland.*  
 1881 TAYLOR, W. P., *P.O. Box 292, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1890 TAYLOR, HON. WILLIAM T., M.L.C., C.M.G., *Auditor-General, Colombo, Ceylon.*  
 1893 TEECE, RICHARD, *Australian Mutual Provident Society, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1896 TENCH, SAMUEL E., *Glentilt, Maskeliya, Ceylon.*  
 1894 †TERRY, RICHARD R., J.P., *Blaxland Rd, Ryde, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1884 TMSCHMAKKE, CHARLES DE V., *Avondale Station, Renwick, Marlborough, New Zealand.*  
 1883 TMSCHMAKKE, THOMAS, J.P., *Otaio, Timaru, New Zealand.*  
 1892 THIRLE, HANS H., F.R.S.G.S., *Nausori, Fiji.*  
 1894 THOMAS, GEORGE COLERIDGE, *Public Works Department, Lagos, West Africa.*  
 1886 †THOMAS, HON. JAMES J., M.L.C., *Broad Street, Lagos, West Africa.*  
 1884 †THOMAS, J. EDWIN, *Somerton, Adelaide, South Australia.*  
 1895 THOMAS, JOHN H., *Freetown, Sierra Leone.*  
 1882 THOMAS, M. H., *Oonoonagalla, Madulkelly, Ceylon.*  
 1883 †THOMAS, RICHARD D., *Christchurch, New Zealand.*  
 1884 THOMAS, ROBERT KYFFIN, *Adelaide, South Australia.*  
 1891 THOMPSON, FRED A. H., *Bonthe, Sherbro, West Africa.*  
 1881 THOMPSON, GEORGE A., *Northern Club, Auckland, New Zealand.*  
 1890 THOMPSON, HIS HONOUR HARRY L., *St. Vincent, West Indies.*  
 1894 THOMPSON, HON. JOHN MALBON, *Lyndhurst Chambers, Elizabeth Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1890 THOMPSON, JOHN, *Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1891 THOMPSON, M. G. CAMPBELL, *Bonthe, Sherbro, West Africa.*  
 1884 THOMPSON, HON. T. A., M.L.C., *Stanley, Falkland Islands.*  
 1894 THOMPSON, THOMAS J., B.A., *Freetown, Sierra Leone.*  
 1895 THOMPSON, WILLIAM A., *Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*  
 1886 THOMSON, ALPIN F., *Works and Railway Department, Perth, Western Australia.*  
 1885 THOMSON, ARTHUR H., *Administrator-Gen.'s Dept., Georgetown, British Guiana.*  
 1879 THOMSON, JAMES, *Georgetown, British Guiana.*  
 1886 THOMSON, SURGEON-MAJOR JOHN, M.B., *Queensland Defence Force, Inchoke, Brisbane, Queensland.*  
 1894 THOMSON, M. CHARLES, *Rockhampton, Queensland.*  
 1895 THOMSON, SAMUEL, *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1880 THOMSON, WILLIAM, M.Inst. C.E., *Calle Imperial, No. 17 Algeciras, Spain.*  
 1893 THOMSON, WM. BURNS, *Harriemith, Orange Free State.*  
 1888 †THOMSON, WILLIAM CHARLES, *P.O. Box 2086, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1872 THORNE, CORNELIUS, *Messrs. Maitland & Co., Shanghai, China.*  
 1882 THORNE, HENRY EDWARD, *Barbados.*



Year of  
Election.

- 1889 THORNTON, RIGHT REV. SAMUEL, D.D., Lord Bishop of Ballarat, *Ballarat, Victoria, Australia.*
- 1884 THORNTON, HON. S. LESLIE, Attorney-General, *St. Vincent, West Indies.*
- 1892 †THORNTON, WILLIAM, *Maungakawa, Cambridge, Auckland, New Zealand.*
- 1891 THORP, SYDNEY H., *Charters Towers, Queensland.*
- 1885 †THURSTON, H. E. SIR JOHN BATES, K.C.M.G., *Government House, Suva, Fiji.*
- 1882 THWAITES, J. HAWTREY.
- 1886 †TINLINE, JOHN, *Nelson, New Zealand.*
- 1879 TOBIN, ANDREW, *Wingadee, Balaclava, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1885 TODD, SIR CHARLES, K.C.M.G., F.R.S., *Postmaster-General and Superintendent of Telegraphs, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1890 TOLBURST, GEORGE E., *Grant Road, Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1896 TOLL, BENJAMIN, *Charters Towers, Queensland.*
- 1893 TOLL, JOHN T., M.R.C.S., M.R.C.P., *Port Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1883 †TOPP, HON. JAMES, M.L.C., *Bathurst, Gambia, West Africa.*
- 1884 TORROP, EDWARD C.
- 1888 TOUSSAINT, CHARLES W., *The Hollow, Mackay, Queensland.*
- 1887 †TOZER, HON. HORACE, M.L.A., *Brisbane, and Gympie, Queensland.*
- 1889 †TRAILL, GILBERT F., *Kandapolla Estate, Ceylon.*
- 1884 †TRAVERS, BENJAMIN, District Commissioner, *Famagusta, Cyprus.*
- 1888 TRAVERS, CAPTAIN H. DE LA COUR.
- 1893 †TRAVERS, E. A. O., M.R.C.S., *Residency Surgeon, Kuala Lumpur, Straits Settlements.*
- 1888 TREACHER, HON. W. H., C.M.G., *The Residency, Perak, Straits Settlements.*
- 1888 TREGARTHEN, WM. COULSON, P.O. Box 1920, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1883 †TRELEAVAN, CHARLES W., *Bogul, Balaclava P.O., Jamaica.*
- 1890 TRENCARD, HENRY, *Bank of Australasia, Maitland, New South Wales.*
- 1880 TRIMMINGHAM, WILLIAM P., *The Grange, St. Michael's, Barbados (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1878 TRIMMER, FREDERICK, *Denver, Colorado, U.S.A.*
- 1884 †TRIPP, C. H., *Geraldine, Canterbury, New Zealand.*
- 1883 TROTTER, NOEL, *Singapore.*
- 1896 TROUGHTON, CAPTAIN CECIL C. W., *Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1869 TRUTCH, HON. SIR JOSEPH W., K.C.M.G., *Victoria, British Columbia.*
- 1888 †TUCKER, GEORGE ALFRED, Ph.D., J.P., *Annandale, Sydney, N.S.W.*
- 1883 TUCKER, WILLIAM KIDGER, *Nooitgedacht Mining Company, Klerksdorp, Transvaal.*
- 1887 TULLY, W. ALCOCK, B.A., Land Board, *Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1895 †TURLAND, A. DE SALES, P.O. Box 1643, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1883 TURNBULL, JAMES THOMSON, J.P., *Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1882 †TURNER, HENRY GYLES, *Commercial Bank, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1894 TURNER, JONATHAN O., *Mano Salija, Sierra Leone.*
- 1883 TURNER, HON. JOHN HERBERT, M.L.A., *Victoria, British Columbia.*
- 1882 †TURTON, C. D.
- 1891 TWEEDIE, DAVID, *Roxburgh House, Parkside, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1881 TYSON, CAPTAIN THOMAS G., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1889 UNDERWOOD, EDWARD WILLIAM, *Tullandoom, Koogong-Koot Road, Hawthorn, Melbourne, Australia.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1885 UPPINGTON, HON. SIR THOMAS, K.C.M.G., *Attorney-General, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1893 UPTON, PRESCOTT, P.O. Box 1026, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1883 USHER, CHARLES RICHARD, *Belize, British Honduras.*
- 1881 USHER, HENRY CHARLES, M.L.C., F.R.G.S., *Belize, British Honduras.*
- 1892 VAN BOESCHOTEN, JOHANNES G., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1889 VAN BREDA, SERVAAS, *Hauptville, Constantia Road, Wynberg, Cape Colony.*
- 1896 †VANDER, HOVEN H. G., *African Board of Executors, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1887 VAN DER RIET, THOMAS F. B., *Attorney-at-Law, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1893 VAN DIGGELEN, S. H., J.P., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1893 VAN NOOTEN, ERNEST H., *Civil Service, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1889 VAN REESEMA, JOHN S., J.P., *101 Boulevard du Nord, Brussels.*
- 1885 VAN RENEN, HENRY, *Government Land Surveyor, Barkly West, Cape Colony.*
- 1896 VAN RYCK DE GROOT, S.H.R., L.S.A., *Asst. Colonial-Surgeon, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1884 VAN-SENDEN, E. W., *Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1895 VAN ULSEN, D., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1890 VARLEY, HIRAM W., *Waymouth Street, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1887 †VAUGHAN, J. D. W., *Suva, Fiji.*
- 1893 VAUSE, WILLIAM J., *Durban, Natal.*
- 1881 †VEENDAM, J. L., M.D., *Essequibo, British Guiana.*
- 1883 †VILGE, CHARLES EUGENE, *Registrar, Supreme Court, Singapore.*
- 1888 †VENN, HON. H. W., M.L.A., *Dardanup Park, near Bunbury, Western Australia.*
- 1891 VENNING, ALFRED R., *State Treasurer, Selangor, Straits Settlements.*
- 1890 VENNING, EDWARD, *Public Works Department, Batticaloa, Ceylon.*
- 1880 VERDON, SIR GEORGE, K.C.M.G., C.B., *Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1877 VERLEY, LOUIS, *Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1896 †VERMONT, HON. J. M., M.L.C., *Batu, Kawan, Penang, Straits Settlements.*
- 1886 †VERSVELD, DIRK, J.P., *Attorney-at-Law, Riversdale, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 VIGNE, J. TALBOT, *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1881 †VILLIERS, HON. FRANCIS JOHN, M.E.C., C.M.G., *Auditor-General, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1894 VINCENT, SIR EDGAR, K.C.M.G., *Ottoman Bank, Constantinople.*
- 1889 †VINCENT, MAJOR WILLIAM SLADE, *Townsville, Queensland.*
- 1895 VIRET, A. PERCIVAL, *Dominica, West Indies.*
- 1896 VON WINCKLER, J. W., M.D., *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1886 VOSS, HOULTON H., *Union Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1896 VREDE, DIRK E., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1885 WADDELL, GEORGE WALKER, J.P., *care of Australian Joint Stock Bank, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1887 WAGHORN, JAMES, *District Surgeon, Harding, Natal.*
- 1890 WAT, JOHN STUBBS, M.R.C.S.E., *Oamaru, New Zealand.*
- 1885 †WAITE, PETER, *Urrbrae, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1886 WAKEFIELD, ARTHUR, *Walilabo, St. Vincent, West Indies.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1889 †WAKEFORD, GEORGE C., *Niekviks Rush, Barkly West, Cape Colony.*
- 1883 WALDRON, DEWEENT, M.B., C.M., Assistant Colonial Surgeon, *Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1880 WALDRON, JAMES L., J.P., *Falkland Islands.*
- 1876 †WALKER, HON. SIR EDWARD NOEL, K.C.M.G., Colonial Secretary, *Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1893 †WALKER, HON. GILES F., M.L.C., J.P., *St. John Del Rey, Bogawantalawa, Ceylon.*
- 1895 WALKER, HENRY, *Sandakan, British North Borneo.*
- 1886 WALKER, JOHN, 24 Bond Street, *Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1891 WALKER, HON. MR. JUSTICE J. BATLDON, *Turks and Caicos Islands, West Indies.*
- 1881 †WALKER, JOSEPH, *Hamilton House, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1874 †WALKER, R. B. N., M.A., F.R.G.S., *British Sherbro, West Africa.*
- 1884 †WALKER, R. C. CRITCHETT, C.M.G., Principal Under-Secretary, *Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1891 †WALKER, R. LESLIE, *Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1883 †WALKER, LIEUT.-COLONEL R. S. FROWD, C.M.G., Commandant of the *Perak Sikhs, Perak, Straits Settlements.*
- 1895 WALKER, THOMAS A., *Weston College, Highlands, Natal.*
- 1882 WALL, T. A., Vice-Consul, *Niger Coast Protectorate, Old Calabar, West Africa.*
- 1894 WALLACE, EDWARD CLEMENT, *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1894 WALLACE, REV. WM. B., *The Rookery, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1894 †WALLIS, THE RT. REV. FREDERIC, D.D., Lord Bishop of Wellington, *Bishopscourt, Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1896 WALLIS, HENRY R., *Chinde, East Africa.*
- 1891 WALPOLE, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE CHARLES G., M.A., *Nassau, Bahamas.*
- 1889 †WALSH, ALBERT, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1890 WALSHAM, WALTER E., 201 Loop Street, *Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1889 WALSH, ALBERT PATRICK, *Market Square, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1881 †WALTER, HENRY J., *Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1881 †WANLISS, HON. THOMAS D., M.L.C., *Ballarat, Victoria, Australia.*
- 1879 WARD, HON. LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES J., C.M.G., M.P.C., *Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1892 WARD, HENRY A., *Premier Mine, Beaconsfield, Cape Colony.*
- 1873 WARD, WILLIAM CURTIS, *Victoria, British Columbia.*
- 1885 WARE, JERRY GEORGE, *Koort, Koortnong Station, Camperdown, Victoria, Australia.*
- 1879 †WARE, JOHN, *Tatpoon, Yalla-y-Poor, Victoria, Australia.*
- 1886 †WARE, JOSEPH, *Minjah, Carramut, Victoria, Australia.*
- 1880 †WARE, J. C., *Yalla-y-Poor, Victoria, Australia.*
- 1889 WARING, FRANCIS J., C.M.G., M.Inst.C.E., J.P.
- 1886 WARMINGTON, ARTHUR, *Moneague P.O., St. Ann's, Jamaica.*
- 1882 †WARNER, OLIVER W., Emigration Agent for Trinidad, 11 Garden Reach, *Calcutta.*
- 1895 WARREN, JOHN REYNOLDS, *Beira, Durban, Natal.*
- 1890 WARTON, LT.-COLONEL R. GARDNER, *North Charterland Exploration Co., Chinde, East Africa.*
- 1889 †WATERHOUSE, ARTHUR, *Adelaide, South Australia.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1883 WATKINS, ARNOLD H., M.D., F.R.C.S., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*  
 1891 WATKINS, A. J. W., A.M.Inst.C.E., *Kwala Lumpor, Straits Settlements.*  
 1893 WATKINS, FRANK, M.V.R., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1892 WATKINS, FREDERICK H., Inspct. of Schools, *Richmond House, Montserrat.*  
 1893 †WATSON, CHARLES A. SCOTT, *Moonaree, Gawler Ranges, Port Augusta, South Australia.*  
 1885 WATSON, FRANK DASHWOOD, *Lettakajan, P.O. Golaghat, Assam, India.*  
 1891 WATSON, F. W. A., J.P., Clerk to the Legislative Council, *Maritzburg, Natal.*  
 1887 †WATSON, H. FRASER, *P.O. Box 500, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1886 †WATSON, T. TENNANT, Govt. Surveyor, *Civil Service Club, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1895 †WATT, EDWARD J., *Napier, New Zealand.*  
 1887 WATT, WILLIAM HOLDEN, *Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1881 WAY, E., *Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1891 †WAY, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE SAMUEL J., *Adelaide, South Australia.*  
 1892 †WAYLAND, ARTHUR E., *Gwelo, Matabeleland.*  
 1886 WAYLAND, CHARLES F. B., *P.O. Box 19, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1893 WAYLAND, CHARLES WM. H., J.P., *Lovedale, Belmont, Cape Colony.*  
 1891 WAYLAND, WALTER H., *Belmont Station, Grigoland West, Cape Colony.*  
 1882 WAYLEN, ALFRED R., M.D., *The Bracken, Perth, Western Australia.*  
 1892 WEAVER, ALFRED FRANCIS, *Adelaide, South Australia.*  
 1887 †WEAVER, HENRY E., C.E., *Club da Engenharia, 6 Rua d'Alfandeya, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.*  
 1889 WEBB, ALFRED, *Somerset East, Cape Colony.*  
 1882 WEBB, THE RIGHT REV. ALLAN BECHER, D.D., Lord Bishop of *Grahamstown, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*  
 1890 WEBB, EDWARD, JUN., *Hindugalla, Kandy, Ceylon.*  
 1890 WEBBER, LIONEL H., 82 *Government Street, Victoria, British Columbia.*  
 1893 WEBBER, THE RIGHT REV. W. T. THORNHILL D.D., Lord Bishop of *Brisbane, Brisbane, Queensland.*  
 1883 WEBSTER, ALEXANDER B., *Brisbane, Queensland.*  
 1886 †WEBSTER, CHARLES, J.P., *Mackay, Queensland.*  
 1880 WEGG, JOHN A., M.D., J.P., *Colreville, Spanish Town, Jamaica.*  
 1884 WEIL, BENJAMIN BERTIE, *Mafeking, British Bechuanaland.*  
 1883 WEIL, JULIUS, M.L.A., *Mafeking, British Bechuanaland.*  
 1884 WEIL, MYER, *Mafeking, British Bechuanaland.*  
 1881 WEIL, SAMUEL, *Mafeking, British Bechuanaland.*  
 1894 WELCH, JOHN LAWSON, M.A., M.B., *Kwala Lumpor, Straits Settlements.*  
 1891 †WELLS, EDWARD R., *Kent Villa, Rondebosch, Cape Colony.*  
 1889 WEMYSS, ALEXANDER, *Bank of Mauritiuis, Port Louis, Mauritiuis.*  
 1895 WENDT, HOM. HENRY L., M.L.C., *Colombo, Ceylon.*  
 1887 WENTWORTH, FITZWILLIAM, *Union Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1892 WEBB, A. BONVILLE, *Everley, Brighton, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1889 †WEST, FREDERICK G., C.E., *Kwala Lumpor, Selangor, Straits Settlements.*  
 1878 †WESTBY, EDMUND W., *Pullitop and Buckaginga Station, New South Wales.*  
 1887 †WESTGARTH, GEORGE C., 2 *O'Connell Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1893 WESTON, JOHN J., *Union Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1889 WITZLAR, CHARLES N. B., *Jamaica.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1896 WHITAKER, F. S., *Buluwayo Club, Matabeleland.*
- 1896 WHITAKER, J. J., *King William's Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1888 †WHITE, COLONEL F. B. P.
- 1896 WHITE, JOHN A., *care of Dr. Magin, New African Co., Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1880 WHITE, MONTAGUE W., *Montpelier, Antigua.*
- 1886 †WHITE, HON. ROBERT H. D., M.L.C., *Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1890 WHITE, W. KINROSS, *Napier, New Zealand.*
- 1876 WHITEHEAD, PERCY, *Durban, Natal.*
- 1894 WHITEHEAD, HON. T. H., M.L.C., *Hong Kong (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1881 WHITEWAY, HON. SIR WILLIAM V., K.C.M.G., *St. John's, Newfoundland.*
- 1895 WHITHAM, FRED., C.C., R.M., *Herschel, Cape Colony.*
- 1892 WHITING, JOHN, *Messrs. W. Peterson & Co., Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1876 WHITMORE, HON. MAJOR-GENERAL SIR GEORGE S., K.C.M.G., M.L.C., *Napier, New Zealand.*
- 1891 WHITTY, HENRY TARTLTON, *Tarramia, Corowa, New South Wales.*
- 1878 WHYHAM, HON. WILLIAM H., M.L.C., *St. John's, Antigua (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1896 WHYTE, HON. J. B., M.L.C., *Napier, New Zealand.*
- 1886 †WHYTE, W. LESLIE, *Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1884 †WICKHAM, H. A., J.P., *Conflict Group, vid Samarai, British New Guinea.*
- 1895 †WIENAND, C. F., P.O. Box 1352, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1888 WIENER, LUDWIG, M.L.A., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1894 WIGAN, HERBERT WM., *Melbourne Brewery Co., Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1884 WIGHT, HENRY LUCIEN, *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1896 WILD, GILBERT L., 317 *Collins Street, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1895 WILD, JOSEPH H., A.M.Inst.C.E., P.O. Box 247, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1891 WILDING, HENRY AMBLER, *Bank of British West Africa, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1891 WILKINSON, THOMAS, *Poste Restante, Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1883 WILKINSON, W. BIRKENSHAW, *Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1890 †WILKS, SAMUEL JERROLD, C.E., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1882 WILLCOCKS, EDWARD J. R., *Principal of the Training Institution, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1888 WILLIAMS, HON. CHARLES RIBY, *Treasurer, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1890 †WILLIAMS, E. VAUGHAN, J.P., *Gong Gong, Barkly West, Cape Colony.*
- 1884 WILLIAMS, HON. SIR HARTLEY, *Judge of the Supreme Court, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1896 WILLIAMS, JAMES AUGUSTUS, *Bonthe, Sherbro, West Africa.*
- 1890 WILLIAMS, JAMES NELSON, *Hastings, Napier, New Zealand.*
- 1893 WILLIAMS, JOSIAH, L.R.C.P., F.R.G.S., c/o *Messrs. Wm. Watson & Co., Port Said, Egypt.*
- 1893 WILLIAMS, REV. MONTAGUE, *The Parsonage, Bacchus Marsh, Victoria, Australia.*
- 1891 WILLIAMS, ROBERT, C.E., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1888 †WILLIAMS, THOMAS D., 3 *Union Buildings, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1886 †WILLIAMS, ZACHARIAH A., *Manchester House, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1882 WILLIAMSON, HON. ALEXANDER, M.E.C., *Belize, British Honduras.*
- 1886 WILLIAMSON, SAMUEL, *care of Union Bank of Australia, Melbourne, Australia.*
- 1896 WILLS, GEORGE F., P.O. Box 561, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*

Year of  
Election.

- 1880 WILMAN, HERBERT, *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*  
 1894 †WILSON, ALBERT J., *Bel Air, Mauritius.*  
 1890 WILSON, ALEXANDRE, *7 Bent Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 1886 WILSON, HON. COLONEL DAVID, C.M.G., M.E.C., V.D., *Sub-Intendant of Crown Lands, Port of Spain, Trinidad.*  
 1883 WILSON, FREDERICK H., *Cashmere, Christchurch, New Zealand.*  
 1891 †WILSON, GEORGE PRANGLEY, C.E., *Hobart, Tasmania.*  
 1883 WILSON, JOHN, *Port Louis, Mauritius.*  
 1883 WILSON, JOHN CRACROFT, *Cashmere, Christchurch, New Zealand.*  
 1884 WILSON, ROBERT, *18 Bond Street, Dunedin, New Zealand.*  
 1889 WILSON, ROBERT F., *The "Times" Office, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1881 †WILSON, HON. W. HORATIO, M.L.C., *Selborne Chambers, Adelaide Street, Brisbane, Queensland; and Queensland Club (Corresponding Secretary).*  
 1894 WILSON, WM. ALEXANDER, *Mahé, Seychelles.*  
 1889 †WILSON, WILLIAM ROBERT, *31 Queen Street, Melbourne, Australia.*  
 1887 †WINDSEYER, HON. SIR WILLIAM CHARLES, *Judge of the Supreme Court, Sydney, New South Wales.*  
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